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Volume 1

A–K

Edited by Carl Cavanagh Hodge



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To Jane, the best of friends, Easter 2007

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 Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–1881)
 Dost Muhammad Khan (1793–1863)
 Elgin, James Bruce, Eighth Earl of (1811–1863)
 Elgin, Victor Alexander Bruce, Ninth Earl of (1849–1917)
 Ferry, Jules François Camille (1832–1893)
 Fisher, John Arbuthnot, Lord Fisher (1841–1920)

- Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)
 Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de (1766–1840)
 Gambetta, Léon (1838–1882)
 Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807–1882)
 Giolitti, Giovanni (1842–1928)
 Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898)
 Goluchowski, Agenor (1849–1921)
 Gorchakov, Alexander (1798–1883)
 Grey, Charles, Second Earl Grey (1764–1845)
 Grey, Henry, Third Earl Grey (1802–1894)
 Grey, Sir Edward, First Viscount Grey of Fal-lodon (1862–1933)
 Grey, Sir George (1812–1898)
 Guizot, François (1787–1874)
 Haldane, Richard Burdon (1856–1928)
 Hamilton, Alexander (1755–1804)
 Herzl, Theodor (1860–1904)
 Huskisson, William (1770–1830)
 Ibn Saud (1880–1953)
 Ibrahim Pasha (1789–1848)
 Izvolsky, Alexander (1856–1919)
 Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826)
 Kálnoky, Gustav (1832–1898)
 Károlyi, Mihály Count (1875–1955)
 Kasimov, Kenesary (1802–1847)
 Kaufman, Konstantin Petrovich von (1818–1882)
 Kemal, Mustapha (1880–1938)
 Kerensky, Alexander (1881–1970)
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 Kruger, Paul
 Laurier, Sir Wilfrid (1841–1919)
 Lenin, Vladimir Il'ich (1870–1924)
 Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865)
 Liverpool, Charles Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of (1770–1828)
 Lloyd George, David (1863–1945)
 Lobengula Khumalo (1833–1894)
 Lüderitz, Frans Adolf Eduard (1834–1886)
 Lugard, Frederick Dealtry, Baron Lugard of Abinger (1858–1945)
 Macdonald, Sir John A. (1815–1891)
 Mahmud I (1696–1754)
 Mahmud II (1785–1839)
 Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de (1774–1852)
 Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805–1872)
 Melville, Henry Dundas, First Viscount (1742–1811)
 Menelik II, Emperor of Ethiopia (1844–1913)
 Metternich, Prince Klemens Wenzel Nepo-muk Lothar, Fürst von (1773–1859)
 Michelet, Jules (1798–1874)
 Mickiewicz, Adam Bernard (1798–1855)
 Milner, Alfred, Viscount Milner (1854–1925)
 Nesselrode, Count Karl Robert (1780–1862)
 Ney, Michel (1769–1815)
 Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Lord (1784–1865)
 Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846–1891)
 Pašić, Nikola (1845–1926)
 Peel, Sir Robert (1788–1850)
 Peters, Carl (1856–1918)
 Pilsudski, Jozef (1867–1935)
 Pitt, William (1759–1806)
 Pobedonostsev, Konstantin Petrovich (1827–1907)
 Przheval'skii, Nikolai Mikhailovich (1839–1888)
 Radetzky, Josef (1766–1858)
 Rhodes, Cecil (1853–1902)
 Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, Earl Roberts of Kandahar and Pretoria (1832–1914)
 Root, Elihu (1845–1937)
 Rosas, Juan Manuel de (1793–1877)
 Rosebery, Archibald Philip Primrose, Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929)
 Russell, Lord John (1792–1878)
 Salisbury, Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquess of (1830–1903)
 Schwarzenberg, Prince Felix (1800–1852)
 Shaka Zulu (1783–1828)
 Singh, Ranjit (1780–1839)
 Smuts, Jan Christiaan (1870–1950)
 Stein, Friedrich Karl Reichsfreiherr vom und zum (1757–1831)
 Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1754–1838)
 Thiers, Adolphe (1797–1877)
 Tisza, István (1861–1918)
 Tisza, Kálmán (1830–1902)
 Toussaint l'Ouverture, (c. 1743–1803)
 Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar von (1848–1920)
 Trotsky, Lev Davidovich (1879–1940)
 Valikhanov, Chokan Chinggisovich (1835–1865)
 Venizelos, Eleutherios (1864–1936)
 Wellesley, Richard Colley (1760–1842)
 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769–1852)

Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924)
 Witte, Sergei (1849–1915)
 Wolseley, Garnet Wolseley, Field Marshal
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 Alexander, King of Yugoslavia (1888–1934)
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PREFACE

“It is a comfortable feeling to know that you stand on your own ground,” observes the archdeacon in Trollope’s *Last Chronicle of Barset*, “land is about the only thing that can’t fly away.” A unifying theme to the competition among the Great Powers over the 100 years preceding the outbreak of World War I is that of a constant struggle over territory in Europe and beyond. From Napoleon’s Marengo campaign to force Austria out of northern Italy in 1800 to Austria-Hungary’s determination in 1914 to punish Serbia for its interference in the Habsburg province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, conflicts over land provide the bookends for an era of sweeping and ultimately explosive change. There is, of course, more than one unifying theme for European and international history between 1800 and 1914. There is the evolution of modern war, the gathering pace of industrialization, the rise of modern nationalism; and the accelerated colonization of non-European peoples through deceit, intimidation, or conquest.

The *Encyclopedia of the Age of Imperialism* was conceived as a jargon-free reference companion for students engaged in the history of the modern world, with special attention to the interconnectedness of these themes. Such a book cannot hope to be exhaustive, but it must at least strive to be comprehensive. The period with which it deals has today such a dense and varied historiography that it would require an author of extraordinary talent or conceit—possibly both—to undertake alone the composition of a reference work that both scholars and educated citizens curious about the past will find reliably useful. The editor of the *Encyclopedia* has instead drawn on the knowledge of more than 60 senior and junior scholars to provide the reader with a selection of entries covering the Great Powers in rise and decline, the wars that attended their fortunes along with the treaties that recorded them, the statesmen and political leaders whose ambitions steered them, the great political and cultural changes that influenced them, and the places and peoples most profoundly affected by them.

A problem peculiar to a work such as this is that it may well succeed in presenting a compendium of facts interesting of themselves without providing a coherent interpretation of their meaning. Aside from its brief Introduction, provided along with a Chronology for putting the reader in temporal context, the *Encyclopedia* is

organized around the central assumption that it must emphasize description over interpretation. It attempts through the “See also” cross-references at the end of the text of most entries to highlight the interrelatedness of certain people, places, and events. Equally, the Further Reading listings that end each entry supplement the Select Bibliography found in the back of the book by alerting the reader to the interpretive scholarship available on each entry. The Guide to Related Topics will help readers easily and quickly trace broad and important themes across the *Encyclopedia's* more than 800 entries. The appendix of primary documents is based on the idea that the reader's use of the book can be enriched by exposure to documentary evidence of the thoughts and words of pivotal personalities of the age. Even the determined presentation of objective facts involves a degree of interpretation, to the extent that some facts are deemed more important than others. Documentary evidence, on the other hand, does not fly away.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It has been a genuine pleasure to be involved in this project, not least of all due to the many scholars with whom I have had the privilege to work. I would like to thank them all for their contributions, large and small, and express to them the hope that my presentation of their work will meet with their approval. I would like further to thank Michael Hermann at Greenwood, both for encouraging me to tackle the project and for indulging my ideas, those of a comparative amateur, on how it ought to be completed. I would lastly like to thank John Wagner for his thorough professionalism and endless patience with me during the completion of the manuscript. The strengths of the *Encyclopedia of the Age of Imperialism* belong to these people. Its weaknesses are my own.

INTRODUCTION

The Age of Imperialism was a particularly protean period in European and world history beginning with the Napoleonic Wars and ending with outbreak of World War I. In slightly more than a century the matrix of the modern world—visions of independent nationhood contending with notions of international commonwealth, free trade clashing with imperial preference, technological change facilitating both industrial and social revolution and total war—emerged. The recurrent impulse of the period was one of territorial aggrandizement. Derived from the Roman notion of *imperium*, connoting domination brought about through the conquest of one identifiable ethnic group by another, *imperialism* is typically used to refer to *the extension of the power and dominion of one nation over others by military coercion or by political and economic compulsion*.¹ Whereas Europeans governed about a third of the world's land surface in 1800, by 1900 more than 80 percent was under some form of European ascendancy.

Admittedly, the impulse was not particularly new. Leaders of the previous century as dissimilar in temperament and national circumstance as Catherine the Great of Russia and William Pitt the elder of Britain held in common the conviction that states had not only a right but a duty to expand, if necessary at their neighbor's expense. In 1772, Catherine, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria partitioned Poland among themselves largely because nothing could stop them. Voltaire, a colossus of the Enlightenment, celebrated the act as a service to humanity.² Moreover, by the nineteenth century some of the greatest colonial empires built were already in advanced decline. In the sixteenth century, Spain had accumulated vast overseas territories in the first "world empire," yet by 1825 had lost most of it. Portugal's greatest overseas possession, Brazil, was penetrated relatively slowly after 1500 during Lisbon's career as a secondary power with a major role in the Atlantic slave trade and a maritime spice trade stretching from Cape Verde to India and Japan. By 1641, Portugal had lost many of its other overseas possessions to the Dutch. The Netherlands retained many of these into the twentieth century, but the wealth of the Dutch Golden Age of the second half of the seventeenth had by 1800 long since passed. A victim of French conquest and annexation between 1795 and 1814, the Netherlands spent the nineteenth century as an object of Great Power

bargains—not the least of which was the secession of Belgium in 1839. By contrast, the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires remained powers to be reckoned with. They governed dozens of subject nationalities right up to the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, although they had known creeping decay as the product of a host of domestic and international factors going back two centuries. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 and the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 were symptomatic of their eclipse by more robust imperial enterprises.

What distinguished the period between 1800 and 1914 was its enormous consequence for European and global politics in the twentieth century. After 1789, every aspect of the European political and social order, of class, authority, and privilege was challenged by the philosophical ideals and revolutionary upheaval in France, the dominant continental power. And France had yet to recover from the ravages of The Terror before something equally novel succeeded it. If the French Revolution can be called “the single most important event in the entire history of government,”³ the popular tyranny of Napoleon Bonaparte that signaled an end to its anarchy signaled the birth of the secular religion of nationalism, of mass citizen armies, of war as the science of slaughter—of modern international relations. Bonaparte betrayed the political and civil liberties of 1789. But he also exported the Revolution to the four corners of Europe, redrawing its map and pulling down the edifice of traditional authority wherever his armies marched. Its arbitrary arrests and executions notwithstanding, his regime claimed infinitely fewer lives at home than abroad. Approximately 4 million military and civilian dead are thought to be the cost of European conflict between 1792 and 1814.⁴ This figure was itself dwarfed a century later by the return of military conflict among the European powers after more than a half-century of imperial rivalry overseas.

The Napoleonic Legacy

Napoleonic France’s short but extraordinarily dynamic dominion over the European continent, then, was the first chapter in the Age of Imperialism. It began with Bonaparte’s innovative response to the conditions created by the Revolution itself, of which he was initially merely a promising soldier. In one form or another the changes wrought by the revolutionary period—the glorification of the expansion of states, the attack on the legitimacy of the territory and social order of the old regime, the extraordinary financial needs of the revolutionary government, and opportunity created by revolutionary flux for the rise of ambitious talent—all spoke to matters of scale and dimension. In the military realm Napoleon did not invent, but rather inherited, modified, and perfected, a form of warfare conceived by Lazare Nicolas Carnot, the minister of war to the revolutionary regime. It was Carnot who applied the *levée en masse* to France’s army, an army of now nominally free citizens conscripted to the defense of the republic and the nation to a strength of more than a million men under arms. It was also Carnot who demanded a national force capable of crushing any other by sheer weight of numbers in a war of annihilation rather than maneuver. Lastly, it was Carnot who conscripted the resources of the nation in a planned economy of totalitarian ambition and reversed the eighteenth-century prohibition against armies living off the land into a patriotic duty. Tasked with defending a Jacobin dictatorship fighting for its life and in 1794 spending five times more than its revenue, he could do little else. Yet the success of these armies

was neither assured nor probable until they came under the command of the greatest military talent since Alexander.⁵

A graduate of the *École Royale Militaire* as a specialist in artillery, Napoleon launched his career in 1793 in the War of the First Coalition by doing more to capture Toulon from royalist forces than any of the commanders senior to him. Thereafter, his star rose with few interruptions. After proving his loyalty to the regime by raking a Parisian royalist mob with grapeshot, Napoleon secured Carnot's approval of his plan for the invasion of Italy. Under his command the republic then "moved from the defensive to the large-scale offensive and became an expansionist force, determined to roll up the old map of Europe and transform it on principles formed by its own ideology."⁶ The Habsburg Empire was the principal victim of Bonaparte's victories in Italy, but these might never have been so consequential had Napoleon not been able to shift roles effortlessly from general to proconsul to diplomat to produce the French puppet Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics and the Treaty of Campo Formio that gave the Austrian Netherlands to France and extended its frontier to the Rhine.

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was a disaster, but consciousness of that fact was eclipsed by the even greater disaster of the Directory back in France that ultimately occasioned the coup of 18 Brumaire and the true beginning of the Napoleonic era. In Egypt the French army cut down some 10,000 Mamlukes against a loss of only 29 of its own in the Battle of the Pyramids; only days later, however, the British admiral Nelson destroyed most of the French Fleet at Aboukir Bay, better known as the Battle of the Nile, and marooned Napoleon and his men on the wrong side of the Mediterranean. Napoleon scored several victories against large Turkish forces, but then failed to take Acre from a Turkish army under British command. Aside from an appreciation of the value of Egypt—more to the point, the strategic value of a canal there—the campaign did little more in the short term than to make all things Egyptian suddenly fashionable in Paris.⁷

For a coup that was largely bungled, the consequences of the 18 Brumaire were sweeping. A new constitution created a three-member Consulate with Napoleon as First Consul. It also established a Tribunal and a Legislature based on a complex formula of indirect election, yet vested all legislative initiative with the executive. Put to the people in a rigged plebiscite, the document delivered immense power to Napoleon even before the plebiscite of 1802 made him first consul for life. Napoleon's journey to autocracy was completed in May 1804, when the Tribunal proposed to popular approval that he be proclaimed hereditary emperor of the French.⁸ The Consulate also produced the 1801 Concordat between the French state and the papacy; the Civil Code, comprehensive reform of the administration of government including the foundation of the prefecture system, an overhaul of the financial system around the creation of the Bank of France, and the establishment of 45 *lycées* assigned the task of education and patriotic indoctrination. The latter goal came easily with Napoleon's first truly great military victory, over the Austrians in the War of the Second Coalition, at the village of Marengo in Piedmont on June 14, 1800.

Between 1800 and 1812, a pattern then set in. It involved a steadily rising level of conflict between Napoleonic France and the serial coalitions arrayed against her on the European continent. It was punctuated by defeats at sea at the hands of the British Royal Navy under Admiral Horatio Nelson, and, with the start of the War of the Fifth Coalition in 1809, increasing British involvement in the continental struggle.

Even more than the name Nelson, Napoleon came to loath that of William Pitt, the implacable Tory whose ministries led British efforts against France in the first three coalitions. The War of the Third Coalition (1805–1806), following a short-lived Anglo-French peace of the Treaty of Amiens, was pivotal to the fate of both nations. It began with the formation of an alliance of Austria, Russia, Sweden, and several of the lesser German states to destroy the French armies in Italy in preparation for an invasion of France itself. Napoleon preempted his enemies by crossing the Rhine with 200,000 men into Bavaria and cutting off, surrounding, and forcing the surrender of an Austrian army of 23,500 at Ulm on October 17, 1805. This dashed the allied plan and laid open Vienna to French occupation. It was followed only four days later by Nelson's destruction of the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar—19 ships sunk or captured, against none on the British side—thereby securing Britain against French invasion. Napoleon was still digesting this news when word came of a large Russian army marching against him from the north. He moved his own forces to meet the remaining Austrians and their Russian allies to give them battle at Austerlitz on December 2. The result was his greatest victory, a masterpiece of maneuver and deception culminating in a complete rout of numerically superior allied force that ended the Third Coalition with the Treaty of Pressburg. Austerlitz testified to Napoleon's mental grasp of the big picture and understanding of terrain. It also demonstrated a capacity to deploy a large army quickly and the audacity to risk all to divide and annihilate his enemies. A binge of hyperbolic violence involving 73,000 French and more than 90,000 allied troops, Austerlitz established Napoleon's reputation for invincibility. Yet over the long term it was less important than Trafalgar, "the guarantor of Britain's economic prosperity, which allowed her to continue at war and to subsidize her allies at war, while Napoleon ground up and consumed the resources of France and all of Western Europe to feed his military ambitions."⁹

Other great victories followed, but when those ambitions extended from to Spain in 1809 and Russia in 1812, Napoleon exhausted the capacity of his army to prevail against the growing collective strength of his enemies. His bloody victory at Borodino on the march to Moscow, recreated vividly in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, was the beginning of the end. "The age of cannon-fodder had come," notes one account, "although more than a century was to elapse before it reached its peak of tragic futility in the fields of France and Flanders."¹⁰ Thereafter, the Battle of Leipzig—involving 350,000 Austrian, Swedish, Prussian, Russian, and British troops against 195,000 French and Saxon—was the most decisive single episode in his ultimate defeat. Dramatic though it was, Waterloo merely ended the Hundred Days with the resounding verdict that there would be no Napoleonic comeback. From Moscow to Leipzig to Waterloo, the tide against it was never truly reversed. In *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo recorded that "Napoleon had been impeached in heaven and his fall decreed; he was troublesome to God."

Napoleonic France was in substance an experiment in colonialism within Europe. Overseas projects were sporadic, whereas the effort of Napoleon's Continental system to bring all of Europe under economic subordination to France was constant.¹¹ To the considerable extent that its European colonies were bent to France's military objectives, the empire was also "anti-economic from the ground up, in spirit and essence."¹² The industrialization of certain sectors was accelerated, yet that of others retarded. Ship-building was damaged, and France's overseas trade was destroyed.

In the realm of myth, Napoleon's legacy was gigantic. To French politics, he left a Bonapartist ideal of political leadership that haunted domestic politics into the twentieth century.¹³ He also bequeathed to his time an aesthetic astride the classical and romantic, devoting personal attention and national treasure to memorable visual depictions that rooted his regime in the empires of antiquity and projected an intoxicating vision of France's new career of conquest. In 1808, the Italian sculptor, Antonio Canova, made Princess Pauline Bonaparte a half-naked *Venus Victrix* in marble. Painters August-Dominique Ingres and Jacques-Louis David meanwhile provided some of the most effective visual propaganda ever commissioned. David, a revolutionary, friend of Robespierre and leading iconographer of the Terror, was given the title of First Painter invented by Louis XIV and revived by Napoleon. He responded to the compliment "with cringing servility and unparalleled professional skill."¹⁴ His *Napoleon Crossing the Alps* gave us an icon of virile determination. No matter that Napoleon made the journey on the back of a mule, the image of him atop a white stallion "was destined for posterity and thus for eternity."¹⁵ For the painter Delacroix, Napoleon was himself *the* artist of his time, the very spirit of mature Romanticism. There is something to this. David's Napoleon is the one we prefer to remember. It has ever since encouraged us to believe in manifest nonsense about the subliminal virtues of charismatic political leadership to an extent that is routinely reckless and occasionally disastrous.

After Napoleon's final defeat and exile, trade became the trump card for the rapidly industrializing British economy. The "nation of shopkeepers" won prestige for her contribution to Napoleon's defeat and in playing the role of the disinterested mediator of European rivalries at the Congress of Vienna. Britain also added to her overseas possessions Malta, the Ionian Islands, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, the Cape Colony, and Mauritius. Moreover, Nelson had eliminated French naval rivalry. This fact alone favored the further expansion of British global commerce, insofar as it "greatly reduced the need for direct British political influence abroad and made the pursuit of new markets compatible with the drive for cheap government."¹⁶ The establishment of a new continental balance of power at Vienna and the "Congress system" it inaugurated established a period of comparative peace among the Great Powers that did not begin to unravel until the 1870s. The Pax Britannica was thus a form of restoration, less a European peace made possible by British preponderance than a truce upheld by naval power to the advantage British interests beyond Europe.¹⁷

A footnote to the period is the Anglo-American War of 1812. In 1815, the very survival of the American republic remained anything but a certainty. Yet in January of that year the commander of the American garrison at New Orleans, General Andrew Jackson, managed to humiliate the most powerful maritime nation on earth in a battle that cost him only 13 men against 2,000 British. The Battle of New Orleans was altogether unnecessary. The Treaty of Ghent ending the War of 1812 had been signed on Christmas Eve of 1814 and the engagement underway before the news had crossed the Atlantic. Still, it established a personal reputation that later took Jackson to the presidency of the United States and confirmed a national reputation for military precociousness.¹⁸ A sense of American potential, certainly, had informed Talleyrand's advice to Napoleon to sell Louisiana to the United States in 1803 at a bargain price. Talleyrand observed that, whatever the memories of their struggle for political independence, Americans remained more English than not.

In the event of renewed conflict with Britain, he counseled, prudence required that France do what it could to keep the United States out of the enemy camp.¹⁹

Pax Britannica

In Britain the label *imperialist* had hitherto applied to Napoleonic dominion in Europe. The term *bonapartiste* now gradually replaced it, because it was more precise in capturing the spirit of the French Second Empire's political regime but also because British political and commercial leadership had an interest in investing imperialism with a more wholesome aura. And for good reason. Captive colonial markets made Britain the master of world trade. Although this position fostered a self-righteous and smug national chauvinism, Britain's gradual conversion from mercantilism to free trade meant that the claim that the British Empire was the benefactor of all humankind was not wholly without foundation.²⁰ London became an exporter of capital and credit, not least of all to the recovering economies of Europe. Among these, Prussia merits special attention. In Germany, Napoleonic domination had eliminated the Holy Roman Empire, erasing 120 sovereign entities dating to the Peace of Westphalia. It had established the puppet-state Confederation of the Rhine, and "served to clear the German stream-bed of economic obstacles just as it did territorially, juridically, and politically."²¹ The British loan to Prussia in 1818 represented on the one hand an attempt to export British financial practices along with British capital. On the other, it was integral to the project of beginning the modernization of the Prussian state that ultimately took the lead in welding Germany into a Great Power.

The memory of Napoleon was in part the catalyst for this. Indeed, one history of Germany from 1800 to 1866 submits that "in the beginning there was Napoleon"; it was in the shadow of French occupation that Johann Gottlieb Fichte became the ideological father of modern German nationalism, by virtue of Fourteen Speeches to the German Nation in which he claimed the Germans were an "authentic people" (*Urvolk*) with a mission to carry forward the cultural inheritance of Europe.²² Carl von Clausewitz, a contemporary of Fichte and a Prussian veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, meanwhile approached the science of war with a studied urgency. This became a general trend. National military academies across Europe placed a new emphasis on the education of a new generation of staff officers and sought to integrate the apparent lessons of recent campaigns into their curricula. The available literature of the military sciences, from Clausewitz's *Vom Kriege* in 1832 to Hamley's *Operations of War* in 1866, increased exponentially.²³ But German officers became far and away the most avid students of the new arts and sciences of military conflict, which was to have profound consequences.

The British outlook between 1815 and 1859 was a mirror image of Prussia's, fundamentally optimistic, and based on a strategic triangle of trade, colonies, and the Royal Navy. The national circumstances of this period, in fact, favored the policy dominance of the first side of the triangle—trade—over the possession of new colonies in large part by virtue of British command of blue waters. The mercantilist tradition gave way to the ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, and later Richard Cobden and John Bright. A free trade policy was the logical product of naval dominance. No country depended more on the expansion of world trade than did Britain with its lead in industrial innovation, need of raw materials, and large merchant marine. British propagation of free trading principles met with skepticism in

continental capitals, but it also elicited the enthusiasm of merchants and firms to an extent that the rapid growth of world commerce during the free trade era, roughly 1846 to 1880, merits description as a formative phase in the history of “globalization.”²⁴

Because this trend benefited Britain above all, British interest in a larger colonial empire and formal control of more overseas territories declined in proportion. Provided that markets and raw materials were open to all, new colonies made little sense, since the costs of their administration and defense were, to use Disraeli’s words, “simply ‘millstones’ around the neck of the British taxpayer.”²⁵ With the accelerating pace of industrialization and the production of goods in excess of anything the domestic market and formal empire could consume, British merchants pushed to open up non-Empire markets in Asia, Brazil, Argentina, the west coast of Africa, Australia, and the coasts of Central and South America. Beyond the overseas colonies that came to Britain at the Congress of Vienna, new territorial acquisitions during this period had specific roles as island entrepôts for commerce and/or strategically located and defensible harbors useful as naval stations. These included in 1819 Singapore at the entrance to the South China Sea; in 1833, the Falkland Islands overlooking access to Cape Horn from the Atlantic; in 1839, Aden at the southern gate of the Red Sea; and in 1841, the port of Hong Kong—along with Lagos, Fiji, Cyprus, Alexandria, Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Wei-hai-wei. While Royal Navy supremacy and receipts from expanding commerce made the acquisition of these strategic points easy and affordable, their possession reinforced British supremacy and economic growth.²⁶

The period between 1815 and 1870 is widely regarded as a period of stagnation in imperial competition among the European powers. This generalization is valid when applied to overseas colonization. Yet it is also misleading. The two powers at the frontiers of the Napoleonic Europe yet critical to Bonaparte’s ultimate overthrow, Great Britain and tsarist Russia, were in the 1830s deeply involved in a contest of influence over Central Asia, along a frontier of their respective empires stretching from Persia through Afghanistan to Tibet, first referred to by a young British officer, Captain Arthur Connolly, as the “Great Game.” The Russo-Persian War of 1828–1829 and the First Afghan War of 1839–1842 were small but significant conflicts testing the territorial limits of British and Russian power. France’s colonial adventure in Algeria, meanwhile, began with outright invasion in 1830–1832 partly as the result of the need of a weak monarch, Charles X, to shore up domestic support with a foreign triumph. It is equally true, however, that the French incursion was a response to Ottoman decline. Although the Ottoman Porte still laid claim to northern Africa in 1830, it had been for two decades unable to govern it, and Algeria was an increasingly anarchic place. *The Régiment Étranger*, better known as the French Foreign Legion, saw its first action in Algeria, and the invasion of 1830 was to have an impact on French colonialism and domestic politics beyond World War II.

The Crimean War of 1853–1856 was exhaustively imperial in nature, from the causes of its outbreak to the strategic logic behind the alignment of forces and the prosecution of the conflict itself. Russia provoked the war with its claim to protection of Ottoman Christian minorities in the Holy Land and its demand that Turkey surrender the key to historic Orthodox Christian churches there. But what Tsar Nicholas I sought with this *casus belli* was to exploit the weakening of the Ottoman Empire by carving up its outer provinces in Eastern Europe and securing access to

the Mediterranean—precisely what Britain was determined to thwart, even at the cost of propping up Constantinople and allying itself with France. The war itself featured a Janus-like combination of tactics that dated to Napoleon, with changes that presaged the trenches and high-velocity weapons of World War I. It took place appropriately almost halfway between Waterloo in 1815 and Flanders in 1914.²⁷

The American Civil War, though not an imperial conflict, followed only five years later and wrought significant changes both to the conduct of warfare and, over the longer term, to the landscape of international affairs. The United States was already an economic giant before the issue of Confederate secession became a shooting affair. Thereafter, the war quickly attained a scale and ferocity that temporarily transformed the latent national power of the United States into the greatest military nation on earth. It mobilized large conscript armies and introduced new technologies ranging from telegraph communications to rotating turrets, torpedoes, mines, and steam-powered commerce raiders. The Union revolutionized the movement of troops and supplies with the use of the railroad. In 1861, the United States already had more miles of it than the rest of the world combined. By the time the Union Army had prevailed, it had also invented the “American way of war” and anticipated the total wars of the twentieth century by mobilizing massive industrial and technological power to utterly crush the Confederacy.²⁸ But, above all, the American republic had survived. The mobilization of its resources and the centralization of its government had made the United States a Great Power in-waiting. Almost from the moment American independence had been secured, no less a figure of the founding generation than Alexander Hamilton had established a perspective on the future of foreign relations, the central concern of which was how to integrate the infant American economy “into the British world system on the best possible terms.”²⁹ Before and after the Civil War those terms were very advantageous. Not only did the American economy benefit from British investment, but the Pax Britannica and British financial system conditioned the international system in which that economy matured. The end of the Civil War marked “the beginning of a period when the United States moved steadily toward equality.”³⁰

Another emergent great power of the time, Germany, was a more problematic fit with British international supremacy. The Wars of German Unification, with Austria in 1866 and France in 1870–1871, brought forth under Prussian leadership a new and vigorous power at the center of Europe, the German Empire proclaimed by Kaiser Wilhelm I. In the Franco-Prussian War, German forces used to decisive advantage many of the technologies that had facilitated Union victory in America, above all railroads, and exhibited a similar tendency toward absolute war as the conflict progressed. Indeed, the former Union General, William Sheridan, observed the war from the German headquarters and advised its command that their conduct of the war was possibly not as absolute as it could be. The Union Army had found it necessary, he noted, to inflict suffering on the civilian population of the South to force surrender from the Confederacy.³¹ The war was over, in any event, after a scant 180 days of fighting, exhibiting the speed and lethal efficiency of the German forces. In Paris the Second Empire collapsed and the Third Republic was declared.

Although these events were not of themselves enough to give the British government sleepless nights, they had disturbing aspects. The war had been provoked by cynical diplomacy and was a masterpiece of predatory cost-effectiveness. “Probably the most profitable war of the entire nineteenth century,” the Treaty of Frankfurt

that ended it imposed the immense fine of 5 billion francs on France or “four times the previous year’s Prussian defense budget” and handed the province of Alsace-Lorraine to the new German Empire.³² The officer class of the new German Reich had learned the lessons of Napoleon and Clausewitz perhaps too well, overthrowing the continental balance of power with two impeccably executed limited wars, gaining cheaply bought victories, and “creating unrealizable expectations of future equivalent successes.”³³ Britain could live with a new continental power, but how long would its aspirations remain confined to the continent? Not surprisingly, the victory of 1871 also accelerated the militarization of Prussian and German society that Theodore Fontane attacked in his novels. *Vor dem Sturm* is set in the winter of 1812–1813 but was published in 1878. It rails not against Napoleonic conquest but rather against its imprint on Prussia in the form of an arrogant nationalism apparently vindicated by the recent victory over France and rapidly eclipsing traditional Prussian virtues.³⁴

The Scramble

The comparatively quiet period of overseas colonial activity ended abruptly in the 1870s. A classic study of modern Great Power competition within and beyond Europe, in fact, dates the Age of Empire to 1875.³⁵ After that year there was an increasing awareness of developments that today are often assumed to be phenomena of an only recently inaugurated process of globalization. This featured a new appreciation of the world’s dimensions, and therefore its limitations, as the last great exploratory expeditions turned to the Arctic and Antarctic while more hospitable environments were either extensively mapped or rapidly becoming so. A rapid increase in the global population and technological innovations such as railways and telegraphic communications simultaneously made human society demographically larger as it became geographically smaller.³⁶ A new commercially viable cross-fertilization of cultures was thus made possible. In 1875, Arthur Lazenby Liberty opened a shop at 218A Regent Street in London, which became the home of Art Nouveau in England. Liberty imported silks from the East and later porcelain, ceramics, fans, screens, wallpapers, swords, mats, lacquer ware, lanterns, bronzes, and wall masks from Japan. After Japan banned the wearing of swords in 1876, many Japanese metalworkers diversified into cutlery and kitchenware featuring motifs altogether novel and extraordinarily appealing to English customers.³⁷

As appealing as commerce with Japan was, it was commerce with an emerging power the very existence of which signaled the beginning of a period of intensifying imperial competition. The sense of both opportunity and limitation among the European powers in particular prompted a competition that came to focus on the continent of Africa, because it was large, comparatively close, and, above all, defenseless. Whereas in 1875 90 percent of Africa was “dark” only to most Europeans and otherwise under the control of indigenous rulers, by 1912 only small pockets remained free of European military occupation. In 1798, Napoleon’s army in Egypt had defeated the Mamlukes with discipline and ruthlessness; after 1875 the industrialized European powers confronted the indigenous peoples of Africa with such superior weaponry that whatever discipline and courage the Ashanti and Zulu brought to the battle was usually irrelevant to the outcome. For Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands, much of the nineteenth century was a continuous effort in expansion—in the latter case actually territorial contraction set against consolidation of its hold on the

Netherlands-Indies. For Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy the 1880s inaugurated an era of frantic colonial acquisition. By 1914, the total land area of all European colonies had doubled. Although Asian possessions were usually the most valuable, European expansion was far and away at its most spectacular in Africa.³⁸

The radical change of the continental balance of power wrought by the Franco-Prussian War contributed to the sudden interest in Africa. France had been the leading power in Europe since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, but the unification of the German states and the rout of French forces at Sedan put a new nation with an industrial economy, a strong state, and powerful army at the center of Europe.³⁹ In 1815, France had been returned those parts of its old colonial empire that were of no strategic interest to Britain.⁴⁰ After 1871, French foreign policy was therefore troubled most of all by the German question, but French politics was preoccupied with domestic affairs of a highly particularist nature. Even among politicians for whom elementary national honor alone demanded revenge for the amputation of Alsace-Lorraine, there was little agreement about how and when it should be achieved. To others overseas expansion seemed to offer a form of compensation. No single decision or decisive debate decided the French Third Republic for this option, but in acquiring a gigantic colonial empire over the next four decades, France clearly picked prestige over power. Admittedly, this formula is a little too tidy when applied to *revanchists* and imperialists who, like Léon Gambetta, wondered whether France might not be able to recover Alsace-Lorraine from Germany in exchange for colonies. It is nonetheless a valid generalization that the imperialists of the Third Republic attached vast importance to *gloire* and the most visible trappings of France's standing among nations. Gambetta, who was simultaneously one of the Third Republic's most gifted politicians and among its most eccentric personalities, was also typical of his generation of imperialists. He was a great champion of republicanism against royalism, yet in equal part a nationalist who came to view colonialism as a passport to greatness. His instincts on Africa became competitive to the point of recklessness. In the 1880s, his insistence that France should have absolute equality with the British in Egypt precipitated a small crisis with Gladstone's government in London.⁴¹

The French were not alone in the conviction that prestige in Europe depended on new colonies overseas. In France colonial projects at least enjoyed a measure of parliamentary support. In Belgium they had nothing of the kind, so King Leopold bankrolled Henry Stanley's exploration of the Congo River Basin and its exploitation in the name of Belgium as a personal crusade. That a territory so enormous should be acquired, officially or not, by a country as small as Belgium and until only recently a province of the Netherlands was indeed a spectacular coup. Leopold's adventure has been cited by more than one treatment as the single most important causal episode in the Scramble for Africa. Whatever the verdict as to cause, the Belgian Congo certainly merits major attention in terms of consequences. Leopold sought prestige, but he also sought wealth. The commercial interests he invited to the Congo fell upon it with rapacious glee. The Belgian colonial regime there ultimately acquired the most infamous reputation in all of European colonialism. In the meantime, France's "new empire" in Africa had its Stanley in the person of Pierre de Brazza. Brazza was a patriot aware of, and in large part motivated by, the race with Belgium in the Congo. His ideas for planting the French flag in the Congo got a sympathetic hearing from Gambetta and the most important figure in French

colonialism after 1880, Jules Ferry. More than any other single factor, it was due to Brazza's zeal that France secured a foothold in the Congo basin.⁴²

There was a certain appropriateness to the fact that Senegal on the west coast of Africa became a key base in the effort to penetrate the African interior and ultimately to link it with Algeria and the Congo to establish French dominion over African territory from the Atlantic to the Nile. Senegal belonged to the Old French Empire predating the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, much of which had been stripped away by Britain and returned only in part after 1815. If France were to recover lost ground and compete again in the first rank of powers against a dominant Britain and an assertive Germany, the Atlantic port of Dakar was an open door to limitless possibilities. For the political and commercial leadership of the Third Republic, moreover, there was just possibly an opportunity this time to buttress parliamentary government at home with expansion abroad:

In reaction against the free trade policies of the Second Empire, the traditional mercantilism of the French people was given free play. France, a late starter in the industrialization of her economic life, was reasonably apprehensive as to her chances of competing on world markets, and to win for nascent French industry a closed market was a natural ambition. Even so hard-headed a statesman as Jules Ferry saw through very rosy spectacles when the economic possibilities of the new empire were in question. Thanks to an empire in which French goods would have preferential right of entry, the industries of the nation and the welfare of the working classes would both be benefited, or so it was believed.⁴³

Because France of the 1880s was a comparatively democratic place, political circumspection was important. Where overseas ventures were concerned, seasoned politicians such as Ferry, who was "careful not to come into the open; careful to represent each step in his scheme as the last," were nonetheless hardly unique to France.⁴⁴ Among the first British venture capitalists to become aware that in Africa a scramble was on, George Goldie convinced rival British companies in Niger to form the United Africa Company to strengthen his hand in bargaining with Africans but also to meet French competition on the Upper Niger. He then forced the smaller French firms to sell out to him, often by trading at a loss, which ultimately led to French and German recognition of British control of the region at the Berlin Conference of 1884 at which Goldie was an unofficial advisor to the British delegation. Among the attentive critics of British overseas commitments there was a growing recognition that, once the stakes were high enough in terms of access to markets and materials, the adventures of men like Goldie forced resources, decisions, and diplomacy from the highest political level.⁴⁵ Consequently, the fiscal burden and political morality of Britain's imperial vocation accounted for a good deal of the partisan division between Disraeli's Conservative Party and Gladstone's Liberals in the 1870s and 1880s, although the imperial enthusiasms of Liberals such as John Dilke and Joseph Chamberlain testified to the limits of partisanship subjected the special rigors of foreign affairs. After all, politicians unexcited by the prospect of governing distant peoples could nevertheless appreciate the importance of overseas resources to a mature industrial society and increasingly democratic political system.

Regardless of their parliamentary majority's composition, successive governments were under pressure to demonstrate the British presence in Africa simply because other powers were busily asserting theirs. Compared to Egypt or South

Africa, the material value to Britain of tropical Africa was trivial. The fact of foreign competition alone, however, recalibrated that value significantly. Hence Britain, the past-master of balance-of-power diplomacy in Europe, instinctively backed the historical claims of Portugal, an old ally of the Napoleonic Wars, to the Congo Delta to counter France's ability to block access to the African interior. While the British commitment to free trade principles championed earlier in the century remained officially intact, moreover, the worry that other great powers might have fewer scruples about protectionism was ever-present. As commercial expansion was slowed by falling export prices and lower rates of growth after 1875, the simultaneous French thrust from Senegal into the African interior—along with later German claims to Cameroon and Togo—"aroused both cupidity and anxiety," among both British representatives in West Africa and the metropolitan center of demand back in London.⁴⁶

German claims became especially worrisome. Germany's victory in the Franco-Prussian War was a change with which Britain could live, as Germany's dominant position on the continent posed no direct problem to Britain's preeminent world status. Also, as the architect of the new German Empire, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck enjoyed unrivalled moral authority among his countrymen and almost unlimited political power over them. Bismarck regarded colonialism as a business for other nations that would hopefully divert enough of their attention and energies away from his plans for Europe where Germany's position was—industrial and military strength notwithstanding—inherently vulnerable. This attitude Bismarck famously summed up to a colonial enthusiast by observing that "your map of Africa is very fine, but my map of Africa is here in Europe. Here is Russia and here is France and here we are in the middle."⁴⁷ Yet Bismarck's sobriety was increasingly out of step with the heady nationalist romanticism of his countrymen in the last quarter of the century—a country in which Richard Wagner's *Ring* cycle of operas was given its first full performance in 1876 and Richard Strauss's tone poem, *Ein Heldenleben* continued the tradition of heroic self-dramatization in 1897.

Bismarck's change of heart on the colonial issue has attracted attention and disagreement among historians, but a common theme of many explanations is his opportunistic pragmatism in dealing with contending pressures in domestic politics and foreign affairs. By the 1880s, some of Bismarck's conservative supporters held that the acquisition of overseas colonies was fast becoming an economic necessity; others observed that the vision of a colonial empire aroused sufficient popular enthusiasm to be of electoral advantage. Although the Reichstag presented none of the checks to executive authority presented by the British or French parliaments, elections were for Bismarck a measure of national sentiment powerful enough to chasten the critics of his policy. In spite of tariff legislation passed in 1879, Bismarck was advised that a return to protectionism alone was unlikely to revitalize a German industry hungry for new markets unless and until commercial policy were given an entirely new direction. The fortunes of the Social Democratic Party continued to wax in the face of laws prohibiting most of its activities, so that a failure to conjure a convincing answer to the domestic misery caused by overproduction might well realize the worst of Bismarck's fears: domestic instability. Lobbies such as the *Kolonialverein* and the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation* defended their imperial enthusiasms, often incoherently, in the language of hard-headed economic calculation one week and in terms of international prestige the next. Academics Gustav

Schmoller and Heinrich von Treitschke warned darkly that colonial policy was of existential importance. Bismarck did not have to take any of their arguments wholly seriously to know that their aggregate nuisance potential had to be addressed. His political instincts told him that, with the appropriate posture, grievances could be mollified and neuroses indulged at home even as powers were balanced abroad. For the moment, he concluded, Germany's posture should be dramatic and vaguely anti-British, cultivating a patriotic press while rewarding France for its part in the Scramble and its waning interest in recovering Alsace-Lorraine.⁴⁸ As a consequence, Bismarck declared the official protection of the Reich over Lüderitzland, the founding of German South-West Africa, in April 1884, promptly followed by Togo, and, in February 1885, German East Africa. The first of these gave the British in Cape Colony a new and unwanted German neighbor; the latter placed a Germany colony smack in the path of the Cairo-to-Cape railway envisioned by Cecil Rhodes in the 1890s to connect Egypt and the Mediterranean with Cape.

In the meantime, Bismarck parlayed Germany's colonial coming-out into gains for nationalist parties in the 1884 Reichstag elections and significant diplomatic concessions at the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885. It was at the Berlin Conference that the Scramble began to approximate a partition. After comparing lofty sentiments, the delegates of 13 European countries, with the United States in an observer role, settled in for three-and-a-half months of bargaining that drew or confirmed borders in Africa, including the Belgian Congo. They also declared the Congo and Niger Rivers open to free trade and divided Lower Guinea between France and Germany. They gave Gabon to France and Congo to Belgium and confirmed German claims to Tanganyika and South West Africa along with Britain's claim to Egypt. Bismarck steered clear of challenging British vital interests in the Lower Niger and in return secured free trade access to the Congo Basin. The most important agreement obliged all the signatories to make formal notification, after establishing effective territorial control, of any new protectorates or colonies. Its effect was to force Britain to establish direct control over territories that it had hitherto governed at arm's length.⁴⁹ The conference issued a resolution calling for the end of slavery and the slave trade in Africa, but it was oblivious to both the hard interests and the gathering fears of Africans themselves.

Thus Bismarck's brief career in colonial policy, in which the colonies themselves often had a tertiary role, gave German imperialism an improvised character. After Bismarck's dismissal by Wilhelm II in 1890, German imperialism lost his characteristic caution and became progressively more erratic. British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, who could never be counted among Bismarck's admirers, called his demise "an enormous calamity," rightly guessing that Wilhelm would steer an adventurous course.⁵⁰ Although Anglo-German relations in the late 1880s were not without friction, over rights in Samoa and East Africa in particular, the 1890s represented a new stage in Anglo-German antagonism. Prodded by nationalist liberals such as Otto Michaelis in the Reichstag and academics such as Max Weber, Wilhelm embraced *Weltpolitik*, the project of developing Germany from a continental to a world power.⁵¹ Although Wilhelm usually devoted strident rhetoric to taking public umbrage at British imperiousness, few in Britain doubted that Germany could eventually back him up with substance. Too often Wilhelm caused gratuitous offence without gaining anything for Germany. In Africa specifically he had a case against the terms of the Anglo-Congolese Treaty of 1894, but in the instance of the Kruger Telegram

he congratulated the Boers of South Africa for defeating the Jameson Raid, which never had London's authority behind it, and mischievously implied that the Boers could count on German support in a future conflict with the British Empire. In 1894, the publication of a classic of British popular imperialism conveyed a sense of darkened horizons and coming struggle:

Young Rudyard Kipling, the son of an artist who was the curator of an Indian museum, had begun his literary career by imitating the French novel, and had dreamed of becoming an English—or Anglo-Colonial—Maupassant. But soon, as he celebrated the melancholy of the British Tommy on garrison in Asia and hymned the greatness of an empire washed by 'seven seas,' he became by universal consent the unofficial poet laureate of British imperialism. And now he wrote—for children, was it, or for adults?—his *Jungle Book*. He set his hero, the little Mowgli, in the world of beasts, and the beasts taught Mowgli the law of the jungle, which maintains the balance of species at the cost of a never-ending struggle, a truce-less war. Must this struggle, this war, be condemned as evil? Not when it is the law of the world. The spirit of conquest and aggrandizement must not be confused with the spirit of hatred, greed, and delight in doing mischief for its own sake; it is the courage to hazard all risks which gives victory to the better man. A species of Darwinian philosophy expressed in a mythical form was the foundation of a moral code, chaste, brutal, heroic, and childlike.⁵²

In the 1890s, this world of beasts was increasingly inhabited by steel monsters, battleships, as the "new navalism" prompted a number of powers—after Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States—to add to their fleets. Britain's capacity to contain rival sea power inside Europe, unchallenged for most of the century, was being compromised as European and non-European powers were now constructing battle fleets.⁵³ In the 1880s, Japan had no battleships. Yet in 1894–1895, its growing navy was critical to victory in the Sino-Japanese War, after which the Treaty of Shimonoseki gave Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan. In 1898, naval power aided the United States to triumph in the Spanish-American War. The peace settlement secured Cuban independence, ended the Spanish Empire in the Americas, and signaled the coming out of the United States as a colonial power by making Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and Hawaii American possessions. The same year, back in Africa, British and French expeditions met at Fashoda to register conflicting claims to the Upper Nile. This started several months of diplomatic crisis at the end of which the superiority of the Royal Navy and London's apparent willingness to go to war forced Paris to back down.⁵⁴

That willingness, influenced as much by Britain's resolve to demonstrate determination as by its Cape Colonists' greed, ended the Scramble with a bang in the Second Boer War of 1899–1902. For the handful of British leaders who actually sought a fight with the Boers of the Transvaal—above all Alfred Milner, governor of the Cape Colony, backed somewhat reluctantly by Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain—the war was every bit as predatory as the Bismarck's war with France 30 years earlier. But it was clearly not as economical. Where that contest involved two major European powers, the South African war pitted a large expeditionary force from the world's preeminent power against a rag-tag army of Afrikaner farmers in which the latter initially subjected an ill-prepared British army to a series of humiliating defeats. Once a reinforced army under new command had turned the tide

and captured Pretoria, the capital of Transvaal, on June 5, 1900, the war appeared to be all but over. Instead, the Boers resorted to guerrilla tactics so effective as to render South Africa ungovernable. The British counterstrategy attacked the very means of the Boers sustenance by destroying their farms and livestock and herding Boer women and children, along with their black African laborers, into internment facilities, referred to for the first time in English as concentration camps. In 1900, Salisbury's government had won reelection in the "khaki lection" partly on the back of jingoist enthusiasm for recent victories in South Africa, but by the time of the Boer surrender in May 1902, the opposition attacked the government's prosecution of the war as barbaric, while the government itself felt mounting humiliation at its apparent inability to extract a Boer surrender.⁵⁵

Armageddon

Even the great continent of Africa had become a crowded place. By the end of the century, any crisis over African soil or access to it immediately ratcheted up tension within Europe itself. In both Britain and Germany there were advocates of an alliance of the "Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic powers" in this newly dangerous neighborhood. They competed unsuccessfully with the objective facts of conflicting strategic interests between London and Berlin, in particular German naval and imperial ambitions, which, combined with Wilhelm's callow conduct of foreign affairs, ultimately drove Britain into the arms of France.⁵⁶ The emergence of Japan and the United States as naval powers posed a challenge to Britain's position in the Western Hemisphere and the Far East. Yet any attempt to meet the challenge by reinforcing Royal Navy squadrons in these theaters was offset by the potential threat to home waters of German naval construction, begun with the Navy Bill of 1898 and bolstered by a supplementary bill in 1900, on the blueprint of the Tirpitz Plan. For decades Britain's sea power had been the fulcrum of the European balance, but, after 1900, British leadership concentrated less on the balance of power than on the maintenance of peace. No nation had less to gain from war.⁵⁷

Named for Admiral Alfred Tirpitz, head of the Reich Navy Office, Germany's plan was to expand the Imperial German navy to 60 battleships in 20 years, a fleet powerful enough to confront the Royal Navy in a decisive engagement in the North Sea. Beyond the stretching of fiscal resources required to answer all of these developments simultaneously, the prospect of German *Weltpolitik* in the form of such a navy in European waters was alone a problem of sufficient strategic magnitude to move Britain to seek a new understanding with France and possibly Russia as well.⁵⁸ Additionally it precipitated redeployment and radical reform. Under the direction of First Sea Lord Sir John Fisher, warships from overseas squadrons were moved to the North Sea over the protests of the foreign and colonial offices, while a massive overhaul of the fleet—described, in his Fischer's words, as "Napoleonic in its audacity and Cromwellian in its thoroughness"—confronted Germany with a naval arms race on wholly new terms.⁵⁹ The core of the overhaul was in effect to scrap much of the existing Royal Navy and build a new fleet of warships based on the new all-big-gun *Dreadnought*. Because this meant replacing scores of cruisers, sloops, and gunboats that had hitherto shown the Union Jack to African chiefs, pirates, and slavers with large armored ships for a future war against a first-class navy, Fischer's reforms implicitly assumed European waters to be the primary theater of Britain's next conflict.

In April 1904, Paris and London agreed to the *Entente Cordiale*. It settled fishing and colonial disputes and assigned Egypt to Britain's sphere of influence and Morocco to France. The tilt of the naval reforms then became explicit after the Morocco Crisis of 1905, in which Kaiser Wilhelm declared support for Moroccan independence and Britain backed France at the Algeiras Conference the following year, when the Admiralty began to draw up plans for war against Germany.⁶⁰ Republican France had already constructed an alliance with tsarist Russia between 1891 and 1894, based on a mutual apprehension of Germany now strong enough to eclipse all ideological differences between them. At precisely the diplomatic moment of Anglo-French rapprochement, however, Russia was traumatized by defeat in the Russo-Japanese War at sea and in Manchuria, followed by the revolution of 1905 at home. The effect of these simultaneous blows was to make St. Petersburg anxious about the exposure of its vulnerability and London doubly nervous over the continental balance of power.

These neuroses converged in the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907. The agreement addressed disputes dating to the Great Game by establishing mutual spheres of influence in Central Asia, a British protectorate over Afghanistan and official, if not actual, Chinese control in Tibet. Unsettled questions were papered over, because, as in the case of the *Entente Cordiale*, the overriding priority was a truce on colonial rivalries in anticipation of crisis in Europe. The fact that Britain had, in 1902, already secured a treaty of mutual assistance with Japan to recall the Royal Navy to home waters—a treaty that opened the way for Russo-Japanese War—and yet could obtain an understanding with Russia only five years later testifies to the strength of that priority. The completion of this “Triple Entente” was little short of disaster for Germany. Wilhelm's *Weltpolitik*, on paper no more ambitious than the foreign policy of any other Great Power, had nonetheless “triggered the creation of a power bloc which not only seemed to prevent the flexing of Germany's own industrial and commercial muscle but also to encircle Germany by land to the east and west and by sea to the north.”⁶¹ To be sure, Germany was in 1907 encircled by “understandings” rather than alliances, but the structure of the Armageddon of 1914 was already in place.⁶²

This turn of events left Germany with the consolation of the secret Triple Alliance, signed by Bismarck with Austria-Hungary and Italy back in 1882 and renewed at five-year intervals. Because Italy had signed a secret nonaggression pact with France in 1902, the alliance was weaker than Germany supposed. It could even be called perilous, because by 1908, the multinational empire of the Habsburgs had become administratively backward, economically sluggish, and strategically vulnerable in the Balkans as a result of the territorial disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.⁶³ The Young Turk revolution of 1908, launched by a group of army officers calling themselves the Committee on Union and Progress, was intended to revive and modernize Ottoman rule but instead seemed to excite nationalism among the Porte's own subject peoples. Startled by the flux on its southeastern frontier, Austria-Hungary moved to forestall further change, above all the designs of Serbian nationalists, by turning its military occupation of the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina into outright annexation. The tsar's government interpreted this move as Austrian expansion, expansion that could ultimately endanger Russian warm water access to the Mediterranean through the straits, but ran up against loud and unconditional support for the Austria's claim from Berlin. Thus two great pow-

ers recently thwarted in other theaters of imperial competition—Russia in Central Asia by Britain and in Manchuria by Japan, Germany in Morocco by France and then by the Anglo-Russian Entente—had in response redirected their attention to the southeast of the European continent and now glared at each other over the Balkans. Because neither Britain nor France chimed in on Russia's behalf, Berlin thought it had exposed the weaknesses of the Triple Entente.⁶⁴ After 1900, however, every attempt by German economic power to expand beyond its traditional markets met with frustration. Even Ottoman territories, a target of German economic ambition symbolized above all by the idea of a Berlin-to-Baghdad Railway, were awash in British and French capital and credit.

Worse still was the state of affairs in the upper reaches of the German government. The German chancellor, Prince Bernhard von Bülow, was in charge of the day-to-day substance of diplomacy and played key roles in both the Moroccan and Bosnian crises. The high command of the army was increasingly fatalistic about the probability and scale of imminent war. Meanwhile Wilhelm, evermore out of touch even with Bülow, precipitated a furor at home and abroad with his interview for the London *Daily Telegraph* in which he opined that England might find herself grateful that Germany possessed a large fleet if they were to find themselves on the same side in the "great debates of the future."⁶⁵ That they would not be on the same side became even more apparent in the Second Morocco Crisis in 1911, in which Berlin demanded the French Congo as compensation for France's declaration of a protectorate over Morocco. The appearance of the German gunboat *Panther* in the port of Agadir was supposed to intimidate France and drive a wedge in the *Entente*. Instead it prompted from British Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, the famously bellicose Mansion House speech in which he expressed a British willingness to fight on France's side in the event of war.⁶⁶

In France the public mood turned dark and the argument that the time had come to avenge the humiliation of 1870 more popular. Internationally, the pace of events picked up, as Italy forced the North African territories of Libya and Tripolitania from Turkey and thereby emboldened the members of the newly formed Balkan League of Bulgaria and Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro to challenge the Ottoman hold on the more strategically sensitive terrain of Macedonia. The First and Second Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 thereupon established the local political conditions that led to World War I by fatally wounding Turkey's dominance in the region and, above all, rewarding Serbia's cockiness with additional territory in the Treaty of Bucharest. This moved the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Count von Leopold von Berchtold, to consider the multinational empire of the Habsburgs imminently threatened by Serbian irredentism and pan-Slavic nationalism.

In this conviction he was wholly correct. Both the Serbian government and the Black Hand nationalist organization that operated with a strong measure of its connivance rejected Austria's claim to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the very notion of Germanic dominion over the Slavic and Orthodox population in the province. Neither had any intention of conceding Bosnia without a fight. The assassination of the Habsburg heir, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo in June 1914 reflected the policy of a government in Belgrade, as well as the sentiment of the mad dogs of Serbian nationalism. The critical question centered on what nature of fight Serbia and Austria would hazard. In the latter case in particular it was possibly Austria's unwillingness to act promptly and unilaterally in punishing

Serbia that, more than any other single factor traceable to the behavior of the Great Powers, transformed a local crisis in a general European war.⁶⁷ There were nonetheless other factors critically responsible for the fact that an ultimatum delivered by Vienna to the Serbian government on July 23 led by August 4 to a war pitting Austria-Hungary and Germany against the entire Triple Entente of Britain, France, and Russia. Not least among them was the blank check of support issued by Berlin for Vienna's punitive policy in a corner of the Habsburg Empire that in Bismarck's famous appraisal of 1878 was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier—an abdication of judgment that over the next four years cost Germany 2.5 million souls.

In the last week of peace Wilhelm's new chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, in fact concentrated his efforts not on averting a general war but rather on using the threat thereof to deter Russia from backing Serbia. Failing that, the goal was to fight Russia before it was able to complete its crash program of rearmament. If a European war was genuinely inevitable, "the circumstances of July 1914 seemed as propitious for Germany as could reasonably be expected."⁶⁸ These circumstances would be optimum, of course, if Russia could be isolated from her Western allies, so to Bethmann's fatalism the foreign office official Gottlieb von Jagow added deception by assuring the British and French ambassadors that Berlin was working for direct talks between Vienna and St. Petersburg without in fact doing anything of the kind.⁶⁹ At that time the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, had proposed a four-power conference on the crisis. Having secured Germany's backing, however, the Austrian government now sought to press its advantage by declaring war on Serbia on July 28 to undercut any attempt at mediation.

In every national capital the rigid requirements of detailed war plans, prudently prepared for the worst-case scenario, overtook last-minute gestures at diplomacy and hastened the very advent of that scenario. Railroads, the same technology that had facilitated European penetration of the African interior, had radically altered the time-space parameters of the mass movement of troops and therefore the potential cost of a single day's delay in the call to arms. Russian partial mobilization against Austria was countered by Austrian and German general mobilization and led to French mobilization on August 2. Only Britain's intentions remained a mystery. In Berlin both Wilhelm and Bethmann nurtured the notion that Britain would remain neutral if France were not actually attacked. It is nonetheless doubtful that a general war would have averted, even if London had openly and energetically contradicted this hope, because both Russia and France would doubtless have been emboldened by a British declaration of belligerence.⁷⁰ Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality for operations in northern France, in any event, ended the speculation over the British position at midnight on August 4.

This outcome was never inevitable. In his magisterial treatment of World War I, John Keegan points out that it was at the time thought highly improbable. The accumulation of wealth and proliferation of trade produced during the nineteenth century's high season of European imperialism had created a measure of international cooperation and commercial integration hitherto common only in smaller, regional settings. The worldwide connections of private banks, discount houses, insurance, and commodities markets had by 1900 created interdependency among nations along with the rudimentary apparatus of international governance. South African gold and diamonds, Indian textiles, Canadian wheat, Malayan rubber, and

American manufactured goods found mass markets halfway around the world, and developing national and colonial economies soaked up European investment capital as fast as it could be lent.⁷¹

Many among the best-educated classes of Europe assumed that major wars had become impossible. The complacency with which they settled into their comfort left them unable to appreciate that their world was in fact a less peaceful place. Competition among the most dynamic national economies for overseas colonies had compromised the principle of free trade and returned wealth production to zero-sum terms. It is unlikely that this in itself would have produced the catastrophe of 1914 were it not for the simultaneous militarization of European society that the Napoleonic era had begun and the Industrial Revolution accelerated. By the time Great Power imperial rivalry returned to the European theater, the diplomatic terrain of the old continent had changed fundamentally. A European war had become, if not a certainty, an eminent probability. European peoples and their subject populations were drawn into conflict that quickly assumed global dimensions and ultimately claimed 15 million lives. The great irony was that in the end, it was not in an Asian or African “place in the sun” but rather in a not-very-coveted corner of the decaying Habsburg Empire that the match was put to the powder.

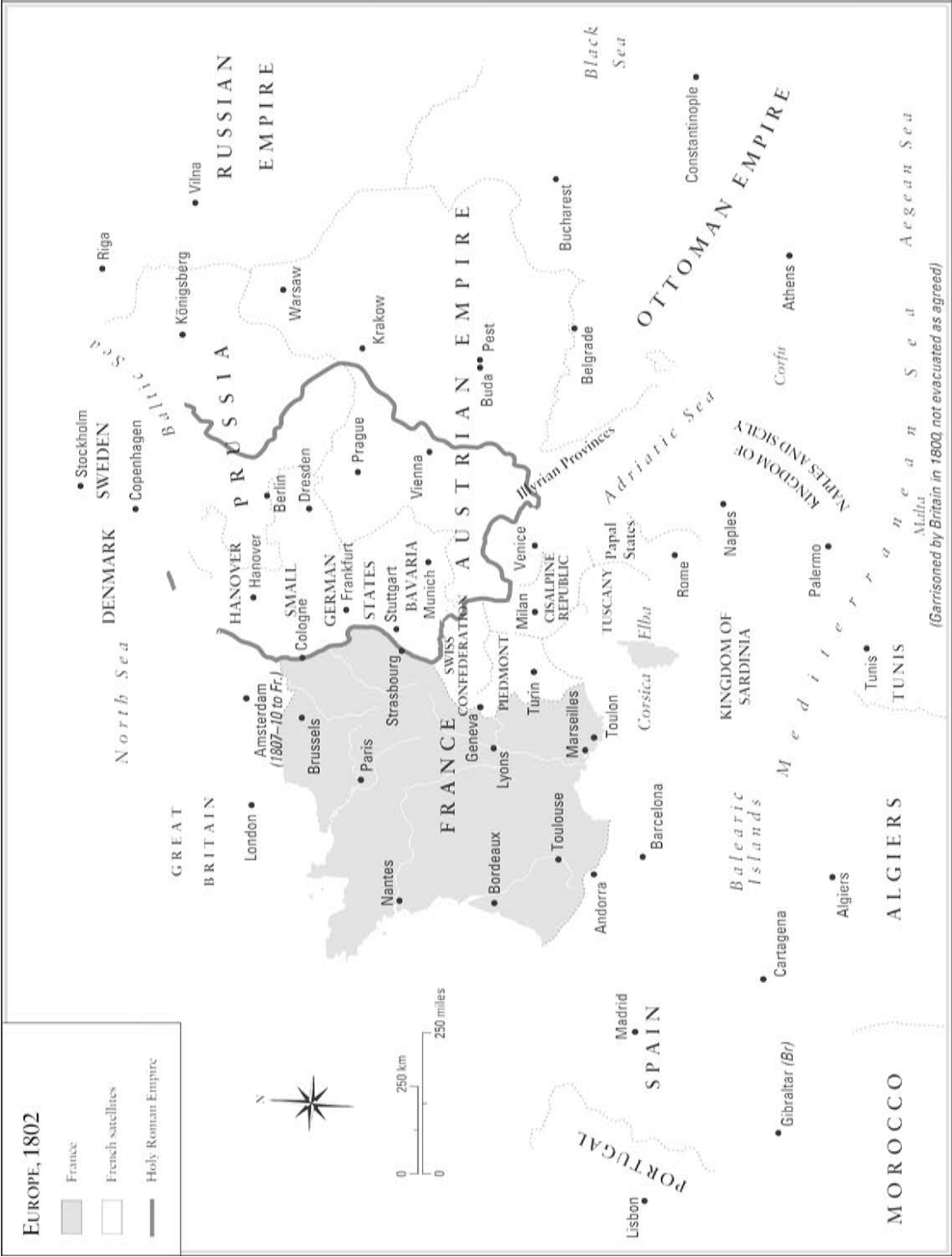
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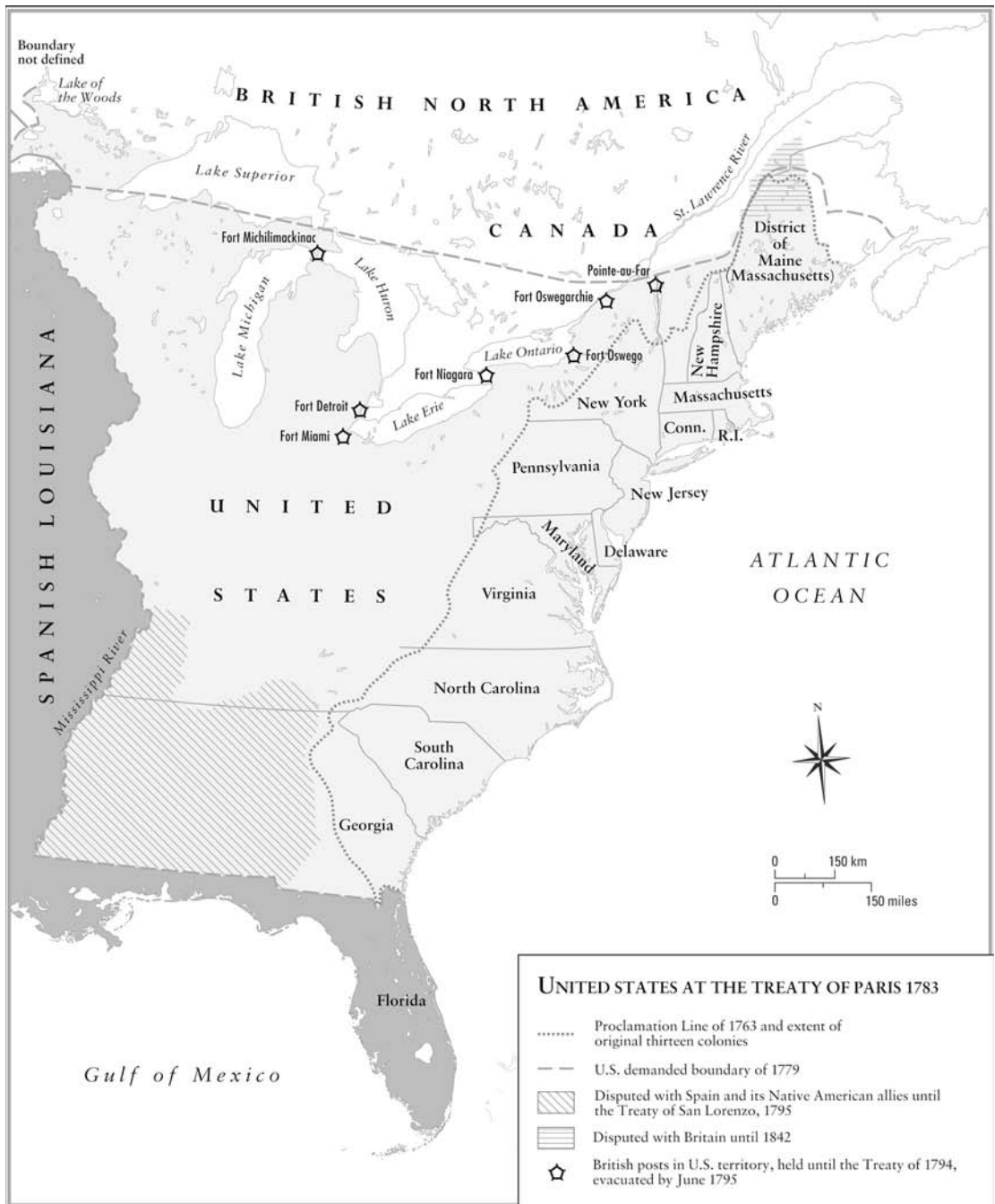
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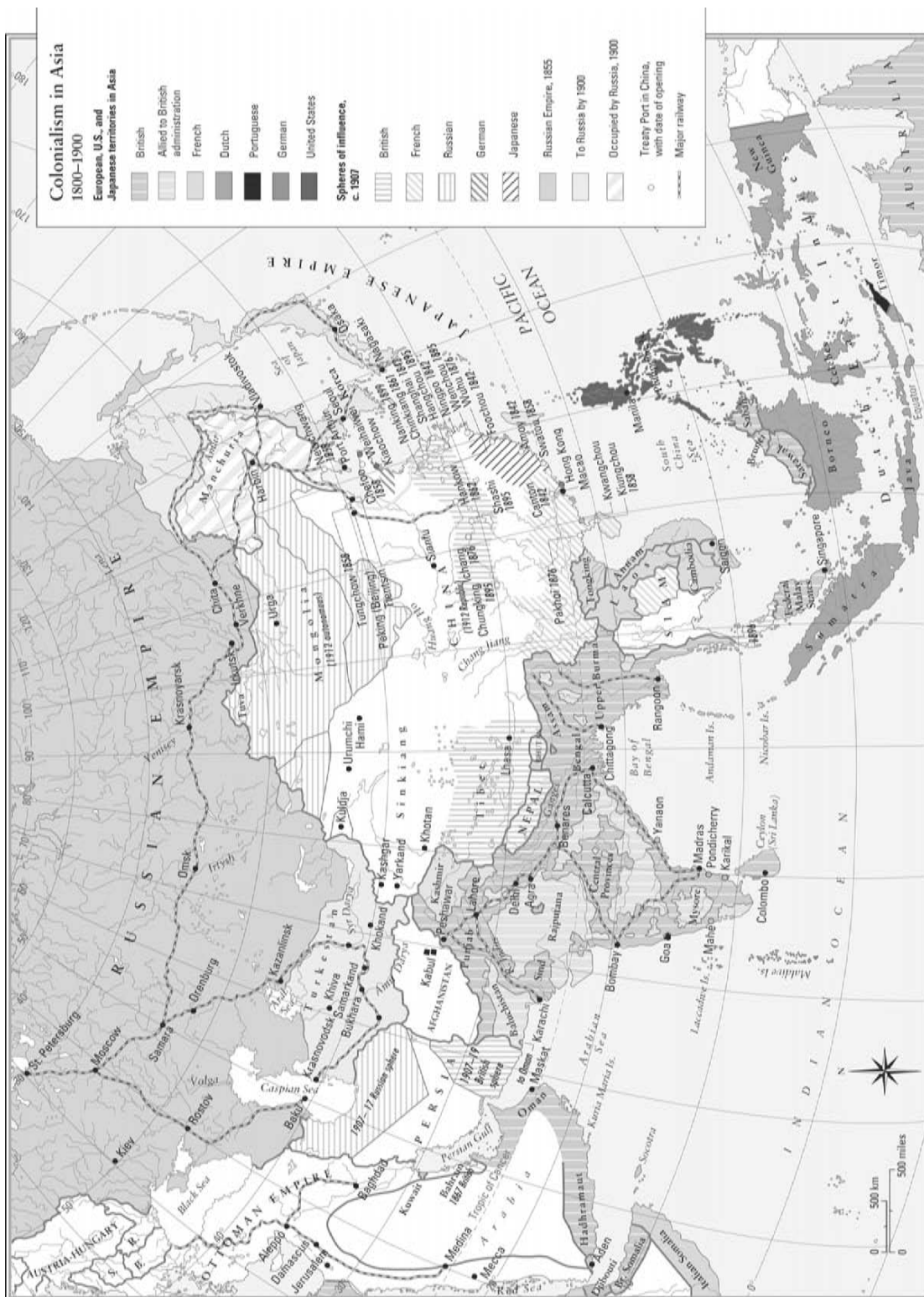
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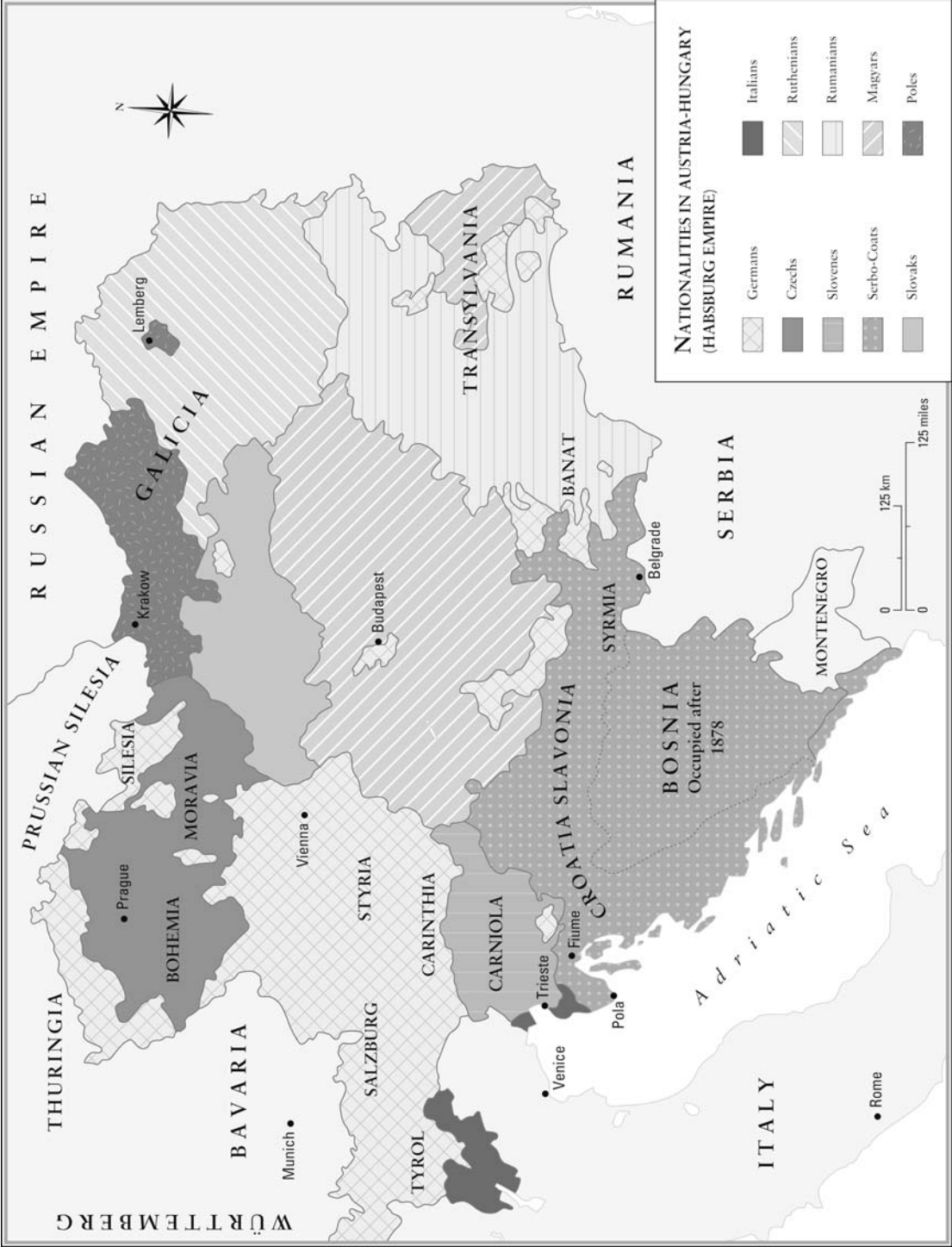
MAPS
















THE BALKANS, 1878–1914

-  Area of Turkey in Europe before Treaty of Berlin, 1878
-  Area of Turkey in Europe before the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913
-  Area ceded by Bulgaria to Romania, 1913
-  Boundaries before the Balkan Wars
-  Boundaries after the Balkan Wars



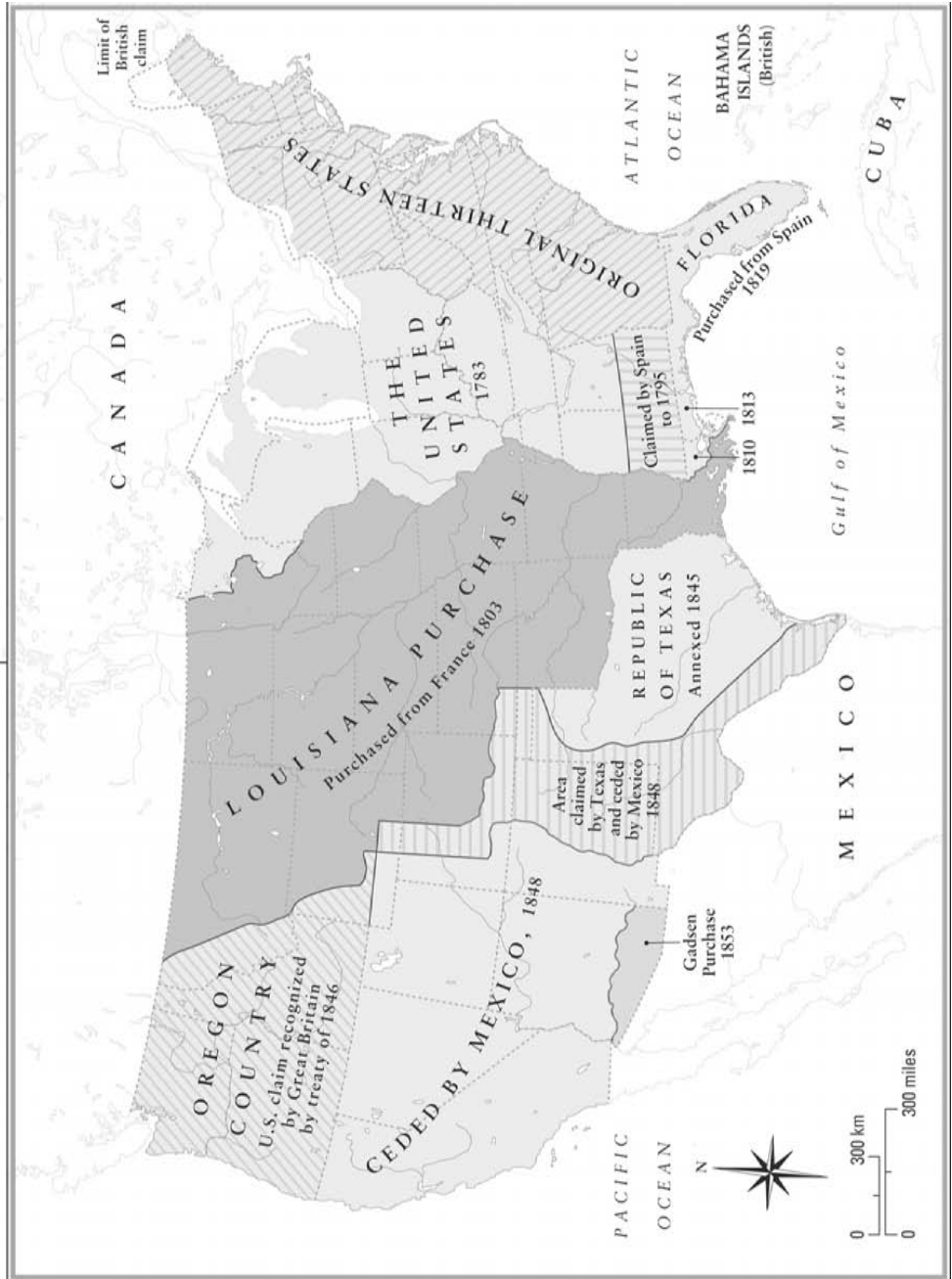
UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

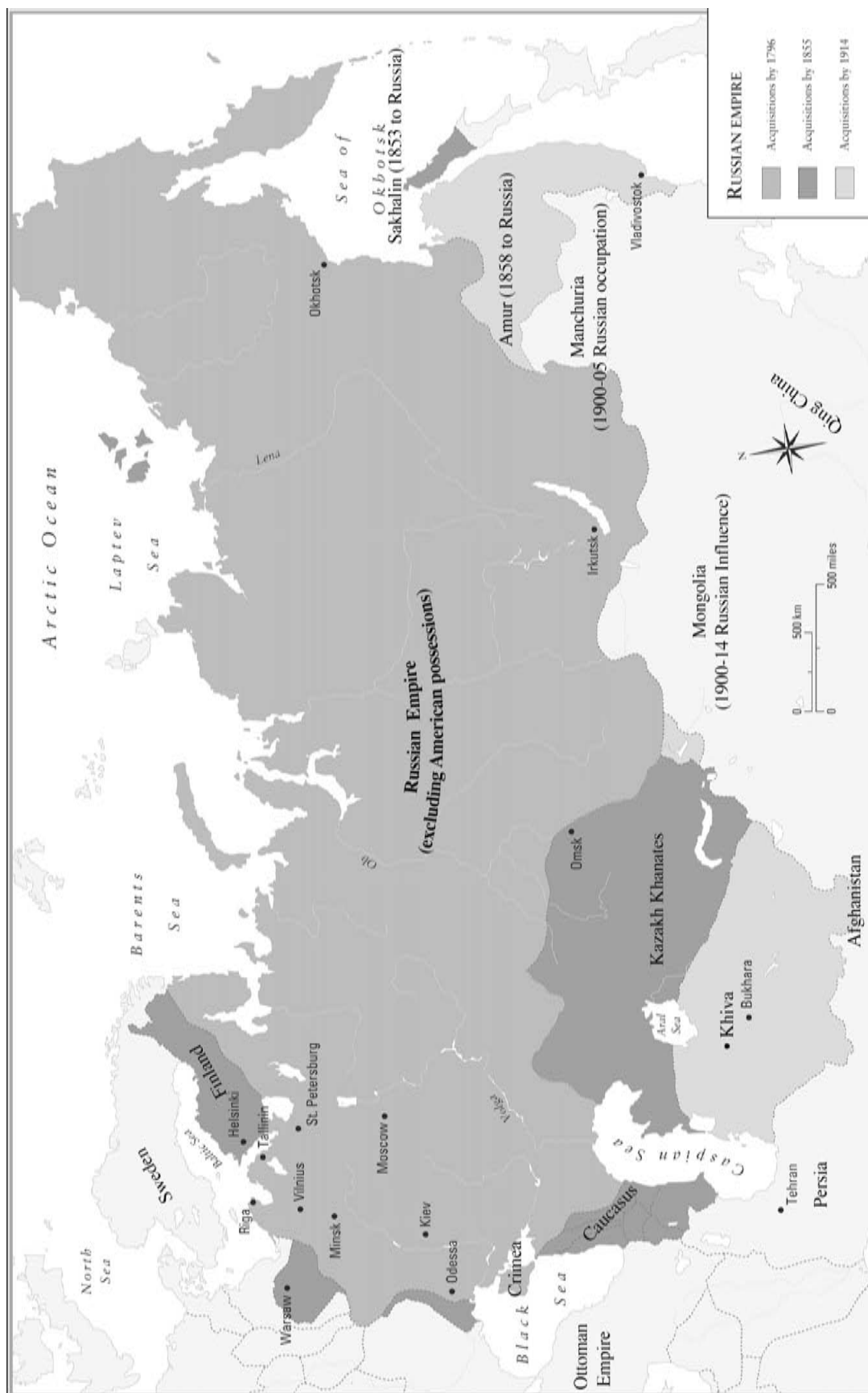
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|---|--|---|---|
|  | Kingdom of Prussia in 1866 before the Seven Weeks' War |  | Territory joined with Prussia to form the North German Confederation (1867) |
|  | Territory annexed by Prussia in 1866 |  | Territory united with North German-Confederation to form the German Empire (1871) |

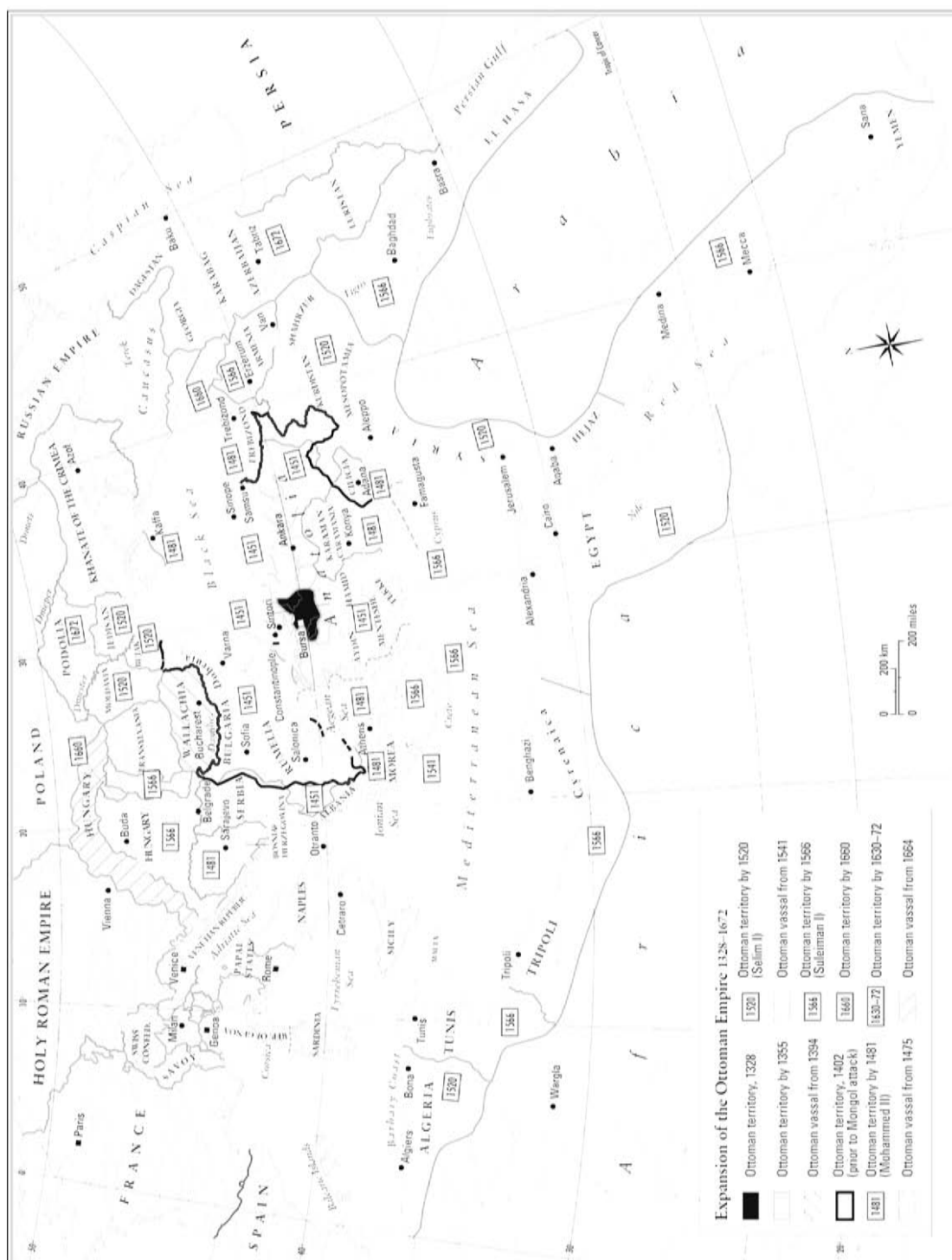


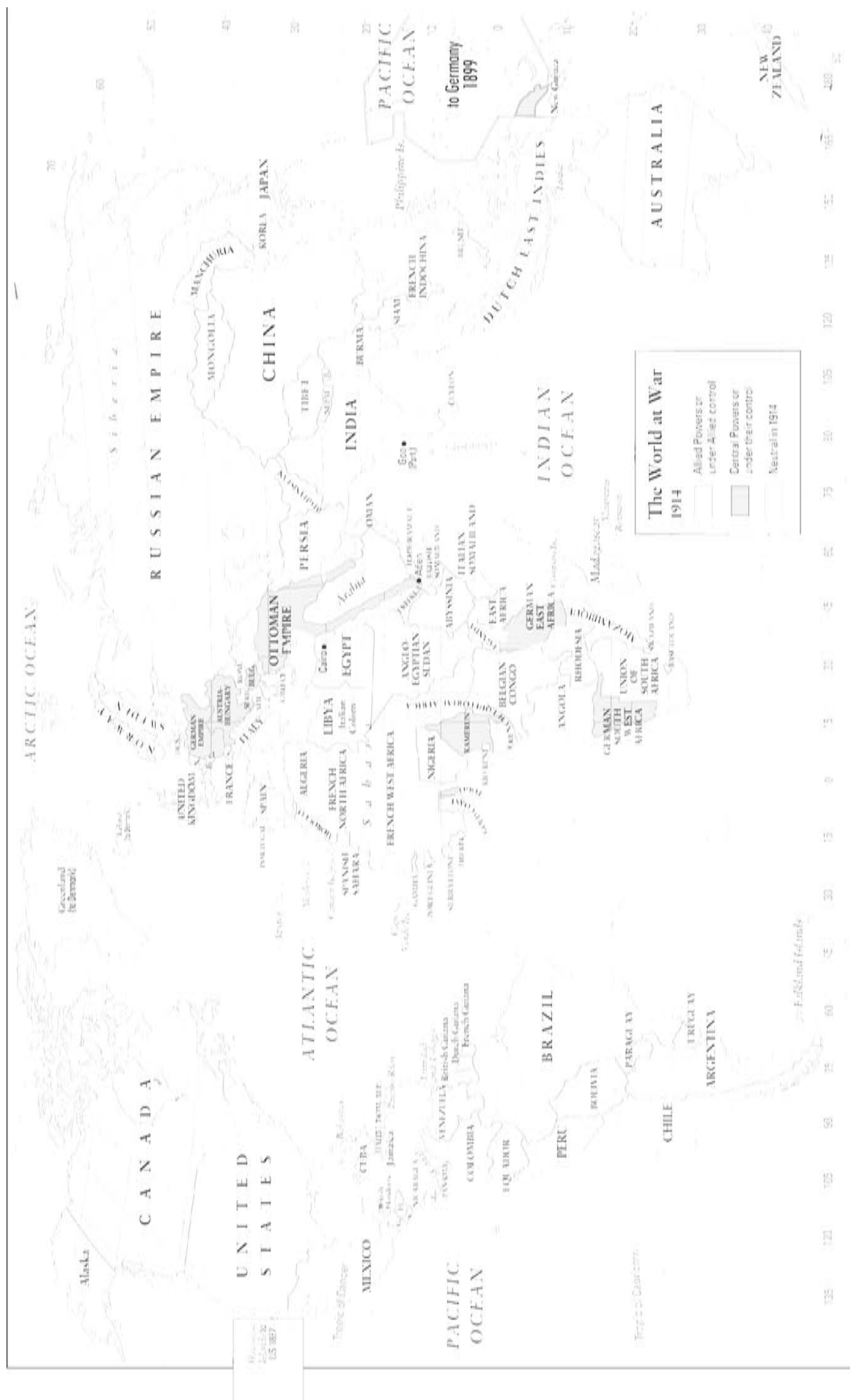
THE EXPANSION OF THE U.S. IN THE 19TH CENTURY

..... Present state boundaries









CHRONOLOGY FOR THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM, 1800–1914

Cross-references to entries in the main entry section are in **boldface**.

1. Napoleonic Wars, 1800–1815

1799–1804: The Consulate ends the France's revolutionary period. A dictatorship by Napoleon **Bonaparte** with the formal trappings of a republic is established.

1800

May: Napoleon crosses the St. Bernard Pass with 40,000 men.

June 14: Battle of **Marengo**, a great Napoleonic victory brings all fortresses west of the Mincio and south of the Po under French control.

December 3: Battle of **Hohenlinden**, French General Moreau defeats Austrians decisively. Austria sues for peace.

December 16: League of Armed Neutrality formed.

1801

February 9: Treaty of **Lunéville** dissolves the Second Coalition and dismantles much of the Holy Roman Empire.

March 23: Tsar Paul I murdered, Alexander I succeeds.

March 29: Treaty of Florence.

April 2: British attack Copenhagen.

July 15: The Concordat establishes a new relationship between the French state and the Catholic Church.

October 8: Treaty of **Paris**.

1802

West India docks built in London.

French expeditionary forces arrive in Santo Domingo.

March 27: Treaty of **Amiens** between Britain and France establishes fourteen-month Anglo-French truce.

August 2: Napoleon named Consul for life.

September 11: France annexes Piedmont.

1803

Ludwig van Beethoven completes Symphony No. 3, "Eroica."

Henry Schrapnel invents the fragmentation shell.

Battle of Assaye: Arthur Wellesley defeats the Marathas.

April 30: Louisiana purchased by the United States.

May 16: Britain declares war on France.

June 1: Frances seizes Hanover.

June 15: French forces concentrate along English Channel.

1804

March: Code Civil established.

May 18: Napoleon Bonaparte becomes Napoleon I, Emperor of the French.

December 2: Napoleon is crowned.

December 14: Spain declares war on Britain.

1805

Modern Egypt established, Mehemet Ali is Pasha.

Formation of the Third Coalition: Britain is joined by Austria, Russia, and Sweden in alliance against France and Spain.

May 26: Napoleon crowned king of Italy.

Battle of Elchingen.

October 17: 30,000 Austrians surrender to France at **Ulm**.

October 21: Battle of **Trafalgar**, Nelson's naval victory over a combined French and Spanish fleet.

November 14: Napoleon enters Vienna.

December 2: Battle of **Austerlitz**, Napoleon routs combined Austrian and Russian armies.

December 26: Treaty of **Pressburg** signed between France and Austria.

1806

Slave trade to British colonies prohibited.

United States bans importation of slaves.

1806–1812: Russia at war with Turkey

June 12: Confederation of the Rhine organized under French auspices.

August 6: Napoleon formally dissolves the Holy Roman Empire.

August 9: Prussia mobilizes against France.

September 26: Fourth Coalition formed.

October 10: British forces return to the Cape; surrender of Pappendorp.

October 14: Battle of Jena-Auerstädt, Napoleon routs Prussian armies.

October 27: French army occupies Berlin.

November 21: Berlin Decree, Napoleon proclaims a blockade of Britain.

1807

Napoleon campaigns in Poland against Russia.

British invasion and occupation of Alexandria.

Britain abolishes slave trade.

February 7–8: Battle of Eylau, a bloody but indecisive Franco-Russian engagement.

March 18–May 27: Siege of Danzig

March 25: Abolition of slavery in the British dominions.

June 14: Battle of Friedland, Napoleon defeats the Russian army.

July 7–9: Treaties of **Tilsit**, diplomatic and territorial concessions by Prussia and Russia to France.
September 5–7: Royal Navy bombards Danish fleet at Copenhagen, denying Danish coast to Napoleon's **Continental System**.
November: Portugal refuses to join the **Continental System** and is occupied by French troops, **Peninsular War** begins.

1808

Sierra Leone declared a British colony.
1808–1815: Britain releases 6,000 slaves taken at sea in Sierra Leone.
February 2: Occupation of Rome.
March: 100,000 French troops invade Spain.
May: Napoleon ousts Ferdinand VII from Spanish throne and replaces him with his brother, Joseph, precipitating a nationalist uprising.
May 2: Murat represses Madrid uprising.
July 22: Battle of Bailén.
August 21: British forces defeat French at Vimeiro.
September: Congress of Erfurt reinforces Franco-Russian alliance; Napoleon is at the height of his power.
November 30: Battle of Somosierra.
December 13: Madrid falls to French army.

1809

British capture French settlements on the Senegal.
The Khoikhoi of South Africa placed under colonial law.
January 8: Austria decides on war.
January 16: French victory in the Battle of **Corunna**. Britain forced to evacuate Spain.
February 21: French forces take Oporto.
April 9: Fifth Coalition formed.
April 10: Austria invades Bavaria.
May 12: Anglo-Portuguese forces under Wellesley recapture Oporto.
July 28: Battle of Talavera slows French invasion of Portugal.
November 19: Battle of Ocaña, Spanish army defeated by French forces.
May 21–22: Battle of **Aspern-Essling**, Napoleon defeated by Austrian forces.
July 5–6: Battle of **Wagram**, Napoleon defeats Austrian forces.
October 14: Treaty of **Schönbrunn**, Austria cedes territory to France and French allies.

1810

British capture Guadaloupe.
Revolutions in Buenos Aires and Bogata.
Simon Bolivar emerges as "The Liberator."
Britain seizes Mauritius, Réunion, and French stations in Madagascar.
April 1: Napoleon marries Archduchess Marie Louis of Austria, a union arranged by Metternich.
March 13: King Gustavus IV of Sweden arrested and forced to abdicate, is succeeded by Charles XIII.
July 9: France annexes Holland.
September 17: Treaty of Friederichsham.

1811

British occupy Java.
Paraguay and Venezuela declare independence.

1811–1812: British forces drive 20,000 Xhosa from Zuurveld.

March 1: Massacre of the Mamluks in Cairo.

March 5: Massena begins retreat from Portugal.

May 3–5: Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro.

May 16: Battle of Albuera.

1812

Outbreak of the **Anglo-American War** of 1812.

Usuman dan Fodio establishes the Sokoto Caliphate.

January: France reoccupies Swedish Pomerania.

January 19: Wellington storms Ciudad Rodrigo.

April: **Treaty of St. Petersburg** signed by Sweden and Russia.

May 28: Treaty of Bucharest signed by Ottoman Empire and Russia.

June: Britain makes peace with Sweden and Russia.

June 20: Sixth Coalition formed.

June 24: French troops cross the Nieman River, Napoleonic invasion of Russia begins.

August 12: Wellington enters Madrid.

August 17–18: Battle of **Smolensk**.

September 7: Battle of **Borodino**, a costly Napoleonic victory.

September 14: French troops occupy **Moscow**.

September 15–17: Burning of Moscow.

October 19: Napoleon begins retreat from Moscow.

November 26–28: Battle of the Beresina.

December 30: Prussian General Yorke concludes Convention of Tauroggen with Russia.

1813

Monopoly of the East India Company abolished.

Russia seizes Dagestan.

Austria and Prussia join Russia to push France out of Germany.

February 28: Treaty of Kalisch signed by Prussia and Russia.

March 4: Russians enter Berlin.

March 16: Prussia declares war on France.

March 17–27: Prussians and Russians occupy Hamburg and Dresden.

May 2: Battle of Lutzen.

May 20: Battle of Bautzen.

May 23: Wellington advances into Spain.

June 12: French army evacuates Madrid.

June 21: Wellington victorious at Vitoria.

August 12: Austria declares war on France.

August 26–27: Battle of **Dresden**.

September 9: Treaty of Teplitz agreed by Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

October 16–19: Battle of **Leipzig**, Allied victory forces further French retreat.

1814

January 14: Treaty of Kiel, Denmark cedes Norway to Sweden.

February 1: Battle of La Rothière.

March 9: Treaties of **Chaumont** provide for continued Allied struggle against Napoleon.

February 5–March 19: Congress of Châtillon.

March 20: Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube.

March 31: Allies enter Paris.

April 6: Napoleon abdicates.
 April 10: Wellington defeats Soult at Toulouse.
 May 30: First Treaty of **Paris**, a lenient peace for France restores the Bourbons.
 September–June 1915: Congress of **Vienna**, establishes a comprehensive European settlement.
 December 24: Treaty of Ghent ends War of 1812.

1815

Britain declares control of South African **Cape Colony**.
 Slachter's Nek rebellion in the Eastern Cape.
 February 26: Napoleon escapes from Elba.
 March 1: Napoleon lands at Cannes.
 March 3: United States begins naval operations against Algiers.
 March 27: Seventh Coalition formed.
 June 15: Napoleon crosses into Belgium.
 June 16: Battle of **Ligny**, Battle of **Quatre Bras**.
 June 18: Battle of **Waterloo**, Anglo-Prussian forces under Wellington inflict final defeat on Napoleon.
 June 22: Second abdication of Napoleon.
 September 26: Creation of the **Holy Alliance**.
 November 20: Second Treaty of **Paris** imposes territorial losses and reparations on France and renews the **Quadruple Alliance** of Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia.

2. Pax Brittanica, 1815–1870

1816

Britain returns Java to the Netherlands.
 Intensified Protestant missionary activity in the Eastern Cape.
 British bombard **Algiers** and demand that the *dey* end Christian slavery.
 Argentine provinces declare independence.
 August 27: Anglo-Dutch bombardment of Algiers.
 December 22: United States signs peace treaty with Algiers.

1817

San Martin defeats Spain at Chacabuco.
 Shaka becomes chief of the Zulu Kingdom.
 March: British parliament passes *Coercion Acts*.

1818

End of Maratha Wars, Rajput States, and Poona under British rule.
 Martin defeats Spanish at Maipó.
 Chile declares independence.
 Canada and United States establish border at 49th parallel.
 1818–1819: Xhosa war of resistance defeated.
 Wahabis defeated in Arabia.
 September: Congress of **Aix-la-Chapelle**.

1819

East India Company establishes settlement at Singapore.
 1819–1820: Zulus defeat Zwide's Ndwandwe.

August 16: Peterloo Massacre.
September 20: Carlsbad Decrees sanctioned by the Diet of the German Confederation.
October: Prussia begins construction of the German *Zollverein*.
December: British parliament passes the Six Acts.

1820

10,000 British settlers land on Eastern Cape.
Tijaniyya Sufi uprising in Oran against Ottoman rule.
1820–1830: Rise of the Basotho Kingdom.
March 3: Missouri Compromise.
October 20: Congress of **Troppau**.

1821

San Martin declares Peruvian independence.
Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, and Santo Domingo independent of Spain.
Egyptian governor-general installed in Khartoum.
Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Gambia joined as British West Africa.
January–May: Congress of **Laibach**.

1822

Brazil independent of Portugal.
English replaces Dutch as the official language of South Africa.
Egyptian forces complete conquest of the Sudan.
Liberia becomes a colony for freed American slaves.
October 20: Congress of **Verona**.

1823

Outbreak of the First Anglo-Ashanti War.
December 2: U.S. President James Monroe articulates the **Monroe Doctrine**.

1824

Ludwig van Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 premiers in Vienna.
British traders establish post at Port Natal.
January: Outbreak of the First **Anglo-Burmese War**.

1825

Bolivia declares independence.
Ndebele become the dominant kingdom of the high veld.

1826

Cape Colony extended north to the Orange River.
January 2: British troops storm Melloon, ending First Anglo-Burmese War.

1827

Dey of Algiers hits French consul with a fly whisk; France demands satisfaction.

1828

The Black War in Australia.

Shaka assassinated; Dingane becomes king of the Zulu.

July 15: British parliament passes the revised *Corn Law*.

1829

Suttee is abolished in Bengal.

British Slave Trade Commission takes over Fernando Po.

March–April: *Catholic Emancipation* passes British Parliament.

1830

Mysore becomes new British possession in India.

July 5: French expeditionary force occupies **Algiers**.

July 26: French government imposes the July Ordinances.

July 28: Insurgents control much of Paris, the July Revolution.

July 30: **Louis Philippe** proclaimed constitutional monarch of France.

1831

Darwin begins voyage in *Beagle*.

March 31: Louis Philippe creates the French Foreign Legion.

1832

Black Hawk War and Indian war in the American Midwest.

Britain occupies Falkland Islands.

1832–1834: Attacks on French forces by **Abd al-Qādr**.

1833

August 23: Abolition of slavery in the British Empire.

1834

Outbreak of the **Carlist War** in Spain.

Angola ignores antislavery laws.

12,000 Xhosa attack Cape Colony outposts.

Dutch slaveholders in Africa Cape protest lack of compensation.

April 22: Quadruple Alliance.

1835

Turkish forces land at Tripoli.

1835–1837: Outbreak of the French war against Abd al-Qādr.

Beginning of the **Great Trek** of the Boers to the north and east of the Orange River.

1836

Republic of Texas established.

French defeat Abd el-Qādr at Sikka River.

1837

Revolts in Upper and Lower Canada.

Lin Zexu, governor of Hunan and Hupeh, orders destruction of opium cargoes.

Treaty of Tafna: France abandons Algerian interior to Abd al-Qādr.

1838

Founding of the New Zealand Company.

Governor of Angola removed for slave trafficking.

First **Afghan War** begins.

June 28: Coronation of Victoria I.

February: Zulus massacre Boer Vortrekkers in Natal.

December 16: Battle of **Blood River**, Boers defeat Zulus, establish Republic of Natal.

1839

British expedition into Afghanistan.

Quadruple Alliance of Britain, France, Portugal, and Spain defeats Carlists.

Mpande and Boers overthrow Dingane.

November 3: Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu forces surrender of opium cargo, outbreak of the **Opium War**.

1840

Abd el-Qādr begins new attacks on French settlers.

Upper and Lower Canada united.

Treaty of Waitangi, Britain claims sovereignty over New Zealand.

Portuguese merchants found port of Mocamedes on Angolan coast.

Britain occupies Chusan and Canton river ports.

December: Start of French campaign against Abd al-Qādr.

1841

Britain proclaims sovereignty over Hong Kong.

New Zealand becomes British colony.

July 13: **Straits Convention**.

1842

1842–1843: War between Britain and Boers, Britain takes Natal.

August 29: Treaty of **Nanjing** ends the Opium War.

August 9: Britain and United States sign **Webster-Ashburton Treaty**.

September: British force captures Kabul, ending First Anglo-Afghan War.

1843

June 17: Outbreak of First **Maori War**.

August 8: Natal becomes a British colony.

December: Basutoland becomes a *de facto* British protectorate.

1844

Arab trading post established at Umyanyembe.

French defeat Abd el-Qādr at Isly.

September 10: *Treaty of Tangier* concludes French campaign in Morocco.

1845

March 1: United States Congress votes to annex Texas.

John O'Sullivan publishes an article on the **Manifest Destiny** of the United States.

July 7: John Drake Sloat claims Mexican territory in California for the United States.

December 11: Outbreak of the **First Sikh War**.

1846

1846–1848: United States at war with Mexico.

1846–1847: Shepstone establishes reserve system in Natal.

March 11: Treaty of Lahore ends **First Anglo-Sikh War** and makes the Punjab a British protectorate.

April 12: Mexican troops cross the Rio Grande, outbreak of the **Mexican War**.

May 8–9: American victories at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

May 24: U.S. troops capture Monterey.

June 15: Britain and United States sign **Oregon Treaty**.

1847

Slavery abolished throughout French Empire.

February 22–23: Battle of **Buena Vista**.

July 26: Free and Independent Republic of Liberia established.

September 12–13: Battle of Chapultepec.

September 14: U.S. troops capture Mexico City.

December 23: Abd al-Qādr surrenders to France and is imprisoned.

1848

Marx and Engels issue *The Communist Manifesto*.

Algeria annexed to France, organized into three departments.

First delegate from Senegal sent to French National Assembly.

February: February Revolution in Paris.

February 2: Treaty of **Guadalupe Hidalgo** ends Mexican War.

March 15: Uprisings in Berlin.

April 20: Outbreak of **Second Sikh War**.

1849

France founds Libreville with freed slave settlers.

1849–1852: Influx of British-sponsored settlers to Natal.

April 5: France declares protectorate over French Guinea.

1849–1850: Don Pacifico Affair.

February 22: Battle of **Gujarat** ends **Second Anglo-Sikh War**; Britain annexes the Punjab.

1850

The Kololo of South Africa enter the Angolan slave trade.

1850–1860: Ivory trade fuels gun trade in South Central Africa.

1850–1864: **Taiping Rebellion**.

August: Australian Colonies Government Act.

1852

Sand River Convention between British and Transvaal Boers.

April 1: Outbreak of Second **Anglo-Burmese** War.

November 21: British troops capture Pegu, ending Second Anglo-Burmese War.

1853

Cape Colony constitution establishes an elected parliament.

Hanover, Brunswick, and Oldenburg join the Prussian *Zollverein*.

1854

Slave-trading boom in Karka and Shillukland.

Bloemfontein Convention paves way for an Orange Free State.

1854–1884: Rule of Kabaka Mutesa in Buganda.

1854–1861: France revives colonial interests in Senegal.

March 28: Outbreak of **Crimean War**.

November 30: Suez Canal concession granted to Ferdinand de Lesseps.

1855

The Economist begins publication.

Taiping Rebellion ends.

Paris World's Fair.

1855–1868: Tewodros II begins modern period in Ethiopia.

1856

Swahili traders reach Katanga.

July 12: Natal becomes a British colony; civil war in the Zulu kingdom.

October 8: Qing officials search British ship *Arrow*, outbreak of **Arrow War**.

1857

British destroy Chinese fleet.

1857–1858: **Indian Mutiny**.

Anglo-French seizure of Canton.

1858

East India Company is transferred to the British crown.

Slavery abolished in Russia.

Suez Canal Company established.

Treaty of **Aigun**.

June 26–29: Treaties of **Tientsin**.

1859

Spain sends expeditionary force to Morocco.

Darwin publishes *The Origin of Species*.

London Missionary Society founded in Inyati Rhodesia.

First indentured Indian labor arrives in Natal.

April 29: Work begins on the Suez Canal.

1860

Republic of Lydenburg joins South African Republic.

1860–1890: Expansion of slave trade northward and eastward from Congo Basin.

October 12: Anglo-French occupation of Peking ending **Arrow War**.

November 6: Abraham Lincoln is elected President of the United States.

December 20: South Carolina secedes from the United States.

1861

Sikkim campaign.

French expeditions in Mexico.

January 9–26: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana secede from the United States.

April 12–13: Bombardment of Sumter, **American Civil War** begins.

November–December: Trent Affair.

1862

Victor **Hugo** publishes *Les Misérables*.

R. J. Gatling invents machine gun.

France acquires the port of Obok from the Sultan of Tarjura.

Anglo-French forces defeat Chinese, Treaty of Peking signed.

September 23: **Bismarck** appointed minister-president of Prussia.

September 30: Bismarck delivers “iron and blood” speech to Prussian parliament.

1863

Outbreak of the Second **Maori War**.

Ismael Pasha becomes khedive of Egypt.

Battle of Camerone in Mexico.

1863–1865: France revives territorial expansion west of Sudan.

January 1: Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation.

February: Polish uprising in Russian Poland.

February 25: France establishes a protectorate over Porto Novo.

July 1–3: Battle of **Gettysburg**.

July 4: Fall of **Vicksburg**.

June 5: Treaty of Saigon. France acquires control of three southern provinces of **Cochin China**.

1864

France takes Cochin China.

Geneva Convention establishes rules for war.

January 16: Austro-Prussian alliance.

February 1: Austrian and Prussian armies invade Schleswig.

October 30: Treaty of Vienna confirms Austrian and Prussian control of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg

1865

Richard **Wagner** finishes *Tristan und Isolde*.

1865–1866: War between Orange Free State and Moshoeshoe's Sotho.

January 31: Slavery is abolished in the United States

April 9: Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox.
 April 14: President Abraham Lincoln is assassinated.
 May 26: Last Confederate army surrenders, ending American Civil War.
 August: Austro-Prussian *Gastein Convention*.

1866

Kaffraria is joined to the Cape Colony.
 April 8: Prussian alliance with Italy.
 June 6: Prussia protests Austrian policy in Holstein.
 June 14: **Austro-Prussian War** begins.
 July 3: Prussians defeat Austria at **Königgrätz**.
 August 18: Prussian treaty of federation with North German states.
 August 23: Treaty of Prague ends Austro-Prussian War.

1867

British North America Act establishes Dominion of **Canada**.
 Karl **Marx** publishes *Das Kapital*.
 British expeditionary mission sent to Ethiopia.
 April: Diamonds discovered near Hopetown on the Orange River.
 April 16: Constituent Reichstag passes constitution of **North German Confederation**.
 April–May: Luxemburg Crisis.

1868

Dostoevsky publishes *The Idiot*.
 British forces invade Abyssinia.
 Sir John Kirk becomes British representative in Zanzibar.
 January 1: Hyōgo and Ōsaka opened to foreign trade.
 January 3: Inauguration of the **Meiji Restoration** in Japan.
 March 12: Britain annexes Basotholand and establishes white government.
 April 13: British capture Magdala.
 1868–1869: Irish Question.

1869

Richard Wagner's *Rheingold* premiers in Munich.
 Gustave Flaubert publishes *l'Education sentimentale*.
 Red River Rebellion in Canada.
 Italian Rubattino Company buys the port of Assab on the Red Sea.
 November 17: **Suez Canal** officially opens.

3. Period of Intensified Imperial Competition, 1870–1900

1870

Richard Wagner's *Die Walküre* premiers in Munich.
 Digger's Republic proclaimed at Klipdrift.
 Diamonds discovered in the Orange Free State.
 1870–1876: Bungalow moves toward Islam, then Christianity.
 March 15: Bismarck backs Hohenzollern candidacy for the Spanish throne.
 July 13: Bismarck releases **Ems Telegram**.
 July 19: France declares war on Prussia. **Franco-Prussian War** begins.
 September 1: Battle of **Sedan**. Prussia defeats French army, captures Napoleon III.

1871

Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida* premiers in Cairo.

Town of Kimberley founded as the center of the South African diamond industry.

January 15: Proclamation of the **German Empire** at Versailles. Wilhelm I is Emperor.

February: Provisional peace facilitates German annexation of Alsace Lorraine.

April: Britain annexes Griqualand West diamond region.

April 14: Remodeled constitution amalgamates 25 states in the German Reich.

May 10: Treaty of **Frankfurt**.

1872

1872–1874: Egypt occupies Red Sea coast.

Cape Colony granted self-government.

1873

Onset of economic recession.

Tolstoy publishes *Anna Karenina*.

General Charles **Gordon** seconded to the khedive of Egypt as governor of Equatoria.

Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Ashanti War.

1874

Gordon becomes governor-general of the Sudan.

Japanese occupation of Formosa.

1875

United Free Church of Scotland founds mission at Blantyre and Livingstonia.

Slavery and forced labor abolished in Angola.

1875–1878: Egyptian war with Ethiopia.

November 25: Britain purchases 40 percent share in **Suez Canal** from khedive of Egypt.

1876

Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.

First complete performance of Richard Wagner's *Der Ring des Niebelungen*.

Telephone is invented in the United States.

February: Ethiopian army defeats Egyptian forces.

April 4: Egyptian finances declared insolvent.

September 12: King Leopold of Belgium hosts international conference on Africa.

November 18: Anglo-French controllers appointed to administer Egyptian debt.

1877

March 18: Britain annexes Walvis Bay in Southwest Africa.

April 12: Britain annexes Transvaal in violation of the **Sand River Convention**.

April 24: Russia declares war on Turkey.

1878

German Africa Society establishes posts between Bagamoyo and Lake Tanganyika.

March 3: Treaty of **San Stefano**.

June 13–July 13: Congress of **Berlin**.

October 7: German-Austrian alliance.

June 18: Alliance of the Three Emperors.
August 15: Nubar Pasha Ministry in Egypt.
November: British army invades Afghanistan, starting Second Anglo-Afghan War.
November 15: Belgium commissions Henry Stanley to establish posts in Congo region.

1879

Jesuits establish mission at Bulawayo.
France begins conquest of Umarian Empire.
Afrikaner Bond founded.
Catholic White Fathers arrive in Buganda.
1879–1881: Franco-Italian rivalry in Tunis.
January 12–September 1: British forces invade and defeat **Zulu Kingdom**.

1880

France founds Brazzaville and establishes a protectorate.
1880–1900: Christian missionaries penetrate East African interior.
1880–1881: Boers of Transvaal revolt against the British. Barnato Diamond Mining Company founded; De Beers Mining Corporation founded.
Madrid Convention sets status and rights of foreigners in Morocco.
September 1: Battle of **Kandahar**, British defeat Ayub Khan, ending Second Anglo-Afghan War.
December 30: Boers proclaim Republic of South Africa, starting First **Boer War**.

1881

France makes first attempt at a Trans-Saharan Railway.
1881–1885: International Association of the Congo established.
1881–1885: Mahdist revolution against Turco-Egyptian power in Sudan.
January 28: Boers defeat British at Laing's Nek.
February 27: Boer's defeat British at Majuba Hill.
April 5: Treaty of Pretoria between Britain and Boers recognizes South African Republic.
April 30: French navy seizes Bizerta.
May 12: Treaty of Barto, *Bey* of Tunis accepts French protectorate.
February 1: Rising of Egyptian officers.
September 9: Second rising of Egyptian officers.

1882

Boer expansion into Bechuanaland.
Italian government takes over Assab.
January 8: Anglo-French "Gambetta Note" delivered to Egypt.
May 20: **Triple Alliance** of Germany, Austria, and Italy formed.
June 12: Riots in Alexandria.
July 11: British bombardment of Alexandria.
September 13: British victory at Tel-el-Kebir.
September 15: British occupy Cairo and Suez Canal Zone.

1883

French invade Annam and Tonkin.
Marxist party founded in Russia.
Britain defeats Pedi Kingdom.

German settlers come to Southwest Africa.
Convention of Marsa gives France control of Tunisian affairs.
Civil War in Zululand.
April 16: Paul **Kruger** becomes president of South African Republic.
November 5: Battle of Obeid.

1884

Germany occupies South-West Africa.
Britain establishes a protectorate around Zeila on the Somali coast.
1884–1885: Berlin West Africa Conference.
January 18: **Gordon** sent to evacuate Khartoum.
April 22: U.S. recognizes International Association of the Congo as a territorial power.

1885

Britain establishes Bechuanaland Protectorate.
Outbreak of the Franco-Mandingo Wars.
Anglo-Egyptian forces evacuate Sudan.
Defeat of Second **Riel** rebellion in Canada.
French attempt and fail to take Madagascar.
French defeat in Tonkin topples Ferry government.
January 26: The Mahdi captures Khartoum.
February: German East Africa Company claims protectorate between Umba and Rovuma Rivers.
February 6: Italy establishes a base at Massawa.
April: Belgium establishes Congo Independent State.
April: Anglo-Russian crisis in Afghanistan.
August: Germany establishes protectorate over Witu in Zanzibar.
November: Third **Anglo-Burmese War** lasts 20 days.

1886

First meeting of Indian National Congress.
Burma incorporated into British India.
Gold discovered on Witwatersrand.
September: Town of Johannesburg established.

1887

First Colonial Conference opens in London.
British East Africa Company secures 50-year lease between Umba and Tanas Rivers.
January 26: Ethiopians defeat Italians at the Battle of Dogali.
February 12: First Mediterranean Agreement.
February 20: Renewal of the **Triple Alliance**.
May 22: Drummond-Wolff Convention.
June 21: Britain annexes **Zululand**.
June 18: Russian-German Treaty.
December 12: Second Mediterranean Agreement.

1888

Wilhelm II becomes Emperor of Germany.
Matabele accept British protection, Cecil **Rhodes** is granted mining rights.

French conquest of upper Niger completed.
October 29: Treaty of Constantinople.

1889

Eiffel Tower opens in Paris.
Britain establishes protectorate over the Shire River region.
Outbreak of the First Franco-Dahomean War.
1889–1913: Menelik II enlarges the Ethiopian Empire.
January 10: French protectorate over Ivory Coast.
May 2: Treaty of Ucciali; Italy confirms claim to protectorate over Ethiopia.
October 18: Muslims faction dominant in Buganda, Christian missionaries expelled.
October 29: British South Africa Company chartered to develop territory north of the Zambezi and west of Mozambique.

1890

Alfred Thayer Mahan publishes *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*.
French troops capture Umurian city of Segu.
France establishes protectorate over Dahomey.
Rise of Ahmad Bamba's Mouridiyya brotherhood.
Rhodes's British South Africa Company sends settlers into Rhodesia.
Rhodes becomes prime minister of the Cape Colony.
Italian Red Sea possessions become the colony of Eritrea.
1890–1892: Portugal conquers Ovimbundu kingdoms.
June 27: British South Africa Company signs treaty of protection with Barotseland.
July 2: *Brussels Act* calls European power to end slave and arms trade in colonies.
August 1: Sultan of Zanzibar signs antislavery decree.
October: End of First Franco-Dahomean War, France establishes protectorate over Dahomey.
November 4: Britain claims protectorate over Zanzibar.
December: Lugard arrives in Buganda with armed force.

1891

Pan-German League is formed.
French offensive against Samori.
April 15: Katanga Company established.
May 1: Renewal of Triple Alliance.

1892

Intensified Arab and Swahili slave trading in Congo and Tanganyika region.
1892–1893: Ndebele rebellion against British South Africa Company (BSAC).
March 27: Outbreak of Second Franco-Dahomean War.

1893

French troops capture Umurian city of Nioro.
Outbreak of the Third Anglo-Ashanti War.
July 15: German military bill increases size of forces.

1894

Lugard partitions Buganda among Protestant, Catholic, and Muslim groups.
Britain annexes Pondoland, linking Cape Colony and Natal; expedition against Matabele begins.

January 29: French capture Dahomean King Behanzin, France annexes Dahomey.
May 12: Treaty between Britain and Congo Free State for Cape-to-Cairo railway and telegraph.
August: Glen Grey Act provides for indirect African self-rule.
August 1: Outbreak of **Sino-Japanese War**.
December 27: Franco-Russian exchange of notes on army mobilization.

1895

French invade Madagascar.
Outbreak of Fourth Anglo-Ashanti War.
Slave trade abolished in Cameroon.
1895–1899: Anti-Portuguese risings in Mozambique.
1895–1905: Labor migration from Congo due to Belgian work conditions.
January 1: Royal Niger Company proclaims protectorate in Busa and Nikki.
March 25: Italy begins advance into Ethiopia.
April 17: Treaty of **Shimonoseki**.
April 23: Formation of the Far Eastern Triplice.
December 29, 1895–January 2, 1896: Leander Starr **Jameson** raids Johannesburg.

1896

C. E. Calwell publishes *Small Wars*.
Marchand expedition sets out.
Matabele revolt defeated.
1896–1898: British reconquest of the Sudan.
January 6: Implicated in the **Jameson Raid**, Cecil Rhodes resigns.
March 1: Ethiopians defeat Italians at Battle of **Adowa**.
January 3: Kaiser sends Kruger Telegram in support of Natal.
September 21: Kitchener takes Dongola.
October 26: Italy and Ethiopia sign Treaty of Addis Ababa, declaring Ethiopia independent.

1897

Colonial Conference in London.
Zululand incorporated into Natal Colony.
Shona risings in Rhodesia.
February: Belgian forces reach the Nile, occupy Loda and Wadelai.
April 5: Slavery abolished in Zanzibar.
April 17: War between Greece and Turkey.
July–August: British defeat Mwanga rebellion in Uganda.

1898

Britain obtains 99-year lease on Kowloon and New Territories.
Uitlander agitation against South African Republic increases.
January: Anglo-Portuguese operations against Yao.
January 10: Rioting in Havana, Cuba; U.S. sends *U.S.S. Maine*.
February 15: *Maine* destroyed in Havana harbor.
March 28: First German Naval Bill passes Reichstag.
April 8: Battle of Atbara River.
April 15: United States declares war on Spain; **Spanish-American War** begins.
May: French troops occupy Sikasso and capture Samori.
May 1: Battle of **Manila Bay**.
June 29: U.S. Navy captures Guam.

July 3: U.S. Navy destroys Spanish fleet in Cuba.
 July 4: U.S. occupies Wake Island.
 July 6: U.S. annexes **Hawaii**.
 July 10: French forces under Marchand reach Fashoda.
 September: End of the Franco-Mandingo Wars.
 September 2: Battle of **Omdurman**; British forces defeat Mahdists.
 September 6: Filipinos declare independent republic.
 September 19: British forces reach Fashoda, occupied by Marchand's French forces, **Fashoda Crisis**.
 December 10: United States and Spain sign Treaty of Paris.

1899

Portuguese labor law subjects Africans to moral duty to work.
 1899–1902: General unrest in German East Africa.
 January 23: Aguinaldo elected president of Philippine republic.
 February 4: Fighting erupts between U.S. forces and Filipinos in Manila.
 February 6: U.S. annexes Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.
 March 11: Britain, Germany, and the United States quarrel over Somoa.
 March 21: Anglo-French convention ends Fashoda Crisis.
 May 18–July 29: First **Hague Peace Conference**.
 May 31–June 5: Bloemfontein Conference.
 September 6: U.S. asks European powers and Japan to recognize **Open Door** in China.
 September 8: Britain sends 10,000 troops to Natal.
 October 9: Kruger Ultimatum.
 October 11: Orange Free State joins Transvaal, Second **Boer War** begins.
 October 14: Boer siege of Kimberley and Mafeking begins.
 November 2: Boer siege of Ladysmith begins.
 November 25: Berlin-Baghdad Railway concession.

1900

January 1: British protectorate declared over Nigeria; Frederick Lugard is high commissioner.
 February 28: Ladysmith relieved by British forces.
 March 10: Definitive Anglo-Ugandan treaty.
 March 13: Bloemfontein captured by British forces.
 May 17: Mafeking relieved by British forces.
 May 28: Britain annexes Orange Free State.
 May 31: British forces capture Johannesburg.
 June 5: British forces capture Pretoria.
 June: Second German Naval Bill passes Reichstag.
 June 13–August 14: **Boxer Insurrection** in China.
 September 1: Britain annexes Transvaal.
 September 5: France proclaims protectorate over Chad.
 December 14: Secret Franco-Italian over Morocco and Tripoli.

4. Collapse of the European Balance of Power, 1901–1914

1901

Ugandan Railway opened.
 February 10: Boers invade British Cape Colony.
 September 26: Kingdom of the Ashanti annexed into the Gold Coast.

1902

J. A. Hobson publishes *Imperialism*.

January 30: Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

May 15–31: Anglo-Boer peace talks and Treaty of Vereeniging; Boer War Ends.

June 28: Renewal of **Triple Alliance** for six years.

November 8: Franco-Spanish agreement on Morocco.

1903

Popular agitation in Britain, U.S., and Germany against labor conditions in Congo.

British Royal Niger Company seizes Kano, Sokoto, Burwuri in northern Nigeria.

June: Lord Delamere settles Kenya.

November: Anglo-Russian conversations.

1904

February 4: Outbreak of **Russo-Japanese War**.

April 8: Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale* established.

July 4: Tripartite Pact; Britain, France and Italy declare independence of Ethiopia.

October 21: **Dogger Bank Incident**.

October 27–November 23: German-Russian alliance negotiations.

1905

1905–1907: **Maji-Maji rebellion** in German East Africa.

March 31: Kaiser Wilhelm I visits Tangier, provoking **First Moroccan Crisis**.

May 17, 25: Britain proposes confidential discussions with France.

May 27: Battle of **Tsushima**.

July 24: **Björkö Treaty**.

August 12: Renewal of Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

September 5: Treaty of Portsmouth.

1906

1906–1908: Congo Reform Association exposes labor abuses in Congo.

January 10: Beginning of Anglo-French military and naval conversations.

January 16–April 7: **Algeciras Conference** ends First Moroccan Crisis.

February 10: *H.M.S. Dreadnought* launched.

May: German government decides to widen Kiel Canal.

May: Lagos incorporated into Southern Nigeria.

May 9: Anglo-Belgian agreement on the Congo.

1907

Large-scale insurrections in Angola.

Transvaal government passes Asiatic Registration Bill; Mohandas Gandhi begins passive resistance movement.

May 17: Pact of Cartagena among Britain, France, and Spain.

June 15–October 18: **Second Hague Peace Conference**.

July: Russian Japanese Agreement.

July: Renewal the **Triple Alliance** for six years.

August 4: French forces bombard Casablanca.

August 31: **Anglo-Russian Convention**.

1908

April 23: Baltic and North Sea Conventions.
July 24: **Young Turk** victory.
September 25: Casablanca Affair.
October 6: Austrian annexation of **Bosnia-Herzegovina**.
October 18: Belgium annexes Congo Free State.
October 28: *Daily Telegraph* Affair.
December 4: London Naval Conference.

1909

January: Native court system established in Buganda.
January 12: Austro-Ottoman agreement on Bosnia.
February 9: Franco-German agreement on Morocco.
March 21: German note to Russia urging recognition of Bosnian annexation.
March 31: Serbian note to Austria recognizing Bosnian annexation.
April: Ottoman government recognizes independence of Bulgaria.

1910

French Congo renamed French Equatorial Africa.
1910–1914: Young Ethiopians lead program of national modernization.
May 13: Union of South Africa created.

1911

June–November: **Second Moroccan Crisis**
July 1: **Agadir** Incident. German gunboat *Panther* visits Moroccan port.
July 15: Germany seeks French Congo in return for abandoning rights in Morocco.
July 21: Lloyd George delivers Mansion House speech.
September 28: Outbreak of Tripolitan War.
November 4: Franco-German agreement on Morocco.

1912

South African Native National Congress established.
February 8: Haldane mission to Berlin to seek agreement on colonies and German fleet.
March 8: Publication of a new German Naval Bill.
March 13: Alliance between Bulgaria and Serbia.
April: Italy bombards Dardenelles.
May 4–16: Italians capture Rhodes.
May 29: Alliance between Bulgaria and Greece.
July 16: Naval convention between France and Russia.
October 8: Austro-Russian note to Balkan states.
October 8: Montenegro declares war on Ottoman Empire.
October 18: Outbreak of **First Balkan War**.
October 18: Treaty of Lausanne ends Tripolitan War.
December 3: Armistice of Turkey, Bulgaria, and Serbia.
December 5: Last renewal of Triple Alliance.

1913

March 26: Bulgarians capture Adrianople.
April 16: Bulgaria and Ottoman Empire conclude an armistice.

April 22: Montenegrins take Scutari.
May 3: Montenegrins leave Scutari and Serbs Durazzo under threat of war from Austria.
May 30: Treaty of London ending First Balkan War.
June 1: Greece and Serbia ally against Bulgaria.
June 14: Native Land Act establishes territorial segregation in South Africa.
June 29–July 30: Outbreak of Second **Balkan War**.
August 10: Treaty of Bucharest.
September 23: Serbia invades Albania.
September 29: Treaty of Constantinople.
October: Austria demands Serb evacuation of Albania; Serbia complies.

1914

January 1: Northern and southern Nigeria are merged; Frederick Lugard is governor-general.
June 15: Britain and Germany resolve Berlin-Baghdad Railway dispute.
June 28: Austrian Archduke **Franz Ferdinand** assassinated in Sarajevo.
July 5: Austrian Count Alexander Hoyos seeks support in Berlin.
July 7: Austrian crown council favors war; Hungarian Count Tisza opposed.
July 14: Second Austrian council wins Tisza to war footing.
July 20–23: French President Poincaré and Prime Minister Viviani visit St. Petersburg.
July 23: Austria delivers ultimatum to Serbia.
July 25: Serbian reply is evasive; Austria mobilizes against Serbia.
July 26: British Foreign Secretary Grey proposes conference; France accepts, Austria declines.
July 27: France makes first preparations for war; British fleet is assembled.
July 28: Austria declares war on Serbia.
July 29: German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg urges Austro-Russian negotiations and British neutrality; Tsar agrees to Russian general mobilization.
July 30: Austro-Russian discussions resume.
July 31: Germany proclaims imminent danger of war, demands Russia cease preparations on German frontier; Germany seeks clarification of France's position on a Russo-German war; Germany refuses British demand for respect for Belgian neutrality; Austria begins general mobilization; Germany declares war on Russia.
August 1: France states that it will be guided by its interests, begins mobilization; Germany begins mobilization.
August 2: British cabinet votes to protect French coast from German attack; Germany invades Luxembourg.
August 3: Germany declares war on France, begins invasion of Belgium.
August 4: Britain declares war on Germany.
August 6: Austria declares war on Russia; World War I begins.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM, 1800–1914

A

ABC Powers

Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are referred to collectively as the ABC powers because by 1914 they appeared to have achieved domestic tranquility as independent states and demonstrated a desire to submit boundary disputes to arbitration rather than war. Argentina achieved de facto independence from Spain in 1810; Brazil became a kingdom independent of Portugal in 1815; and Chile won independence from Spain in 1818. In each case independence was furthered by the struggles of Spain and Portugal in the **Peninsular War** in Europe, 1808–1813. In 1898, a boundary quarrel between Argentina and Chile might have resulted in war had the two states not settled it through arbitration. The pacific potential of the ABC powers in their own region and beyond was demonstrated in 1914 when at the Niagara Conference they mediated a settlement in the crisis between the United States and Mexico prompted by American refusal to recognize the Huerta regime in Mexico City and brought to head in the **Tampico Incident**.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud

See Ibn Saud

Abd-al-Qādir (1808–1883)

Algerian leader of the Hashim tribe and of the Sufi Qadiriyya fundamentalist Islamic sect who led a *jihad* against French dominion. Two years after the French invasion of **Algeria** in 1830, he united the tribes of Western Algeria and began a

campaign of harassment of French forces—commonly referred to as the Abd-al-Qādir Wars (1832–34, 1835–37, 1840–47)—in which he emerged triumphant in a number of small engagements. A charismatic leader of exceptional military and organizational ability, al Qādir became the most formidable enemy of the French Empire in Northern Africa.

At the head of a highly mobile army of approximately 10,000 regulars and a larger following of irregulars, he forced France to cede most of the Algerian interior in the Treaty of Tafna in 1837. In 1840, Marshal Thomas Bugeaud de la Piconnerie assumed command of French forces in Algeria and began an offensive against the interior tribes that included the destruction of crops and livestock. Following defeats at Takdempt, Tlemcen, and Smala, al-Qādir retreated to Morocco and raised a new army but was defeated by Piconnerie at the Battle of Isly River in 1844. After a victory at Sidi Brahimi he was driven back into Morocco and finally surrendered in December 1847. Although promised the right to emigrate to Alexandria or Syria, al-Qādir was detained in France until 1852 when he was freed by Napoleon III. In 1860, he saved large numbers of Christians from a violent mob of Druze and Maronite fanatics, a deed for which he was awarded the Legion of Honor.

FURTHER READING: Stora, Benjamim. *Algeria: A Short History*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Abensberg, Battle of (1809)

A Napoleonic victory over Austrian Archduke Charles in Bavaria. The Austrians had seized the initiative in the opening stages of the War of the Fifth Coalition, but Napoleon quickly recovered. He sent Marshal Jean Lannes with a force of 25,000 men supported by two divisions under Marshal Louis Nicolas Davout, three divisions from Bavaria, and 12,000 troops from Württemberg to move against the Austrians. Davout and Marshal André Masséna were stationed on the wings to deliver the final blow.

On April 20, the French forces split the Austrian forces while inflicting heavy casualties. Baron Johann Hiller withdrew toward Landshut, where he was pursued by Marshal Jean Lannes. Charles withdrew toward Eckmühl, where he outnumbered Davout's forces, with Napoleon in pursuit. Thus, in addition to the Austrian losses of almost 7,000 counting prisoners, Napoleon managed to split the Austrian forces and regain the initiative in the campaign. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

FURTHER READING: Alexander, R. S. *Napoleon*. London: Arnold, 2001; Chandler, D. G. *The Campaigns of Napoleon*. New York: Macmillan, 1996; Markham, J. David. *Napoleon's Road to Glory: Triumphs, Defeats, and Immortality*. London: Brassey's, 2003.

J. DAVID MARKHAM

Aborigines

Australia's indigenous peoples, thought to have first migrated to the continent 50,000 years ago. Before the arrival of Europeans in 1788, Aborigines arranged

themselves into approximately 500 language and territorial groupings later dubbed “tribes” by white settlers. The Aborigines practiced a hunter-gatherer lifestyle and developed a diverse clan-based, highly ritualized culture that emphasized their links to the land.

By the 1830s, the spread of white settlement in Australia had a devastating impact on the Aboriginal population. Disease, loss of land, and violence decimated the population. Imported illnesses such as smallpox, influenza, and venereal disease were responsible for often deadly epidemics and declining fertility, but competition for land and water took an even larger toll. Aboriginal efforts to resist the systematic expropriation of their land for the creation of settler farms and ranches often led to violent reprisals, leaving the survivors to face discrimination and marginalization on the fringes of white society. By the late nineteenth century official policy toward Aborigines changed into one of protection, segregation, and control, resulting in the twin policies of relocating Aborigines onto reservations and the forced removal of children from their families in an attempt at cultural assimilation. Under the 1902 federal constitution, which created a united Australia, Aborigines were specifically excluded from voting rights and were denied full citizenship—injustices that were rectified only incrementally between the 1960s and 1990s. *See also* Australian Colonies Government Act.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Aboukir Bay, Battle of (1798)

An Anglo-French naval engagement of the Napoleonic Wars, otherwise known as the Battle of the Nile, fought on August 1, 1798. The French fleet, which had escorted Napoleon’s forces to Egypt, was caught by a British fleet under Lord Horatio Nelson lying at anchor in Aboukir Bay, 20 miles northeast of Alexandria. The French did not expect a battle and so were ill-prepared when Nelson risked shoal waters and failing light to launch an immediate attack. In all 11 of 13 French ships-of-the-line were taken or sunk by a similarly size British fleet.

“Victory is certainly not a name strong enough for such a scene,” was Nelson’s verdict. The effect of the battle was to leave Bonaparte stranded with his army in Egypt. In the spring of 1799, he was defeated by the Turks in cooperation with a small naval force under Sir Sidney Smith and decided to abandon his Egyptian army and return surreptitiously to France. This marked the end of France’s occupation of Egypt. Because the defeat at Aboukir Bay was a naval affair, some of the glamour of the Battle of the Pyramids remained attached to Napoleon. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

FURTHER READING: Lambert, Andrew D. *Nelson: Britannia’s God of War*. London: Faber, 2004; Rodger, N.A.M. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815*. London: Allan Lane, 2004.

MARK F. PROUDMAN

Abyssinia

A largely mountainous and desert country in northeast Africa, also known as Ethiopia. Abyssinia was a Christian country associated in the European mind with the mythical Prester John and the Queen of Sheba, and it remained throughout the period of high imperialism the only independent native African state. It was invaded by a British punitive expedition under the command of Lord Robert Napier in 1868 in retaliation for the imprisonment of British diplomats, but the British had no intention of staying, and having liberated their prisoners and sacked the Emperor Theodore's fortress at Magdala, Napier's army marched back to the coast.

Abyssinia was again invaded in 1896, this time by the Italians. They suffered a humiliating defeat at the battle of **Adowa**, on March 1, 1896, which stands alongside the battles of Isandlwana and Little Big Horn as one of the few battlefield defeats of Western forces by native armies in the nineteenth century. Adowa was never avenged, a fact that rankled Italian nationalists until Mussolini's invasion in 1935. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Italy.

FURTHER READING: Farwell, Byron. *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972.

MARK F. PROUDMAN

Achinese War (1873–1907)

A protracted but low-level and sporadic conflict waged by the Muslim population of Aceh in northern Sumatra against Dutch rule. Aceh had been an independent sultanate for four centuries before the subjugation of Sumatra by the Netherlands. Rumors of American and Italian interest in Aceh prompted the Dutch to establish firm control. A military expedition to Aceh in 1873 was initially a fiasco, but a second attempt later the same year resulted in January 1874 in the capture of the sultan's fortress. The Achinese continued a guerrilla campaign until 1907 when the region was finally pacified.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Action Française

A radical, right-wing, anti-Semitic movement founded in 1898 by Henri Vaugois at the height of the **Dreyfus Affair**. The Action Française portrayed a bleak, pessimistic picture of contemporary national life, influenced by the fact that France by the end of the nineteenth century was an imperial power in decline. This condition was blamed on Jews, Protestants, and Freemasons, as well as *Métèques*, a word derived from the Greek that could be vaguely applied to anyone with foreign ancestors. Against all these Charles Maurras (1868–1952), the Action Française's principal ideologue, claimed to defend an ancient race in the ancestral homeland of France.

Initially, the movement was neither primarily Royalist nor Catholic. Catholicism was actively promoted, however, as the movement opposed the anticlericalism of the Third Republic. The Royalist tradition experienced a revival among people who believed that the recovery of French greatness depended on a strong and stable government headed by a hereditary, decentralized, antiparliamentary monarchy. Democracy, Maurras maintained, led to internal feuding and should therefore be suppressed through a coup d'état to restore the monarchy. Maurras believed that the solidarity of the nation could be guaranteed by the freedom of multiple centers of control in provinces just as during the days before the French Revolution.

Between 1908 and 1914, Action Française played a major role on the far right of French politics. It experienced a setback in 1926 when Pope Pius XI sought to check the participation of Catholics in the organization, but it remained active alongside the fascist leagues of France during the interwar years. *See also* Anti-Semitism.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Act of Union (1801)

Passed in 1800 by the administration of William Pitt the Younger in reaction to the Irish rebellion of 1798, the Act of Union created a unitary state with a single Parliament on the model of the Scottish union of 1707, from what had been the two formally separate states sharing a single monarch.

If Ireland is seen as the first British colony, then the Act of Union represented the only attempt in British history to solve the problem of colonial government by directly absorbing the colony into the metropolitan political system. Although the Union was apparently successful in the short term, many—although by no means all—Irish were never happy with their formally equal, but in many ways subordinate, status in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. As Catholic emancipation and the reforms of the nineteenth century enfranchised the Catholic majority in Ireland, pressure for Irish self-government, or Home Rule, grew.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Acton, Lord John (1834–1902)

John Emerich Edward Dalberg, first Lord Acton, was a historian and advocate of political liberty. Dalberg was born on January 10, 1834, in Naples. He assumed the Regius Chair of Modern History at Cambridge University in 1895 and was concerned with the danger to individuals by religious and political persecution. Embodying a liberal view, Acton emphasized progress of freedom through centuries. His universal history outlined relationship between individual liberty and religious virtue. Acton argued that revolution increased freedom, although he did not approve it. His ideas are reflected in *Essays in the History of Liberty*, *Essays in the Study of Writing*

and History and Essays in Religion, Politics, and Morality. He was the author of powerful and popular aphorisms such as “it is bad to be oppressed by a minority, but it is worse to be oppressed by a majority,” “power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely,” and “liberty is the prevention of control by others.” He died in 1902 at Tegersee.

FURTHER READING: Hill, Roland. *Lord Acton*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Adams, John (1735–1826)

An American revolutionary leader, a Federalist, and second President of the United States (1797–1801). Adams was at the forefront of protests in Britain’s American colonies against taxation without representation. In 1774, he was selected by the Massachusetts legislature as one of five delegates to the First Continental Congress and quickly became the leading voice for American independence. During the American Revolution, Adams was dispatched to Europe to secure alliances and financial support for the colonial struggle against Britain. In 1783, he then negotiated, together with John Jay and Benjamin Franklin, the Treaty of Paris, which formally acknowledged the independence of the United States. Adams was appointed the American ambassador to London, where he tried and failed to secure British agreement to open ports to American commerce, to obtain guarantees respecting American navigation and fishing rights, and to achieve the withdrawal of British troops.

In 1793, when war broke out between France and Britain, Washington had insisted that the United States maintain a policy of neutrality. As president, Adams attempted to continue this policy by steering a middle course between the pro-British and pro-French factions at home, but French attacks on American shipping made this difficult. Together with the cynical treatment of American diplomatic envoys by the Directory in the “XYZ Affair,” these predations forced Adams into an unofficial Quasi War with France. On April 30, 1798, Adams signed the bill authorizing the creation of a Department of the Navy. Congress also authorized increases in naval power and the use of the navy against French warships and privateers. By September 1799, the United States had deployed three battle squadrons to the Caribbean and the United States was taking its first precocious steps toward becoming a naval power.

Adams also signed the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, pushed by the Federalist majority in Congress. The acts were influenced by alarm at the influx of French fugitives from the Terror, as well as from the slave uprisings in the Caribbean and Irish refugees from the Rebellion of 1798. In 1800, Adams lost his bid for reelection to Thomas Jefferson. His presidency had been consumed by the Quasi-War, a product of the unique international circumstance and conflicting pressures of the time. Adams believed that the national interest lay in peace through neutrality but rightly concluded that it would require a powerful American fleet to defend it. *See also* British Empire, French Empire.

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McCullough, David. *John Adams*. New York: Touchstone, 2001; Smith, Page. *John Adams*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962.

CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Adams, John Quincy (1767–1848)

John Quincy Adams was the son of **John Adams** and the sixth president of the **United States** (1825–1829). Adams spent almost his entire professional life in public service and politics, as diplomat, senator, secretary of state, president, and member of the House of Representatives. During much of his career, Adams advocated American expansion and strongly supported the concept of **Manifest Destiny**, which claimed the North American continent for the United States as divinely chosen redeemer nation and model to the world.

One of his most important accomplishments as secretary of state during the Monroe-Administration was his negotiation of the Transcontinental Treaty (1819), which obtained east and west Florida from the Spanish Empire and extended the nation's first transcontinental boundary to the Oregon coast in exchange for \$5 million and a temporary recognition of Spanish claims to **Texas**. This treaty completed the **Louisiana Purchase**, developed a framework for further expansion, underlined American claims to the Pacific Coast, and thus corresponded with Adams's vision of the United States as a global commercial power.

His second accomplishment was the drafting of the **Monroe Doctrine** (1823). This highly influential statement of foreign policy principles summarized U.S. containment policy in the Western Hemisphere and hinted at a claim to hemispheric hegemony and a superior international role for the United States. The doctrine demanded European abstention from intervention in the Americas and pledged U.S. abstention from entanglements in the Old World. It also reiterated George Washington's warnings against foreign entanglements and underlined the no-transfer principle of adjacent colonial dominions in North America from one European power to another.

Driven by his antislavery views and his concern that further expansion would foster and sustain slave-holding in the United States, Adams led congressional opposition to the annexation of Texas (1836) and the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) in his post-presidential years. *See also* Adams-Onís Treaty.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Adams-Onís Treaty (1819)

Known officially as the *Treaty of Amity, Settlement and Limits, Between Spain and the United States*, the Adams-Onís Treaty arranged for U.S. acquisition of Florida from Spain and settled much of the border between the United States and Spanish holdings. The treaty is also referred to as the Transcontinental Treaty and the Florida Purchase Treaty. Negotiations by Don Luis de Onís, Spanish minister to Washington,

and **John Quincy Adams**, U.S. Secretary of State, concluded on February 22, 1819, and the treaty was proclaimed on February 22, 1821.

Spanish-American relations had frayed because of conflicts regarding Spanish Florida and an imprecise boundary between the Louisiana territory and Spanish holdings. Through the treaty, Spain ceded Florida and the United States ceded claims to Texas and agreed to assume up to \$5 million in claims by American citizens against Spain. The boundary between Spanish lands and the United States was set, and Spain effectively ceded claims to territory north and west of the boundary, especially Oregon north of California.

As a result, Spain, a declining imperial power, established a temporary buffer, **Texas**, between her territories and the United States; and the **United States**, a rising continental power, achieved a boundary line extending to the Pacific. John Quincy Adams's continental vision had scored a significant diplomatic triumph, bringing an American continental empire closer to reality. *See also* Oregon Question.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Adowa, Battle of (1896)

The decisive battle ending the **First Italo-Abyssinian War**. In 1889, **Menelik**, the king of Shoa, an Italian ally and claimant to the Ethiopian throne, signed the Treaty of Uccialli pledging to accept an Italian protectorate in return for substantial amounts of munitions. Menelik achieved the throne and then claimed that the Amharic text of the treaty never required a protectorate. In late 1894, Menelik then indirectly encouraged a native revolt inside **Italy's** colony of **Eritrea**. The Italians crushed the rebellion and invaded the Ethiopian province of Tigre to force the acceptance of the protectorate. In October 1895, Menelik raised a substantial feudal army and encamped at the city of Adowa. The Italian governor of Eritrea, General Oreste Baratieri, entrenched his mixed metropolitan and colonial force to guard the approach into Eritrea, intent on conducting defensive operations that would slowly dissipate Menelik's army. Rome, however, demanded an offensive victory over a native state and pressured Baratieri into ordering an assault on the city.

The attack started with a nighttime approach-march to the Abyssinian defensive positions. The Italian formation lost its cohesion in the mountainous terrain and was spotted by the Abyssinians, who launched a surprise attack with vastly superior numerical forces. The attack overwhelmed the Italians and defeated them piecemeal. By mid-afternoon they withdrew, leaving 6,000 soldiers dead on the field, 1,428 wounded, 954 missing, and another 1,865 taken prisoner; the Abyssinian loss was 7,000 dead and 10,000 wounded. The loss at Adowa humiliated Italy, led to the fall of the government, halted its expansionism in East Africa, and guaranteed Ethiopia's independence until 1936. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Omdurman, Battle of.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Adrianople, Treaty of (1829)

The peace treaty ending the **Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829**. The war's proximate cause was the sinking of the Turkish-Egyptian fleet at Navarino in October 1827. The fleet was moored there in support of operations that aimed at suppressing the Greek revolt in the Morea. An allied force of British, French, and Russian naval units had moved into the harbor to pressure the Turks into mediation, but under tense conditions fighting began and resulted in the annihilation of the Turko-Egyptian force. The Turks then repudiated the Convention of Akkerman, an earlier diplomatic agreement with the Russians, which had dealt with a number of outstanding issues between the powers.

Fighting began in April of 1828, and although the Russians initially made little headway, by August 1839, Russian forces were in possession of Adrianople, an ancient Ottoman capital and strategic point within a few days march of Constantinople. The Turks were forced to sue for peace. Negotiations began on September 2, 1839. By September 14, the peace treaty was signed. The Turks recognized Russian territorial gains at the mouth of the Danube, Russian annexation of Georgia and eastern **Armenia**, Russian suzerainty over Circassia; free and unfettered passage for Russian merchant ships through the Straits, freedom for Russian merchants to conduct trade throughout the **Ottoman Empire**, and renewed acceptance by the Ottomans of the autonomy of Moldova, Wallachia, **Serbia**, and **Greece**. Although Greek autonomy was included in the clauses of the treaty, it was outstanding friction between Russia and Turkey over the Caucasus and the Balkans generally, not the Greek drive for independence, which had caused the war and with which the peace was primarily involved. Although the conquest of Constantinople had perhaps been within Russia's grasp, the Russian court decided at this time that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was less in her interest than a predominant Russian influence at the Ottoman court in the future. *See also* Eastern Question; Russian Empire.

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ROBERT DAVIS

Aehrenthal, Aloys Lexa von (1854–1912)

Aloys Lexa von Aehrenthal was an Austro-Hungarian foreign minister. Born in September 1854 in Gross-Skal, Bohemia, Aehrenthal started his career at the foreign service of the Habsburg monarchy in 1877 and served in the Foreign Office and as envoy to Romania. In 1899, he became ambassador to Russia. Seven years later

he was appointed as foreign minister, launched a policy of strengthening Austria-Hungary's position in the Balkans, and initiated the unilateral Habsburg annexation of **Bosnia-Herzegovina**. Aehrenthal thereby provoked the **Annexation Crisis** of 1908–1909 as a consequence of which relations with Russia and Serbia were severely strained while Austria-Hungary seemed diplomatically isolated and completely dependent on German support.

Aehrenthal tried to improve relations with Italy and to gain more leeway in international affairs but died of leukemia in February 1912, his visions of stronger Austria-Hungary unfulfilled. It was his successor, Count Berchtold, who had to face the dramatic decline of the security situation in the Balkans in 1912. *See also* Balkan Crises; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Afghanistan

A landlocked, mountainous, and arid country of Central Asia on the northwestern frontier of India. Afghanistan was a principal object in the **Great Game** of imperial rivalry between Great Britain and tsarist Russia. The southward expansion of Russia was deemed by Britain to pose a threat to India, whereas Russia suspected Britain of having designs on the Hindu Kush.

In the mid-eighteenth century the country's tribes were united under a Pathan monarch, Ahmad Shah, and launched a series of plundering raids into India. The Pathans became bogged down in frontier wars with the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab and were also sufficiently divided among themselves to tempt foreign intervention. In the early nineteenth century the thought that Afghan leaders might collaborate with Napoleon aggravated British concern for the security of India. Even after Napoleon's defeat this concern only intensified. And for good reason. In 1837, the Shah of Persia led an expedition, with the support of Russian agents, to lay siege to the city of Herat in western Afghanistan. Although the siege failed a British invasion that opened the first of the **Afghan Wars** followed in 1838. By 1842, the invasion had ended in one of the greatest humiliations of British arms. Continuing Russian pressure southward prompted Britain to adopt a forward policy for Afghanistan with the goal of establishing a defensive line against an invasion of India on the northern heights of the Hindu Kush. The Second Anglo-Afghan War began in 1878 with a second and more successful British invasion and ended in 1880 with assumption of power of the pro-British Abdur Rahman, who remained on the throne until 1901. Britain promised to help Rahman repel foreign invaders but forbade him from conducting diplomatic relations with any other power.

In 1895, Britain and Russia reached an agreement establishing the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia, and in 1907, Russia declared the country outside its sphere of influence, promised to send no agents there, and agreed to consult with Britain on Afghan affairs. Britain agreed not to annex Afghanistan or interfere in its domestic affairs. *See also* British Empire; East India Company; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Afghan Wars (1838–1842, 1878–1880)

The Afghan Wars were two nineteenth-century conflicts occasioned by British fears of the threat posed by Russia to British interests in India and the Persian Gulf.

In the first the **East India Company** invaded Afghanistan to return to power the deposed amir, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. A British army of 15,000 with 30,000 followers captured Kandahar without resistance and occupied Kabul in August 1839. British forces were unable to control the countryside, however, and this seemingly easy victory turned into a rout when, in 1841, the Afghans struck back and turned the British retreat into a massacre in which 4,500 troops and 12,000 civilians were killed by Afghan raiders and the bitter winter weather of January 1842. A punitive expedition returned to Afghanistan, defeated the Afghans in a series of small engagements, and, in an act of retribution, burned the Great Bazaar in Kabul. Still, the initial purpose of the British campaign was thwarted when Dost Muhammad Khan, a self-proclaimed amir friendly to Russia, returned to power in Kabul shortly after the British army returned to India and reigned for 20 years.

In the Second Afghan War, British forces invaded after Tsar Alexander II annexed the Central Asian Khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Samarkand to the Russian Empire and Shere Ali, son and heir of Dost Muhammad, renewed the Afghan policy of friendliness toward Russia. The campaign began in November 1878 and quickly chalked a series of victories leading to the capture of Jalalabad and Kandahar early in 1879. Shere Ali died and was succeeded by his son, Yakub Khan, who signed a treaty ceding the Khyber Pass, Kurram, Pishin, and Sibi to Britain and agreed to receive a British agent in Kabul. The peace was shattered almost immediately, however, as the entire British mission was slaughtered by mutinous Afghan soldiers shortly after their arrival in Kabul. A punitive expedition led by General Frederick Roberts took Kabul, and some 100 Afghan deemed responsible for the massacre of the British mission were hanged.

In December 1879, Roberts then beat back an attack by a large Afghan force in the Battle of Sherpur. Abdur Rahman, grandson to Dost Muhammad, then led a new Afghan army equipped with modern Russian rifles into northern Afghanistan. Rather than oppose him, the British offered him the throne. When a rival claimant to throne, Ayub Khan, defeated a British army of 20,000 men in the Battle of Maiwand and forced a retreat to Kandahar, the settlement was imperiled until Roberts marched 10,000 men from Kabul to Kandahar—313 miles in 22 days—and defeated Ayub Khan in the **Battle of Kandahar**. When the victorious British withdrew to India, Ayub Khan seized Kandahar but this time was defeated by Abdur Rahman.

Afghanistan was now within Britain's sphere of influence in Central Asia, but the brutality of the fighting there helped to defeat the government of Disraeli in the British general election of 1880. *See also* Disraeli, Benjamin; Gorchakov, Alexander; Khiva Khanate; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Africa, Scramble for

The term *Scramble for Africa* defines a 30-year period stretching from 1884 to 1914 during which European nations abandoned their earlier preference for informal rule and instead engaged in a frenzied race to carve up the continent of Africa and create formal colonial empires there. The process was so rapid and complete that although only 10 percent of Africa was under European control at the start of the scramble, by 1912 the entire continent, with the exceptions of Liberia and Ethiopia, had been devoured.

Informal Rule

Since the end of the American Revolution, European powers were generally reluctant to take on new colonies, preferring instead to rely on free trade and informal economic control in the belief that it was more profitable, more flexible, and avoided unnecessary foreign entanglements. There were some notable exceptions to this rule—including the expansion of British holdings in **India**, the colonization of **Australia**, **New Zealand** and French **Indochina**, but none of the exceptions were part of a grand colonial scheme. They were instead haphazard, often ill-thought-out acquisitions triggered by efforts to divert attention from domestic problems in Europe, responses to local conditions in potential colonies, or the result of actions by men on the spot.

In Africa, for example, the French invaded **Algeria** in 1830 in an effort to distract the masses from the deeply unpopular regime of **Charles X**. Elsewhere Louis Faidherbe, the French Governor of **Senegal** from 1854–1865, repeatedly acted on his own authority and, against the wishes of his superiors in Paris, expanded French holdings by deliberately provoking border wars with his Muslim neighbors. British expansion in South Africa, on the other hand, was largely triggered by the **Great Trek** in which the Boers tried unsuccessfully to flee British control as a result of disagreements over native policy and anglicization.

Europeans otherwise contented themselves for most of the nineteenth century with a handful of coastal forts and trading stations inherited from the days of the recently abolished transatlantic slave trade. The combination of disease, punishing terrain, and potential resistance from the indigenous peoples made the prospect of expansion inland difficult, dangerous, and expensive. It was also unnecessary because African middlemen were already bringing everything that European merchants wanted to coastal trading ports for export abroad.

In the 1870s, however, the situation began to change. The steady industrialization of Europe, together with intensified international economic competition, tarnished the allure of **free trade** and led many nations to consider the acquisition of formal colonies as a form of safety net that would guarantee future access to markets and raw materials. Colonies also promised to ensure domestic political stability at home in Europe by distracting the masses from chronically low wages and poor

working conditions. For newly unified countries like Italy and Germany, the acquisition of colonies symbolized proof of **Great Power** status. Other nations sought colonies to improve their strategic position, protect foreign investments, or, in the case of France, to acquire additional manpower and raw materials to recover from the Franco-Prussian War. Additional considerations behind the sudden renewed interest in formal colonization included simple Victorian curiosity, **social Darwinism**, the pursuit of profit, and the desire to spread Christianity.

The Prelude to the Scramble

Although all of Europe was increasingly interested in resuming the creation of formal colonial empires, it took the actions of Leopold II of Belgium to set these pent-up impulses into motion. Chafing under the restrictions imposed by his status as the constitutional monarch of **Belgium**, Leopold opted to make a name and fortune for himself in Africa. Although the privately funded International Congo Society was ostensibly founded in 1878 to explore the Congo River basin and engage in “humanitarian” work, Leopold used it to hire **Henry Morton Stanley** and send him on a secret mission lasting from 1879–1884 to sign treaties with African chieftains granting Leopold political authority and trading rights along the southern bank of the Congo River.

When news of Stanley’s activities leaked out, the French, who had possessions in nearby Gabon, sprang into action and sent Savorgnan de **Brazza** to negotiate treaties of their own along the northern bank of the Congo lest Leopold secure a total monopoly on trade in the region. This expedition in turn upset Britain, worried in the wake of its takeover of **Egypt** that France was seeking revenge by trying to secure a monopoly on the Congo River trade. Consequently, in late February 1884, the British government suddenly recognized Portugal’s historical claims to the Congo delta in the hopes of ensuring that a friendly power would control access to the lucrative Congo basin.

Although it had yet to be ratified by the British parliament, the Anglo-Portuguese treaty infuriated the rest of Europe, as it settled bilaterally what was thought to be a larger international issue. German chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** promptly seized the opportunity simultaneously, both to steal the diplomatic limelight and to placate France by joining prime minister Jules Ferry in demanding that the entire matter be submitted to an international conference open to all interested parties. The need for such a conference was further underscored by Germany’s sudden announcements in April and July 1884 that it had established protectorates over southwest Africa, **Cameroon**, and **Togo**. Germany’s claims, which were based on paper partitions rather than physical occupation, created a dangerous precedent and raised the possibility that rival nations could claim the same piece of territory or, worse yet, that one country could claim the entire continent. As either situation could lead to a war, it was imperative that a conference be convened to establish ground rules for future colonial acquisitions. During the **Berlin Conference** of 1884–1885 the participants agreed to recognize existing German and Belgian claims, yet insisted that all future efforts to claim territory in Africa had to be officially announced and had to be backed up by actual occupation.

The Scramble for Territory

Once the ground rules had been set, all of the major European powers engaged in a desperate race to claim African territory. In the Congo, Leopold confined his

subsequent expansion to the occupation of areas already claimed on paper before the Berlin Conference. Similarly, in Togo, Cameroon, and southwest Africa, the Germans sought only to make good on their paper partitions by occupying the interior. The rest of the continent, however, was an altogether different matter.

Britain, which had enjoyed informal control over the East African coastline dating back to 1840 as a result of its efforts to end the slave trade and its involvement in the Sultan of **Zanzibar**'s clove plantations, was suddenly forced to formalize its claims in the region as a result of the announcement in February 1885, just days after the Berlin Conference, that Germany had established a new protectorate in East Africa. Thereafter British and German officials raced to sign additional treaties with interior peoples and establish formal occupation of their respective protectorates. This rivalry finally ended in 1890 with the signing of an Anglo-German Treaty.

Eager to establish credentials as a world power, **Italy** followed the British and German lead in trying to create colonies in East Africa. When the French closed the door on their hopes of colonizing **Tunisia** in 1881, the Italians opted instead to transform their existing small protectorate in Somalia into a larger formal empire by intervening in the internal politics of neighboring **Ethiopia**. When Ethiopia resisted, the Italians invaded and but were crushed at the Battle of **Adowa** in 1896. In the resultant peace settlement, Ethiopia nonetheless allowed Italy to retain **Eritrea** and expand its holdings in Somalia. Still, in an effort to ease the sting of their humiliation at Adowa, the Italians began plotting to take over the Ottoman province of **Libya**. They finally got their chance in 1911 when unrest inside the Ottoman Empire created a pretext for a successful invasion and the creation of a new Italian colony.

The principal architect of British expansion in South Africa, meanwhile, was **Cecil Rhodes**, prime minister of the **Cape Colony** and head of the De Beers diamond mine. As an ardent imperialist who thought that Britain was destined to rule most of the world, Rhodes pushed relentlessly to expand South Africa northward with the goal of creating an unbroken band of British African territory united north to south by a Cape-to-Cairo railroad. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, he used his political position and his fortune to bring this plan to fruition. In the process he forcibly annexed a variety of African kingdoms and sought to topple the Boer republic in the **Transvaal** in an effort to both secure control of additional rumored gold fields and to create a single block of British territory. His activities helped trigger the **Second Boer War** (1899–1902), which eventually led to the creation of a South African federation uniting Cape Colony and the Boer Republics under the Union Jack.

In west and central Africa, France, shut out of Egypt, resolved to expand its existing holdings so as to surround and contain nearby British territories. Ideally, the French hoped to continue their expansion all the way across Africa in an effort to seize the headwaters of the Nile and force Britain out of Egypt altogether. Britain initially ignored this threat to concentrate instead on expanding into the interior of **Nigeria** and the **Gold Coast** in search of additional sources of trade goods, but the 1896 expedition by Jean-Baptiste Marchand forced London to reassess French goals. Marchand's plan was to drag a small steamship in pieces from the Congo to the **Sudan** where he and his compatriots would reassemble it before sailing down the Nile claiming everything they saw in the process. Desperate to prevent this, Britain dispatched an army from Egypt to recapture the Sudan, which had fallen under the control of the **Mahdi** and his successors, and keep the source of the Nile

out of French hands. Although the French beat them to the tiny riverside village of **Fashoda** in 1898, the British, having arrived with an army and a railroad, forced the French to withdraw, precipitating a diplomatic crisis that was not mended until the establishment of the **Entente Cordiale**. In exchange, Britain signed a 1904 agreement recognizing French claims to **Morocco**.

Although the colonial powers continued to negotiate periodic border adjustments to their newly acquired holdings right up until the outbreak of World War I, by the turn of the century the scramble for Africa had largely given way to the tasks of governing, extracting resources and trying to “uplift” subject African populations. In a bitter twist of irony, the benefits that Europe hoped to realize from these activities were largely destroyed by the onset of war in 1914. *See also* Agadir Crisis; Algeciras Congress; Belgian Congo; British East African Protectorate; British Empire; French Empire; German Empire; German Southwest Africa; Moroccan Crisis; Somaliland; Uganda.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Afrikaners

Afrikaners were the descendants of European settlers, mostly of Dutch origin, who established a unique society, culture, and language in southern Africa beginning with their arrival in 1652. In the ensuing half century, they expanded their settlements from the coast as far as 250 miles inland. Within a few years of their arrival on the new continent, they began the importation of slaves. Huguenot refugees from France arrived at the Cape in 1688, followed by Germans and others from largely Protestant European states. The settlers were later known as “Boers,” the Dutch word for “farmers,” a designation applied to those who left Cape Colony on the **Great Trek** to establish independent republics in the African hinterland. They fought two major conflicts with the British Empire in the Anglo-Boer Wars 1880–81 and 1899–1902, with the result that the Orange Free State and the Transvaal formed parts of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The term *Boer* was replaced in the twentieth century with the term *Afrikaner*, which simply means a person who speaks the Afrikaans language. *See also* Africa, Scramble for.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Agadir Crisis (1911)

A Great Power crisis aggravating the tense atmosphere of European diplomacy leading to World War I. In the early part of the twentieth century, German’s leaders

viewed their country as increasingly “encircled” following a number of international crises. These fears increased following the Agadir, or Second Moroccan, Crisis of 1911. Specifically, Berlin resented French military intervention in Morocco in 1911, a move that amounted in effect to the establishment of a French protectorate in Morocco and ran counter to the **Algeiras Conference** of 1906 and to the Franco-German agreement on Morocco of 1909. In response to the French “dash for Fez” in the spring of 1911, Germany wanted to assert its status as a Great Power, achieve compensation for France’s territorial gains, and possibly weaken the **Entente Cordiale** in the process. State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Alfred von Kiderlen-Wächter acted forcefully and was rewarded with an enthusiastic response in Germany. Germany’s military leaders advocated a war, but Berlin instead dispatched the gun-boat *Panther* to the Moroccan port of Agadir to intimidate the French, an event that marked the beginning of the crisis. Berlin demanded the French Congo as compensation for the extension of French influence in Morocco, but France received diplomatic support from Britain so their Germany’s action only strengthened rather weakened the links between the Entente partners. This was demonstrated by British Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, in his famous “Mansion House Speech” of July 21, 1911 in which he threatened to fight on France’s side against Germany if necessary.

Thus, the crisis produced another German diplomatic defeat despite the fact that Berlin secured a small part of the French Congo as compensation. In Berlin, the defeat resulted in a bellicose anti-French and a particularly anti-British mood. Kiderlen-Wächter did not seek war in 1911, but he was willing to threaten it for diplomatic gains. But in the aftermath of the crisis, demands for a preventive war became widespread. Public enthusiasm for the army became more pronounced, especially as a result of the propaganda work of the German Army League, founded in January 1912. Agadir also had serious international consequences. In France, public mood turned distinctly anti-German. Because Britain and Germany were compensated for French gains in Morocco, Italy decided to annex Libya and Tripolitania in November 1911. Thereafter, enfeebled Turkey became an easy target for the **Balkan League** during the **Balkan Wars** of 1912/13. Italy became a less reliable alliance partner for Germany and Austria-Hungary, while the newly strengthened Serbia and Montenegro posed a more serious threat to the Dual Monarchy. The crisis gave rise to the Anglo-French naval agreement, discussed against the backdrop of the events of 1911 and signed in February 1913. Germany’s “encirclement” was fast becoming reality. *See also* German Empire; Gibraltar; Navalism; Ottoman Empire.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Aigun, Treaty of (1858)

A Sino-Russian agreement negotiated between eastern Siberia’s governor-general, Nikolai Nikolaevich Muravev, and the regional Manchu governor, I-shan.

The treaty ceded to the **Russian Empire** all lands north of the Amur River down to its confluence with the Ussuri River; allowed joint sovereignty by Russia and China over the lands east of the Ussuri; limited travel along the Amur, Ussuri, and Sungari Rivers to these two nations; and provided for trade between nationals living along these rivers.

The treaty was a result of the “Far Eastern Policy” initiated by Russian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Mikhailovich Gorchakov in response to Anglo-French incursions into India and China in the 1850s. Muravev was given plenipotentiary powers to expand the empire’s borders and in the years leading up to the treaty began settling Cossacks and their families in the Amur River valley despite its being Chinese territory. When Muravev himself dramatically arrived aboard a gunboat at the Manchu garrison of Aigun, Governor I-shan initially refused his demands to sign the ready-made treaty, but several bluff cannonades forced him to change his mind.

The Aigun Treaty was followed within weeks by the Treaty of **Tientsin**, negotiated by Admiral Evfimii Vasilevich Putiatin. Ignorant of Muravev’s treaty, Putiatin reproduced much of it in his own, although he also secured greater access to Chinese markets. In November 1860, the Russo-Chinese Convention of Peking confirmed both treaties as well as formalized Russia’s annexation of the lands east of the Ussuri River. By such means Russia painlessly expanded its empire by 350,000 square miles—a territorial expansion equal to the size of France and Germany. Off with a bang, the “Far Eastern Policy” later culminated in Russia’s humiliation during in **Russo-Japanese War**.

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ANDREW A. GENTES

Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of (1818)

The first post-Vienna meeting of the **Congress System** that governed post-Napoleonic Europe. In 1818, the four Great Powers—Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—met in the first of several meetings to uphold the Congress system, a means of discussing diplomatic problems at periodically held international conferences. The Congress enlarged the **Quadruple Alliance** to include France and ended the occupation of French territory two years earlier than originally agreed. The Congress discussed the question of French reparations owed by the terms of the second Treaty of **Paris**, the issue of Napoleon’s security on St. Helena, and reiterated the civil rights of German Jews as agreed at the Congress of **Vienna** three years before. Britain was the first nation to diverge from the united policies of the other powers by rejecting a call by Tsar **Alexander II** for an alliance pledged to guarantee the existing forms of government of the individual European states.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Alabama Dispute (1871–1872)

An Anglo-American diplomatic crisis of the **American Civil War** era. During the Civil War, the South focused on disrupting Union trade routes, but once the Confederacy's own ports were blockaded, she needed help from abroad. Although Great Britain was officially neutral, many British merchants continued to do business with the South. The most notorious example was the *Alabama*, built in Liverpool in 1862, which for two years terrorized the seas, confiscating goods and burning ships headed to or from the North. In June 1864, its reign of terror ended when it sank off the coast of France. Subsequently, the United States accused Britain of failing to enforce her laws of neutrality and demanded reparations. The matter was submitted to an international tribunal, but so tense were the negotiations that American newspapers proclaimed the possibility of war. In the resulting Washington Treaty, Britain agreed to pay \$15.5 million in damages.

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LEE A. FARROW

Alamo, Battle of (1836)

The most storied battle in the Texan War of Independence, in which 189 and perhaps 250 men led by David Crockett, James Bowie, and William Travis held off Mexican President Antonio López de Santa Anna's vastly superior force of 2,000 soldiers for almost two weeks.

The Alamo was a mission turned fort near San Antonio and blocked Santa Anna's march against the main forces of the Texas provisional government. Its 21 guns and the fervor of its defenders notwithstanding, there was no hope for success without reinforcements, which were repeatedly requested. Colonel William B. Travis arrived with only 30 cavalymen, and Crockett arrived soon thereafter with a small group of Tennessee Volunteers. It was only a token force against the well-trained and supplied regular Mexican army. Political indecision and poor communication prevented any further aid from being sent. The Mexican heavy artillery was more than sufficient to batter down the Alamo's walls in a siege. Once the walls were rubble, the defenders would have no choice but to surrender. But in the early hours of March 6, Santa Anna launched an attack from four sides, over the objections of his senior commanders. The Mexicans suffered heavily from the Alamo's guns, but superior numbers soon prevailed. It was all over within 90 minutes. A handful of combatant survivors, perhaps including Crockett, were executed, but women and children were allowed to leave in safety.

Its mythology notwithstanding, the Alamo was of little military significance. It did buy some time for the provisional government to form, but, more important, it became a symbol of resistance on par with the Spartan stand at Thermopylae, and "Remember the Alamo" remains an inspiring part of Texan and American lore. *See also* Manifest Destiny; Mexican-American War.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Åland Islands

A stepping-stone cluster of islands stretching between the coasts of Sweden and Finland and marking the boundary between the Baltic Sea to the south and the Gulf of Bothnia to the north. The islands were given to Russia, along with Finland, by the Treaty of Frederikshavn concluding the Russo-Swedish War in 1809, a tertiary conflict of the Napoleonic Wars. When the Treaty of Tilsit made allies of France and Russia, the allies demanded that Sweden abandon membership in the Fourth Coalition and join them in making war against Britain. Sweden's refusal precipitated the war with Russia in which the islands and Finland, Swedish since the twelfth century, were lost. The islands were then made officially neutral and demilitarized as part the diplomatic settlement of the Crimean War for the purpose of protecting Sweden from Russian aggression. *See also* Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Alaskan Boundary Dispute (1896–1903)

A Canadian-American dispute arising from the discovery of gold in the Klondike region in August 1896. The Canadian government unearthed the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825, upon which the Russian-American Treaty of 1867 was based, to support its claim to a boundary that enabled Canada to keep a strip of land in the so-called Alaskan panhandle, thus cutting it off from the rest of Alaska. The main motivation on the Canadian side was to facilitate access by sea to the gold sites. A temporary agreement was reached in 1899 and passions cooled off until this *modus vivendi* was questioned three years later. In March 1902, American President Theodore Roosevelt, who regarded the Canadian claim as unfair and fraudulent, had troops sent to the disputed territory—the Lynn Canal—in southern Alaska. A convention—the Hay-Herbert Treaty—reluctantly negotiated in 1903 provided that “six impartial jurists of repute,” three for each party, would meet and settle the issue by a majority vote. For Roosevelt, this arrangement was simply meant to help Canadian and British leaders save face, for it was out of the question to yield any territory whatsoever. The Canadians were angered by his choice of fake jurists, who could not possibly be impartial in view of their connection with the Roosevelt Administration, but the British government was unwilling to antagonize the United States.

The Alaskan Boundary Tribunal that sat in London from September 3 to October 20, 1903, vindicated the American position. The two Canadian members voted as expected, but Lord Chief Justice Alverstone sided with the three Americans, to Roosevelt's intense satisfaction. In so doing, he did not so much heed the Rough Rider's waving of the Big Stick as he chose to incur the Canadians' wrath for the sake of his own country's policy of friendship with the United States. Despite occasional

bickering, the late nineteenth century had been an era of Anglo-American rapprochement. To Roosevelt, who admired the British Empire and believed in the civilizing mission of “the English-speaking race,” an Anglo-Saxon entente was a valuable asset in world politics in an age of imperial rivalries, and many Englishmen shared his views, which accounted for British moderation in the dispute. *See also* Manifest Destiny.

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SERGE RICARD

Alaska Purchase Treaty (1867)

A treaty transferring Alaska, a Russian possession in North America, to the United States. Negotiations between Secretary of State William H. Seward and Russian Minister Edouard de Stoeckl concluded on March 30; the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty on April 9; and President Andrew Johnson proclaimed it on June 29, 1867. Russia had begun to see its North American holdings as political and financial liabilities and approached the United States before the Civil War, but only after the war could Washington take advantage of the offer.

The treaty provided for Russian cession of the territory in exchange for \$7.2 million, a deal ridiculed in the United States as “Seward’s Folly.” The property of the “Greek Oriental Church” was to be protected, and inhabitants could return to Russia within three years. Those who remained would enjoy the “rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States.” Alaska was the nation’s final continental acquisition and symbolic of its **manifest destiny** to expand. The purchase addressed concerns over Russia’s North American presence but left issues of government and citizenship unresolved, as the treaty did not specify that the territory was slated for statehood. A domestic corruption scandal over congressional funding for the purchase blunted the expansionist drive for 30 years. *See also* Russian Empire; Appendix: Words and Deeds, Document No.3.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Albania

A mountainous Balkan country that was part of the **Ottoman Empire** for more than 450 years. During Ottoman rule, however, Albanian chiefs controlled most

local matters and the people were converted to Islam. But after the 1780s, Albania came under the control of Ali Pasha of Jannina.

Taking the lead from its neighbors, an Albanian nationalist movement evolved, taking as its rallying cry “the religion of Albanians is Albanianism!” In 1878, a group of Albanian leaders organized the League of Pizren, which called for self-government within the Ottoman Empire and initiated the development of the native language, literature, education, and a new alphabet. The movement remained active but was less noticeable than neighboring nationalist movements until in November 1908 an Albanian national congress representing Muslims, Catholics, and Orthodox met at Monastir and, although it supported the **Young Turks**, led a revolt in 1910.

The Habsburg government stimulated the nationalist movement by subsidizing schools and newspapers, because an independent Albania was the best way of preventing Serbia from obtaining a foothold on the Adriatic coast. Both Germany and Britain seconded this policy. At the London Conference of Great Power ambassadors in December 1912, it was therefore agreed to establish an independent Albania. But the frontiers became an issue of dispute, as Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy wanted Albania to be as large as possible and to include Scutari, Russia, and France, and to a lesser extent Britain, believed the area to be disputed and that Serbia and Greece should also receive parts of it. Nothing was decided. During the **Second Balkan War** Albania was again a battleground, with Montenegrin forces capturing Scutari. Heavy pressure from the powers and Austro-Hungarian threats of military action forced the Montenegrins to relinquish claims to it.

In July 1913, Austria-Hungary and the Albanian nationalists achieved an independent state. Russia deprived it of some Albanian villages, which went to Serbia, and Greece was also deprived of some Orthodox areas included in southern Albania. The powers agreed to guarantee Albania’s neutrality. A German army officer, the nephew of “Carmen Sylvia” Romania’s Queen, Prince William of Wied, was chosen to rule. But civil war and a lack of European Power support made his position untenable, and aid ceased during World War I. A successful rebellion in September 1914, under Essad Pasha, an Ottoman commander, forced William to flee. Essad then governed dictatorially and maintained himself, with Italian aid, until the Austrians defeated him in 1916. In 1920, a national legislative assembly met in Tirana and within month a government formed, but Albania’s frontiers were not fixed until 1926. *See also* Eastern Question; Habsburg Empire.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Albrecht Friedrich Rudolf, Archduke (1817–1895)

Austrian military commander born in Vienna in August 1817. Albrecht was the son of Archduke Charles, who had defeated Napoleon in the Battle of **Aspern-Essling** in 1809. In the wake of the revolution of 1848–49, Albrecht got involved

in politics, serving as governor of Hungary and becoming the leading ultraconservative among the Habsburgs. In the war of 1866, he commanded the Austrian army on the Italian theater and defeated the Italians at Custoza. After the war, the victorious field commander became supreme commander of the army and general inspector. He cooperated closely with Count Friedrich Beck-Rzikowsky, the chief of the general staff since 1881. Struggling relentlessly against both liberal and nationalist tendencies in the military, as well as political and dynastic elites of the Habsburg monarchy, Albrecht usually favored a cautious foreign policy. He died in Arco in February 1895. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Alexander, King of Yugoslavia (1888–1934)

A member of the Karadjordjevic family, Alexander was Prince Regent of Serbia and, after 1921, king of Yugoslavia. Alexander was the son of King Peter whose authority he largely replaced in June 1914 because of the king's failing health. During World War I, Alexander served as Serbia's nominal supreme commander, in which capacity he accompanied Serbian forces in their retreat through Albania in 1915. He became King of the United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes after 1918 and of Yugoslavia after 1929, at which time he suspended the constitution and ruled as a dictator. On October 9, 1934, Alexander was assassinated by a Macedonian nationalist in Marseilles. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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MARTIN MOLL

Alexander I, Tsar of Russia (1777–1825)

Alexander I was tsar of Russia from 1801 to 1825. After succeeding his father, Paul I, Alexander soon became alarmed at Napoleonic expansion and was instrumental in establishing the Third Coalition against France in 1805. When his forces were decisively defeated at Austerlitz, Alexander withdrew to Poland, where in the following year, in alliance with Prussia, he continued operations until the spring of 1807. After his army's defeat at Friedland in 1807, he met Napoleon at Tilsit and came to an arrangement with the French emperor by which the tsar agreed to join the Continental System, so prohibiting all trade between Russia and Britain. Within a few years, however, Franco-Russian relations broke down. Realizing that his alliance with France was detrimental to Russia's economy, angered by the failure of Napoleon to support Russia's interests in Turkey and Sweden, and concerned about the proximity of Napoleon's Polish satellite state, the Duchy of Warsaw, Alexander found himself again at war with France. Prodded by Napoleon's disastrous invasion

in 1812, Alexander played a key role in the ultimate defeat of France and the re-establishment of the balance of power in Europe through the political restructuring of the Continent agreed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. *See also* Alexander II; Napoleonic Wars; Nicholas I; Russian Empire.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Alexander II, Tsar of Russia (1818–1881)

Alexander II was tsar of Russia from 1855 to 1881, coming to the throne in the midst of Russia's unsuccessful involvement in the **Crimean War**. Alexander occupied himself mostly with domestic affairs, and his reign became known as the Era of the Great Reforms. He carried out the emancipation of the Russian serfs in 1861 as the first step in a series of reforms designed to modernize Russia. His Zemstvo Reform of 1864 created an elected unit of local administration, the *zemstvo*. Alexander also created an independent judiciary and approved the introduction of universal manhood conscription for the Russian army in 1874. In the realm of imperial expansion, Alexander approved the military conquest of the Central Asian Khanates of Kokand, **Bukhara**, and **Khiva** during the 1860s and 1870s and efforts to extend Russian influence in **Afghanistan**. Kokand was annexed into the tsarist empire while the other two khanates were reduced to the status of Russian protectorates. Alexander oversaw the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877–1878, which resulted in Russian territorial gains in the Caucasus and the creation of a Principality of **Bulgaria** under Russian influence.

His reforming activities raised expectations for still greater reforms, but his maintenance of tsarist autocracy led to disappointment. Many student radicals joined revolutionary movements to generate a peasant uprising to overthrow Alexander. When this movement failed in 1874–1875, some revolutionaries trained their sights on the tsar himself. One of these groups, the Peoples' Will, succeeded in assassinating him in 1881. *See also* Great Game; Ottoman Empire; San Stefano, Treaty of.

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JONATHAN GRANT

Alexander III, Tsar of Russia (1845–1894)

In contrast to his father, **Alexander II**, Alexander III was a reactionary autocrat in domestic affairs yet instinctively cautious in his diplomacy. Recoiling from the assassination of his father, Alexander adhered to a policy of political repression

throughout his reign, employing secret police against real and imagined enemies, intensifying the “Russification” of the subject nationalities of the **Russian Empire**, and allowing pogroms against Russia’s Jews. He had the utmost confidence in the judgment of Konstantin Pobedonostsev, his chief policy advisor and Procurator of the Holy Synod, and the competence of Vyacheslav von Plehve, his director of police and later minister of the interior. The Jews in particular suffered horribly under the “Temporary Rules” imposed in May 1882 and the increasingly violent waves of popular anti-Semitism that climaxed in the Kishinev Massacre of 1903. In the interim, Alexander issued a decree in 1890, according to which all Jews in the Russian interior were to migrate to the western provinces, where they were forbidden either to own or lease land or take up liberal professions. Meanwhile, genuine political enemies of the regime were forced to become more secretive and to form alliances of convenience across rival groups.

Alexander sought to avoid international conflict. After 1890, he was so alarmed by the course of German foreign policy that he abandoned the tradition of the *Dreikaiserbund* and gravitated toward an understanding with France that in 1894 culminated secretly in the Franco-Russian Alliance only months before Alexander’s death. Alexander also promoted the development of the **Russian Far East** and authorized construction of the **Trans-Siberian Railway**. His reign was therefore a period of expansion and diplomatic realignment abroad accompanied by repression and rising political tensions at home, which led, in the reign of his son **Nicholas II**, to the revolutionary upheavals of 1905. *See also* Witte, Sergei.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Algeciras Conference (1906)

The Algeciras Conference was an international conference convened to resolve the First Moroccan Crisis of 1905; it was held at the Spanish port of Algeciras from January 16 to April 7, 1906. Germany had insisted on a conference to resolve its dispute with France over Morocco but found itself isolated at the conference, with support only from Austria-Hungary. Although the conference confirmed Moroccan independence under a Sultan, it granted France and Spain the right to police the country under a Swiss inspector-general and gave France economic control over Morocco. This amounted to a diplomatic defeat for Germany, leading to the resignation of Friedrich von Holstein from the Foreign Office. There could now be no talk of a Franco-German reconciliation. The **Entente Cordiale** between France and Britain was therefore strengthened by Germany’s diplomatic blunder. In 1911, Germany provoked a further confrontation over Morocco in the **Agadir Crisis**, arguing that France had breached the Algeciras agreement. *See also* German Empire, Wilhelm II.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Algeria

By the mid-nineteenth century, Algeria was a uniquely significant Northern African territory of the **French Empire**. After centuries as both the westernmost province of the Ottoman Empire and a base for the Barbary pirates, Algeria was invaded and colonized by the French in 1830 as part of **Charles X's** efforts to preserve his throne after his attempts to restore autocratic royal power in France triggered widespread discontent. Although Charles lost his throne in the July Revolution of 1830, his successors opted to retain Algeria and spent the next several decades conquering the interior in the hopes of establishing a settlement colony that could also serve as a source of labor and food imports. The French presence was bitterly opposed by the Algerian forces under **Abd-al-Qādir** who quickly launched a fierce **guerilla** war to drive out the invaders. France in turn retaliated by confiscating land, engaging in collective reprisals, and embracing a scorched earth policy of destroying crops and livestock. General Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, with the aid of over 100,000 French troops, eventually succeeded in conquering and pacifying the bulk of Algeria in 1847, but smaller French military operations continued in the interior zones until the early twentieth century.

As the army worked to pacify the interior, French settlers, also known as *colons* or *pieds noirs*, poured into Algeria's urban and coastal areas in search of cheap land and business opportunities. Throughout the nineteenth century, the ranks of free settlers were also swelled by political prisoners deported after the Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1870, as well as immigrants from Spain, Italy, and the nearby British colony of Malta. The size of the European settler community, which eventually reached 10 percent of the total Algerian population, meant that it exerted substantial political influence in Paris. the settlers enjoyed voting rights, owned most farms and businesses, and controlled the local administration, and the Algerian masses were rendered second-class citizens. In addition to facing chronic unemployment, poverty, and limited prospects for education, unless they abandoned their traditional culture and religion, Algerians were also denied voting rights and were subject to the *indigénat*, an arbitrary legal policy that allowed colonial administrators to impose summary fines and jail terms for a wide range of alleged offenses. The end result of these policies was lingering resentment that led to the rise of Algerian nationalism in the aftermath of the twentieth century's two World Wars. *See also* French Foreign Legion; *Jihad*; Ottoman Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Aliwal, Battle of (1846)

A decisive British victory in the First **Sikh War**. The British and the Sikhs met at an open field near the village of Aliwal on the south bank of the Sutlej River on January 28, 1846. Although on the losing side at **Ferozeshah**, most in the Sikh army blamed that defeat on the leadership and felt confident that they were superior to the British army. The Sikh army of about 13,000 had its back to the Sutlej, while the British army of 10,000, led by General Sir Harry Smith, marched down from a ridge to attack. The Sikhs fired from 700 yards. From the ridge, Smith could see the Sikh weakness and ordered the village of Aliwal, on the Sikh left flank, to be taken. The Sikhs formed squares but these were broken. Fighting was vicious. The Sikhs sought cover behind the banks of the Sutlej but were dispersed by artillery fire and a battalion of **sepoys**. It was a complete route for the British, who suffered only 500 casualties to the Sikhs' 3,000. The loss of men and material was high, but what was perhaps more devastating to the Sikh army was the loss of morale as a result of the defeat. *See also* British Empire; India.

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DAVID TURPIE

Alsace-Lorraine

A region of present-day northeastern France and a principal territorial gain of the Second German Reich in the **Treaty of Frankfurt** in 1871 after the Prussian victory in the **Franco-Prussian War**. Its acquisition was in many respects a central goal of the wars of German unification, in part because the south German states cited it as justification for their armies' treatment as equals in the German national mission despite their military status as very junior partners with Prussia, but also because it symbolized to German nationalists the correction of what they considered a great injustice. Alsace was taken by France in 1648 as a prize of victory in the Thirty Years War. Lorraine had been part of the Holy Roman Empire since the ninth century but had been appropriated by France on a piecemeal basis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bismarck justified the annexation of the region on the basis of the Germanic dialect and culture of the local population, but the region also included predominantly French-speaking areas for the military expedience of defensible borders. Under the Second Reich the region was governed directly from Berlin as the *Reichsland* of Elsaß-Lothringen. After 1871, the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine immediately became the focus both of French nationalists and war planners. Its retention by Germany, not surprisingly, figured prominently in the **Schlieffen Plan**. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; German Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

American Civil War (1861–1865)

The American Civil War was fought between the military forces of the Federal Government of the **United States** against those of the Confederate States of American, made up of 11 states who announced their secession from the Union in early 1861. The respective parties are often referred to as the Union or the “North,” and the Confederacy or the “South.” More than 600,000 American soldiers lost their lives, more than half from the effects of disease, during the conflict, which involved more than 3 million personnel. After four years of bloodshed, the Union of the United States of America was preserved and slavery was abolished. Northern victory also inaugurated a trying period of Reconstruction and marked a key staging post in the development of the nation.

The events leading to the outbreak of the war in 1861 centered on the issue of slavery as the United States continued to expand westward across the North American continent, bringing more states into the Union. Since the very inception of the American republic, and before, slavery had existed across vast tracks of the South and was integral to the plantation economies of the region. In the face of the abolitionist movement in the North and the demise of slavery in Europe, Southerners became increasingly concerned that their way of life was under threat. Led by South Carolina, the southern states were prompted to secede by the threat they perceived from the election in 1861 of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. Lincoln, leader of the Republican Party from Illinois, held firmly antislavery views but did not promise federal laws preventing slavery. Instead, he and his supporters argued that slavery should not be permitted in those territories to the west seeking to become states and join the Union. The Republican Party had emerged in the 1850s with a dedicated antislavery agenda, and, for many in the South, the Republican victory in the 1860 presidential election was the final straw. Thus in February 1861, before Lincoln had assumed office, the states of South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Texas seceded and formed the Confederate States of America; they had adopted a constitution and were led by their own president, Jefferson Davis. The states of Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Virginia joined them in April and May. Despite efforts at conciliation conflict followed, not over the issue of slavery itself but over the preservation of the Union against southern secessionism. Lincoln’s presidential inaugural address stated that the “Constitution of the Union of these States is perpetual” and therefore could not be dissolved unless all the parties agreed.

The slavery issue nonetheless continued to be important to the progress of the war. Lincoln addressed the dilemma in two parts, by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862, and publishing the final version on 1 January 1863, at which point it came into force. The proclamation did not abolish slavery; the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in December 1865 did that. Rather, it stated that those slaves in the Confederacy were henceforth freemen. Given that the proclamation was a presidential decree and not a law, considerable

debate remains as to Lincoln's motivations. Although the impact of the abolitionist movement undoubtedly played a role, Lincoln justified his decision as a war measure. The proclamation, he argued, would enable the North to win the war to preserve the Union by undermining the South. Further, the measure enabled African Americans to be recruited into the Union forces and thus swelled the pool of men fighting for the North by almost 200,000 by the end of the war, far in advance of the Confederacy arming their slaves, which took place only in the final months of the war.

The military prosecution of the war began in the spring of 1861 at Fort Sumter near Charlestown, South Carolina, and was to continue for the next four years to devastating effect. Those years marked the beginning of the industrialization of warfare through the use of the **telegraph**, the **railways**, and the **machine gun** and are seen as part of a movement toward "total war" involving the whole of society and not just the military. The total number of engagements during the war is estimated at more than 10,000, ranging from small unit activity to the set piece battles at **Gettysburg** and **Jamestown**. The Confederacy won many of the war's battles at the tactical level but was unable to translate these into strategic victory. As the war wore on, the North's population and industrial capacity led to the South's eventual defeat.

The maritime environment played host to some of the most significant engagements of the war, particularly in the sense of the danger of the war escalating and drawing in the European powers. The Union's strategy was to use a blockade and starve the Confederacy of essential war supplies. British businessmen in particular, whose cotton industry was injured by the war in the first instance, constructed a fleet of small ships known as blockade runners to supply the South. Their occasional interception by Union forces ran the risk of British reprisals, but Union forces were careful to return the British crews unharmed after confiscating any contraband.

On land, the battles were particularly bloody. The Battle of Gettysburg at the beginning of July 1863 cost the lives of more than 50,000 Americans in just three days. The battle is often seen as a turning point in the war, as the Union Army repelled the invasion of the North by the skilled Confederate General, Robert E. Lee. Up to this point, Lee had enjoyed successes over Union forces at the Second Battle of Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Lee referred to Chancellorsville as "the perfect battle," because of his skill in maneuvering his forces to outwit the numerically stronger opposition. The leading general on the Union side was Ulysses S. Grant, later the 18th President of the United States, who became General in Chief at the beginning of 1864 after his capture of **Vicksburg** on July 4, 1863. Grant followed a policy of attrition in campaigning against the South during 1864, which led to massive casualties on both sides. Crucially, Lincoln supported Grant's approach and reinforced his armies. At the end of 1864, the Confederacy's prospects for victory were negligible. In April 1865, Grant's forces broke through the South's defensive lines surrounding Richmond, capturing the Confederate capital and forcing Lee to flee to the West. Lee, realizing his untenable predicament, surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865. Grant allowed Lee to retain his cavalry sword and horse as a sign of his respect. The rest of the Confederate forces followed suit and the war was over.

In the immediate aftermath of the cessation of hostilities, the nation was rocked by the assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865. The president was shot

at close range by the well-known actor and Confederate sympathizer, John Wilkes Booth, while attending a performance at Ford's Theater on Good Friday. He died the next morning without regaining consciousness. The political impact of Lincoln's death was to rally support for the Thirteenth Amendment and the spirit of reconciliation. Lincoln had operated skillfully in maintaining the support of the border states, Democrats who supported the war, the still relatively new Republican Party, and the emancipated slaves, as well as preventing international recognition of the Confederacy by Britain or France. After Lincoln's burial in Illinois, Jefferson Davis was captured and spent two years in a federal jail; however, he was never tried, and when he died in 1889 his funeral in Richmond was attended by thousands of supporters.

More broadly, the impact of the American Civil War was felt in a number of fields. Thousands had died, families had been torn apart, and the economy of the South was ravaged. Nonetheless, the Union had been preserved and the issue of slavery settled, although discrimination against African Americans persisted through the Reconstruction period, and their civil rights continued to be an issue until the mid-1960s. *See also* Antietam, Battle of.

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J. SIMON ROFE

American Indian Wars

See Indian Wars

Amiens, Treaty of (1802)

A treaty of peace concluded between Britain and France on March 25, 1802, bringing an end to the series of conflicts known as the French Revolutionary Wars. The terms of the treaty were more favorable toward France. France agreed to restore the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples) and the Papal States to their legitimate rulers but was able to retain Nice, Savoy, Piedmont, and the German territories taken on the left bank of the Rhine since 1792. Britain agreed to restore the Cape Colony in southern Africa to Holland, a French ally; Malta to the Knights of St. John, from whom Napoleon had seized the island in 1798; Tobago to Spain, another French ally; Martinique to France; and Demerara, Berbice, and Curaçao to the Dutch. In return, Britain retained only the former Spanish colony of Trinidad in the West Indies and the former Dutch possession of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean. The French made vague promises to restore or compensate the Kings of Piedmont and the Netherlands and gave general assurances that previous treaties with continental powers would be honored. Both sides viewed the peace as little more than a truce, and war resumed only 14 months later. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Pitt, William.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Amundsen, Roald (1872–1928)

Norwegian polar explorer who participated in several expeditions to both the Arctic and to Antarctica. Amundsen sailed through the North West passage between Canada and Greenland in 1903. As a result of more thorough planning and better use of sled dogs, Amundsen then beat the British explorer, Captain Robert F. Scott, in their 1910–1912 race to become the first man to reach the South Pole. Amundsen also made the first undisputed conquest of the North Pole in 1926. He disappeared in the Arctic in an attempt to rescue the Italian explorer Umberto Nobile in 1928.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Anarchism

A radical libertarian theory that attained political popularity in the nineteenth century. Derived from the Greek words *αν* (“without”) and *αρχία* (“rulers”), anarchism connotes a system of thought and action based on the belief that government is not only unnecessary, but also detrimental. The term *anarchist* was first used by the French Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1808–1865), the first declared anarchist and a precursor of mutualism, in *What Is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right of Government*, published in 1840, in which he made the famous statement that “property is theft.”

Whereas in the first half of the nineteenth century anarchist thought gravitated around individualism, in the second half anarchist theory turned towards collectivism, mainly under the influence of Russian anarchist philosopher Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876), founder of the Social Democratic Alliance in 1869 and considered one of the “fathers of anarchism.” In *The Red Association* (1870) he stated that, “Political Freedom without economic equality is a pretense, a fraud, a lie.” Karl Marx regarded Bakunin as a “sentimental idealist.” Anarchist communism also emerged under the initiative of Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), a Russian prince known as the “Anarchist Prince.” Both Bakunin and Kropotkin participated in the International Workingmen’s Association, also known as the First International, an organization initially made up of British trade unionists, French socialists, Italian republicans, and anarchists. The Association was founded in 1864 in London and was led by Karl Marx. In 1872, at the Hague Congress, due to a dispute between Marx and Bakunin, the “Bakuninist” anarchists were expelled from the association. This was the origin of the perpetual conflict between Marxists and anarchists.

Anarcho-syndicalism, a variation of libertarian communism, was developed late in the nineteenth century. The general strike was regarded as a main strategy

in the pursuit of the anarchist revolution and influenced political life in the United States through the activities of the early labor unions, themselves influenced by anarchist immigrants from Central or Eastern Europe. Although political violence was generally regarded as a necessary revolutionary practice, many anarchists thought riots, bombings, assassinations, and even insurrections were ineffective. Particularly noteworthy is nonviolent Christian anarchism, such as professed by the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. Anarchist leaders, such as Bakunin and the Italian Errico Malatesta (1852–1932), by contrast considered violence indispensable. William McKinley, the 25th president of the United States, was shot in Buffalo, New York, on September 6, 1901, by Leon Czolgosz, a registered Republican who claimed to have been influenced by the writings of Emma Goldman (1869–1940), a prominent anarcho-communist and feminist born in Lithuania. *See also* Marx, Karl.

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GEORGIA TRES

Andijan Revolt (1898)

A major revolt of Islamic peoples against Russian rule in 1898 in the eastern Uzbek city of Andijan on the upper Syr Darya River. The rebellion was planned and led by the Naqshbandi Sufi leader Madali Ishan. It was unsuccessful. Madali Ishan led approximately 2,000 followers in an attack on the Russian barracks, an action he envisioned as part of a *ghazawat* or *jihad* against the Russian imperial administration in **Turkestan**. His followers were not well armed, carrying only cudgels and knives against Russian firearms. The attack resulted in the deaths of 22 Russians and 11 rebels before being defeated. In all, 24 rebels were later hanged and over 300 were sent to Siberia. The revolt caused serious concerns for the Russians and forced them to reexamine their administration in the Ferghana Valley. Andijan had been annexed by the Khokand khanate state in the middle of the eighteenth century and was taken by the Russians in 1876. *See also* Great Game; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Andrássy, Gyula, Count (1823–1890)

Hungarian prime minister and Habsburg foreign minister. Andrássy was born March 1823 in Kassa to a distinguished Magyar family, became a member of parliament in 1847, and joined the Hungarian independence movement led by Lajos Kossuth. He served as a commander with the Hungarian troops in the war of independence in 1848–49. As a consequence of the Hungarian defeat he was forced to flee the country but was permitted to return in 1857. He became one the preeminent Hungarian politicians that negotiated the *Ausgleich* of 1867,

which settled Hungary's semiautonomous position within the Habsburg Empire. Andr ssy was the leader of the liberals and prime minister of Hungary from 1867 to 1871, when he was appointed foreign minister of the Habsburg monarchy, a position he held until 1879. His "Andr ssy Note" of December 1875 influenced the Congress of Berlin in 1878. He pushed for the occupation of **Bosnia-Herzegovina** in the aftermath of the **Russo-Turkish War**. Just before he resigned in October 1879, Andr ssy signed the Dual Alliance treaty with Germany. He died in February 1890 in Istria. *See also* Balkan Crisis; Berlin, Congress of; Eastern Question; Habsburg Empire; Ottoman Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Anglo-American Treaty (1818)

A treaty addressing three issues in Anglo-American relations: Atlantic fisheries, the northern boundary, and the Oregon territory. It was signed October 20, 1818 and proclaimed on January 30, 1819. American fishing rights within Canadian territorial waters, granted in the Treaty of Paris of 1783, had come into question after the War of 1812. In addition, the 1783 treaty contained ambiguities regarding the Canadian-American boundary.

As a result of the 1818 treaty, Americans gained the right to take and dry fish on the uninhabited coasts of Newfoundland and southern Labrador. The treaty also identified a line from the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th Parallel west to the Rocky Mountains, as the northern border of the United States, adding thousands of square miles to American territory. Finally, the two nations arranged a temporary *modus vivendi*—a compromise "joint occupation" of the vast Oregon territory.

A diplomatic triumph for the United States, the agreement represented another step toward better Anglo-American and Canadian-American relations and settled most outstanding Anglo-American controversies except for the West Indies trade issue. *See also* Anglo-American War.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Anglo-American War (1812–1815)

Commonly known as the War of 1812, this conflict was triggered by a long series of outstanding grievances between Britain and the United States, which were largely connected with the former's contemporaneous war against Napoleonic France. From the American perspective, Britain's insatiable demand for sailors to man the Royal Navy had for years led to the impressment of American

seamen. Further, American neutral vessels attempting to trade with the European continent—largely controlled by Britain's rival, France—had led British vessels to seize such ships on the dubious basis that their cargoes fell under the loose British definition of contraband. American motives were not, however, entirely blameless. Many in the United States sought expansion into British **Canada** and refused to allow the repatriation of Royal Navy sailors who had deserted and enlisted aboard American merchant vessels with papers claiming American citizenship.

War commenced in June 1812 when a small American militia force of 2,500 men under General William Hull briefly crossed the Canadian border and were held back by an equally small British force. Hull then withdrew to Detroit. A British and Indian force then crossed the frontier, took Fort Dearborn (now Chicago) on August 15, and captured Hull's force. The Americans launched a second invasion of Canada but in October were defeated along the Niagara River at Queenston Heights. Approximately 1,600 American troops captured and set fire to York (now Toronto) in April 1813, but these forces under General Pike were later driven off at Stony Creek on June 6.

In the autumn, General William Henry Harrison crossed Lake Erie with 7,000 American troops, in the wake of the defeat of an opposing naval flotilla on September 10, and forced British General Proctor from Detroit on September 29. In the follow-up action at the Thames River on October 5, Proctor was again defeated. Meanwhile, with the British having failed in their amphibious attack in May on Sackett's Harbor on Lake Ontario, the Americans launched a new offensive under General James Wilkinson, who hoped to take Montreal. This attempt, and attacks elsewhere, failed, and at year's end the British captured Fort Niagara.

From the opening of hostilities, the Royal Navy had continued its blockade of the American coastline, causing economic disruption, especially in New England, which had never supported the war. In the summer of 1814, a new American commander, General Jacob Brown, launched another incursion toward Niagara, which took Fort Erie and defeated the British at Chippewa on July 5. At Lundy's Lane on July 25, both sides fought to a standstill before the Americans finally withdrew.

By this time the war in Europe had ended, and British reinforcements began arriving, the majority in the form of an expedition to Chesapeake Bay. General Robert Ross defeated American militia at Bladensburg on August 24, entered Washington the next day, burned its public buildings, and then withdrew, although he failed to take Baltimore near which he was himself killed. At about the same time, a British thrust down Lake Champlain by General George Prevost failed as a result of an American naval victory at Plattsburg on September 11.

At sea, the tiny American navy, consisting of nothing larger than frigates, acquitted itself remarkably well but was unable to loosen the enemy blockade or prevent amphibious landings, at least not one consisting of 14,000 Peninsular veterans under General Pakenham, which landed in the Mississippi delta on December 13. Neither side was aware that a treaty of peace was concluded at in Belgium on Christmas Eve, and when Pakenham's forces needlessly confronted those under Andrew **Jackson** near New Orleans on January 8, 1815, they were disastrously repulsed. The

war ended as a stalemate, with the territorial situation virtually unchanged and, with the Napoleonic Wars over, impressment was now a dead issue. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Royal Navy.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Anglo-Burmese Wars (1824–1826, 1852, 1885)

Three short campaigns to extend British control over Burma as part of the larger British imperial regime in **India**. The first was launched in response to disputes along the border between Manipur and south-central Assam. In May 1824, an Anglo-Indian army of 11, 500 landed in Upper Burma and captured Rangoon. Following a series of lesser engagements, the Burmese gained a truce in December 1825 that was promptly broken by the British and the offensive resumed until Burmese resistance collapsed in January 1826. In the Treaty of Yandaboo, the Burmese ceded Arakan, Assam, Manipur, and the coast of Tenasserim to Britain.

The second began with British naval action against Martaban, ostensibly to punish the Burmese for levying a fine on two British ships, followed by a British declaration of war on April 1, 1852, and the capture of Bassein, Pegu, and Rangoon. Lord **Dalhousie**, governor general of India, then annexed Pegu Province of Lower Burma to India. This second Burmese defeat was accompanied by the ouster of the Burmese King Pagan Min and his replacement with Mindon Min, who acknowledged British authority in Pegu.

The third conflict was influenced by British anxiety over possible French penetration of Upper Burma and by King Thibaw Min's attempt to assert a measure of independence by favoring a French teak company over its British rival and agreeing to have a French contractor build a railway from Mandalay to India. It was more directly provoked when Thibaw fined the Bombay-Burmah Trading Company for illegally exporting teak from Upper Burma. The **East India Company** issued an ultimatum on October 22, 1885. When it was rejected a British expedition of 10,000 with 3,000 native auxiliaries began an offensive up the Irrawaddy River and ended the war in just 20 days. In 1886, Upper and Lower were merged into one Indian province. Nonetheless, the British dealt with sporadic guerrilla resistance in Burma for the remainder of the century. *See also* British Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Anglo-German Treaty

See Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty

Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902, 1905)

A mutual assistance pact signed in London on January 30, 1902 by British Foreign Secretary Lord Lansdowne and the Japanese minister, Hayashi Tadasu, and aimed ostensibly at Russian expansionism in Asia. For Britain the treaty marked the end of “splendid isolation” and enabled it to secure an ally in Asia to contain Russian ambitions and to safeguard British commercial interests in China. The alliance had the additional benefit of freeing Britain to withdraw Royal Navy squadrons from the China Station to home waters to counter Kaiser **Wilhelm II**’s naval building program. For Japan, the alliance was key to their being recognized as a regional power, if not yet a Great Power, and allowed it to challenge Russia’s occupation of **Manchuria** and its designs on **Korea**, culminating in the **Russo-Japanese War** (1904–05). The alliance was renewed in 1905 and again in 1911 and expired in 1921. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Sino-Japanese War.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Anglo-Nepal War (1814–1816)

A conflict between the British **East India Company** and the Gurkhas, also spelled Gorkha, the ruling ethnic group of **Nepal**, and sometimes referred to as the Gurkha War. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, the Gorkha Kingdom, after establishing its sway over Nepal, began to expand in Terai and Uttaranchal regions. This brought it in conflict with East India Company, the paramount power of the sub-continent. The war started in November 1814, when the Company launched four columns into Nepal. Major-General David Ochterlony’s column from Ludhiana and Major-General Robert Rollo Gillespie’s contingent from Saharanpur attempted to encircle the Gurkha Army. Meanwhile Marley and John Wood’s columns from Patna and Gorakhpur advanced toward the Gurkha capital Kathmandu. Marley and Wood’s column were unsuccessful and had to turn back. Between November 1814 and January 1815, Wood’s contingent was held up at Gorakhpur because of the lack of transport, supplies, and fear of the Gurkhas. Gillespie was ordered to occupy Dehra Dun and besiege Jaithak. On October 31, 1814, Gillespie died during the assault on the fort of Nalapani, situated five miles from Dehra and garrisoned by 600 soldiers under Balabhadra Singh. The company’s infantry, operating in line formation and practicing volley firing, did not prove to be suitable in hilly terrain covered with forest. Also, the **sepoys** of the Bengal Army had no training in mountain warfare.

The Gurkha defense system was based on a series of hill forts and stockades. From the stockades constructed of wood and stones amidst the slopes of hills, the Gurkhas, under Amar Singh Thapa and Ranjor Singh Thapa, obstructed the

passage of company soldiers. Most of the forts were constructed on the spurs of the hills, which could be reached only through narrow, winding, steep rocky paths. Artillery support for blasting the stockades and the hill forts was not easily available. In the roadless Himalayan terrain, the British found it almost impossible to bring the heavy guns drawn by bullocks and elephants into action. Streams, jungles, and mountains obstructed the deployment of even gallopers' guns drawn by horses. Because of the lack of flat plains, there was no room for the company's cavalry to deploy and maneuver. So the company recruited 4,000 irregular Rohilla infantry armed with matchlocks from Rohilkhand. The British used the Rohilla light infantry as skirmishers and sharpshooters. They were encouraged to use their initiative to take aimed shots at the enemy soldiers.

The mobilization of enormous military and financial assets by the company enabled it to gain some success. By February 1815, the company had deployed 19,000 British troops and 30,000 sepoys. For supplying the troops in the hill, 75,000 porters were employed for seven months. Between October 1814 and April 30, 1815, the commissariat paid 392,410 rupees as wages to the coolies. Ochterlony's occupation of the Malaun hill fort in May 1815, and his victory at Makwanpur in February 1816, forced the Kathmandu government to sue for peace. The company's battle casualties were 3,000 and another 2,000 were lost as a result of sickness and desertion. At the conclusion of the war the company and the Gurkha Kingdom signed the Treaty of Saguli. Under the terms of the treaty, the Gurkha Kingdom retained its autonomy in internal administration; however, the Company acquired the right to conduct Nepal's foreign policy. Moreover, the company annexed Kumaun, Garhwal, Terai, and Dooars regions from the Gurkha Kingdom. In the course of the war, the British officers were impressed by the Gurkha soldiers' ability to take advantage of the terrain to ambush the company's infantry marching in rigid formation. Hence, after 1816 the Company raised several Gurkha infantry battalions from the Magars and Gurung tribes of central Nepal.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Anglo-Russian Convention (1907)

An agreement signed by Great Britain and Russia on August 31, 1907, which effectively ended the nineteenth-century **Great Game** and the ceaseless territorial and diplomatic squabbles associated with it. By its terms, both Britain and Russia agreed to relinquish any hopes of invading or conquering Afghanistan; however, Britain was allowed some control over political matters within Afghanistan. Persia was placed under a similar situation, with both Russian and British spheres of influence. Tibet was relinquished to Chinese control, but Britain was allowed to continue trade with the Tibetans and Russian Buddhists were allowed continued access to the Dalai Lama.

The agreement additionally solidified the creation of a **Triple Entente** among France, Great Britain, and Russia to counter the earlier creation of the **Triple Alliance**, consisting of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy. The tsarist state was greatly

weakened in the years immediately before the Anglo-Russian agreement. Russia first suffered a humiliating and crushing defeat to the Japanese in the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905. This military disaster led to domestic political upheaval. The 1905 revolution happened amidst the background of widespread discontent among workers, peasants, and minority nationalities in Russia and laid bare persistent problems in the Russian Empire of political instability and widely varying degrees of support for and opposition to the tsarist government. This would eventually lead to the overthrow of the tsarist regime and its eventual replacement by the Bolshevik Communist leadership in the revolution of 1917. For Britain, the 1907 agreement happened as the British Empire was reaching the pinnacle of its influence, only to face its ultimate test in World War I. *See also* Afghan Wars; British Empire; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Angola

A southwest African country subject to Portuguese penetration in the sixteenth century. Together with the Imbangala, an indigenous people of the interior, the Portuguese used Angola principally as a source of slaves for transport to Brazil. Only the intensified colonization of the continent during the **Scramble for Africa** motivated Portugal to move inland with a settler policy crafted to keep Angola from other European powers. Although Lisbon aspired to an empire in southern Africa stretching from Angola on the Atlantic Coast to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean, the British establishment of Bechuanaland in 1885 and the subsequent extension of the charter of the British South Africa Company to territory north of the Zambezi River in 1889 prevented this. *See also* Slave Trade.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Annam

A Viet kingdom on the east coast of Indochina, Annam was given its name, “the pacified south,” in the seventh century by the Tang Chinese. Louis XVI of France secured a treaty with the Annamite Emperor Gia Long in 1787, marking the beginning of gathering French ambition in Indochina. In the mid-nineteenth century, concern over the British presence in Hong Kong and Singapore and American influence in Japan moved French governments to view Annam as the base for an expanded role in Asia. In three French Indochina Wars—1858–63, 1873–74, 1881–85—Annam, along with Laos, Cambodia, Tonkin, and Cochin China, was ultimately made a French protectorate by the Treaty of Tientsin, although the region was not fully pacified until the 1890s. *See also* French Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Annexation Crisis (1908–1909)

A diplomatic crisis occasioned by Austria-Hungary's formal annexation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina that heightened Great Power tensions in the decade before the outbreak of World War I. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 authorized Austria-Hungary to occupy and administer **Bosnia-Herzegovina**, but officially the territory remained part of the **Ottoman Empire**. Supervised by a department within the common ministry of finance in Vienna, the administration was run by Austro-Hungarian civil servants and officers. Because of its special legal status, Bosnia-Herzegovina had neither a parliament nor a constitution.

A reinvigorated Ottoman Empire might have challenged Austria-Hungary's control over Bosnia-Herzegovina, but in July 1908, the **Young Turks** revolution led to a constitution and political reforms of the Ottoman polity. The Habsburg monarchy's foreign minister, Aloys Lexa von **Aehrenthal**, decided to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, to avoid Russian resistance to the move, he met the Tsar's foreign minister Aleksandr **Izvol'sky** in September 1908 in Moravia. As a price, Isvol'sky received Aehrenthal's pledge of support for Russia's attempt to open the Straits to Russian warships. Izvol'sky nevertheless seemed to be surprised when Aehrenthal acted swiftly and had the annexation announced October 7, 1908. That Ferdinand I, Bulgaria's ruler, cut the legal ties to the Ottoman Empire and declared himself Tsar of Bulgaria, led to further Russian misgivings over renewed flux in the Balkans. Meanwhile, fierce protests against the unilateral annexation in the Ottoman Empire and in Serbia further aggravated the situation. The boycott of Austro-Hungarian goods in the Ottoman Empire proved to be less harmful to the Habsburg monarchy than Russian support for Serbia's claims that Austria-Hungary should leave Bosnia-Herzegovina with its South Slavic population.

Assisted by her allies Britain and France, Russia backed Serbia's propaganda campaign and saber rattling. Because Germany stood firmly by Austria-Hungary and threatened to intervene in case of an armed clash between Russia and the Habsburg monarchy, the tsar's government was forced to back down. Without Russian support, Serbia was forced to give in to an Austro-Hungarian ultimatum in March 1909. The Ottoman Porte was mollified by financial compensations from Austria-Hungary and the Habsburg monarchy's evacuation of its troops from the Sanjak of Novipazar. As result, Aehrenthal got away with the risky unilateralist annexation, but only at the price of increased diplomatic isolation of his government. Deeply felt Russian and Serbian hostility toward Austria-Hungary became an important feature of European politics yet to be reckoned with. To Britain and France, the Habsburg monarchy seemed to be completely dependent on Germany, a perception shared by observers in Austria-Hungary and Berlin. Finally, the annexation did little to stabilize Habsburg control over Bosnia-Herzegovina, although it made it possible to proclaim a constitutional statute and to establish a parliament in Sarajevo, while the diplomatic tensions over it prefigured the fatal crisis of August 1914. *See also* Balkan Crisis; Eastern Question; Pan-Slavism; Russian Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Antarctica

The continent of Antarctica at the southern pole of the earth is last part of the globe to be conquered by humans. The earliest recorded sighting of the continent was made in 1820, as both British naval officers Edward Bransfield and William Smith, as well as American whaler Nathaniel Palmer reported spotting the continent that year. The Russian navigator Fabian von Bellingshausen circumnavigated Antarctica in an expedition from 1819 to 1821, and an American seal hunter became the first to set his feet on the main land in 1821. Antarctica was recognized as a continent in 1840, and several American, German, British, and French expeditions visited in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Venturing deep into the interior of the continent demanded not only physical strength and endurance, but also know-how in logistics and practical solutions. Ernest Shackleton managed to get within 156 km of the South Pole in an expedition from 1907–1909, when he had to return because he had run out of supplies. In 1910, a race to be the first to reach the South Pole commenced between British naval officer Robert F. Scott and Norwegian explorer, Roald Amundsen. Scott had led previous expeditions into the Antarctica, and Roald Amundsen had led many expeditions in the Arctic. Scott, relying on horses and primitive snowmobiles, lost to the better prepared Amundsen, who used dog sledges and skis. Amundsen reached the South Pole on December 14, 1911, and Scott on January 18. Scott and his crew succumbed to the cold and exhaustion from pulling their sledges, while Amundsen returned safely.

As in the Arctic, the hunt for sea mammals such as seal and whale for the purpose of cooking their blubber into oil was the main economic motive behind expansion into the Antarctica. Better harpoons and bigger ships had expanded the range of the whalers from around 1860. The populations of Arctic sea mammals were being exhausted, but improved techniques also brought the Antarctica within range and navigators reported large concentrations of these creatures there. In the 1820s and 1830s, South Orkney, South Shetland, Falkland Islands, South Sandwich Islands and South Georgia were annexed by Great Britain. These became important base areas for Antarctic whaling and also a bridgehead for further British land claims on Antarctica proper.

Norway started to fear that British expansion would block its own whaling operations in the area, and it is in this light the previously mentioned race must be seen, as discoveries were means for legitimating land claims. Yet expeditions were undoubtedly also motivated out of adventurism, scientific fervor, and desire for personal glory. Despite the introduction of factory ships, whaling still required land bases not too far from the hunting grounds. Without the presence of any indigenous peoples, it would seem that imperial competition in the Antarctic was a harmless version of a phenomena that killed and enslaved millions elsewhere on the globe.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Anti-Corn Law League

A pressure group that agitated for the repeal of the tariffs protecting expensive British-grown grain from foreign competition. The growing popularity of laissez-faire economic principles opposed to government intervention in the marketplace, undermined the policy of protecting the higher price of domestically grown grain against cheaper imported grain.

In 1838, Richard Cobden helped organize the Anti-Corn Law League as a local Manchester society and, in 1839, as a national society. It had only one formal demand—the repeal of the Corn Laws—but in practice challenged the political position of the landlord elite that collected rents from wheat farmers. In addition, some league supporters believed that free trade would enhance the prospects for peace among the European powers, and others expected that it would enable manufacturers to pay their workers lower wages because repealing tariffs would lower the cost of living. At the time, bread was a major part of a working-class diet and not simply a symbol of food in general. With the help of John Bright's oratory, the league conducted a propaganda campaign against the "bread tax." A small loaf of bread—all that workers could afford under a system of tariffs—was contrasted with the big loaf that would feed workers and their families under a system of free trade.

The League regarded the **Conservative Party**, dominated by landlords, as its enemy. Beginning in 1841, it intervened in constituency elections to fight protectionist candidates. Ironically, it was the Conservative prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, who was responsible for the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. The immediate cause was the emergency created by the potato famine in Ireland. Repeal symbolized the triumph of free trade principles, the recognition that Britain could not feed itself, and the shrinking role of agriculture in a predominantly manufacturing economy. It was not until 1903 that a major politician, Joseph Chamberlain, dared propose new food taxes. Repeal disrupted the British party system. Peel split his largely agricultural party by repealing the Corn Laws. Some of his Peelite followers, notably William Gladstone, eventually joined the rival **Liberal Party**. Although the repeal of the Corn Laws owed more to Peel than to the Anti-Corn Law League, later pressure groups often modeled themselves on the league, its organizational structure and strategies. *See also* Imperial Preference; Liberal Imperialists.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Antietam, Battle of (1862)

The Battle of Antietam was the bloodiest single day of fighting during the **American Civil War**. Having removed the northern threat to Richmond and defeated a Union

army at the Second Battle of Bull Run, Robert E. Lee marched his Confederate Army of Northern Virginia northward into Maryland. Lee crossed the Potomac River on September 4, 1862, threatening Washington and forcing President Lincoln to recall George McClellan to command the Union Army of the Potomac.

The two armies met east of the small town of Sharpsburg along the banks of Antietam Creek, Lee's army with its back to the Potomac. On the morning of September 17, McClellan launched a vicious attack against Lee's left. The battle gradually shifted south as McClellan tried to breach Lee's center. In the afternoon, McClellan attacked the rebel right wing at Burnside's Bridge. Several times during the day Lee appeared to be on the verge of cracking. Only the timely arrival of A. P. Hill's division from Harper's Ferry enabled Lee to hold his lines.

That night, McClellan rejected calls from his subordinates for a renewed assault the next day. Instead, he allowed the defeated Lee to retreat uncontested across the Potomac to the safety of Virginia, a decision that led to McClellan's removal from command. In spite of the rebel escape, Lincoln used the Union victory to issue his Emancipation Proclamation.

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THOMAS D. VEVE

Arctic

In strict geographic terms, the island, ice shelves and Eurasian and North American land mass north of the Polar Circle. Under the influence of strong national sentiments in the nineteenth century, the area became subject to daring expeditions and intense exploitation of natural resources. In 1596, the Spitzbergen Archipelago (Svalbard) had been discovered by the Dutch navigator Wilhelm Barents. This set off an intensive hunt of seals and whales for their blubber, which was cooked into oil, providing the most important liquid fuel and lubricants in mechanical devices in an age before drilling for fossil fuels. Basque, English, Norwegian-Danish, American, French and Dutch soon exploited sea mammals from Novaja Semlja in the East, to Newfoundland in the West. When onboard refinement techniques were developed, shore facilities in Svalbard were abandoned. Ashore, Russian hunters took over, but Norwegians replaced these around 1850. By the 1890s, whale, seal, and polar bear had become scarce and many hunters turned their eyes to the Antarctic.

During the nineteenth century, nationalist and imperialist political forces among the European powers meant that scientific expeditions and economic activity increasingly took the form of territorial quest. Norway became independent from Sweden in 1905 and was enflamed by nationalist sentiment. Experienced in navigating the icy water and possessing the closest all year ice-free ports, the Norwegians brought certain advantages to the competition. Frenetic activity from Norwegian explorers was followed by several land claims, some more successful than others. Around 1830, Denmark had consolidated its rule over Greenland, which was acquired by the Danish Crown through dynastic means in 1380.

A recurring theme in Arctic exploration was the search for new sea lanes. Barents had sought a passage northeast to India. Swedish discoverer, A. E. Norden-skiöld finally succeeded in navigating around the Asian landmass to the North

in 1878–1879. The age of discoveries saw similar attempts to find a Northwest Passage, some of the first made by John Cabot in 1497–1498. In 1850, Robert McLure managed to pass through, but had to make the last 300 kilometers with dog sledge over the frozen Arctic Sea. In 1903–1906, Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen managed to sail its whole length. Vitus Bering, a Danish navigator in Russian service, discovered Alaska in 1728, and Russia established a colony on Kodiak Island in 1748. Alaska was subsequently bought by the United States and became a territory in 1912 and the 49th state in 1959. Parts of the Canadian North Western Territories were charted by Henry Hudson (1550–1611), and the Hudson's Bay Company was given extensive privileges there by the British in 1670. It gained monopoly on trade in the whole area after merging with the North-Western Company in 1821. The Dominion of Canada bought the Territory from the Company in 1868–1870, of which the Yukon became a separate Territory in 1898. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, rich mineral deposits were found in Arctic America that also set off the 1897–1898 Klondike gold rush.

The Arctic region was home to a number of nomadic hunter-gatherers and reindeer herders. As modern states consolidated their sovereignty and administration across the Arctic during the nineteenth century, the Samí, Siberian peoples, Native Americans, and Inuit experienced the end of traditional religion, language, culture, and ways of life. *See also* Russian Empire; United States.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Argentina

In 1800, Argentina was part of the recently created Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. Buenos Aires served as the capital of this administrative section of Spanish America that the Crown split off from Viceroyalty of Lima. Its bureaucracy supervised the mining regions of Upper Peru (Bolivia), Paraguay, and the *Banda Oriental* (Uruguay). The expansion of ranching led to the rapid growth of Buenos Aires and its merchant elite in the decades leading up to 1800. Exports generated profits, but the local merchants increasingly resented commercial regulations that limited their ability to trade freely with ships from countries other than Spain. Mariano Moreno, who emerged as a spokesperson for the commercial agents and ranchers of Buenos Aires, expressed these sentiments in his petition of 1810, *Representación de los hacendados y labradores*.

Events had put the viceroyalty's ties to Spain under strain. In 1806, an invasion force under the leadership of Sir Home Riggs Popham, invaded Argentina after successfully claiming South Africa, the South Georgian Islands, and the Falkland Islands for Great Britain. The Spanish viceroy and his supporters abandoned Buenos Aires and left the town largely defenseless. Initially, the British expeditionary force was allowed to camp in the city. Civic leaders, however, soon recruited a militia

and organized a surprise attack against the British forces, which retreated from Buenos Aires to their ships. Reinforcements arrived and a second battle for Buenos Aires took place in 1807. The Argentine militia, reinforced by troops from Paraguay and the interior, defeated the British a second time. This victory gave the citizens of Buenos Aires a sense of autonomy that brought Argentina's colonial relationship with Spain into question.

Napoleon's invasion of Spain forced the issue more directly. The abdication of King Charles IV and the nomination of Joseph Bonaparte as Spain's puppet king led city and town councils throughout Spanish America to take up the issue of independence. At first, the citizens of Buenos Aires declared their loyalty to Spain. But in 1810, with French forces still occupying most of Iberia, the city council in Buenos Aires declared itself as the capital of the newly independent United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. Buenos Aires rapidly lost its authority over the interior regions of the viceroyalty. Paraguay defeated an invasion from Buenos Aires in 1811 and declared its own independence. Uruguay initially became a stronghold for Loyalists, but then briefly gained its own independence thanks to a local militia under the command of José Gervasio Artigas in 1812. Spanish troops occupied Upper Peru and threatened an invasion of Argentina in 1814.

Political conflicts and military failures plagued Argentina until the government in Buenos Aires gave José de San Martín command of its armies. His invasion of Chile in 1817, followed by his invasion of Peru in 1821, guaranteed Argentina's independence. The United Provinces soon collapsed and Argentina splintered into a federation of provinces under the rule of local military strongmen, or *caudillos*. After 1825 the province of Buenos Aires emerged as the leading component of this federation thanks to the policies of dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas. Rosas used diplomacy, threats, and occasionally military force to monopolize foreign trade in Argentina for the merchants and ranchers of his province. This led to conflict not only with other caudillos but with Great Britain and France who sent naval detachments to the area during the 1830s and the 1840s in an effort to keep trade with the interior provinces open.

Rosas fell from power in 1852. The formation of the Argentine Confederation, which grew much more powerful and centralized after 1860, coincided with Argentina's export-led development. First wool, then beef, and finally grains helped Argentina's merchants and landowners form into a rich and powerful elite. This era was also one of informal empire, as a result of the dominance of British capital and companies in the funding and expansion of Argentina's economic infrastructure. The close linkages that developed between Argentina's rural industries and the British market helped fund what many viewed as Argentina's "Golden Age," from 1880 to 1910. *See also* ABC Powers; British Empire; Peninsular War; Spanish-American War; Spanish Empire.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

Armed Neutrality, League of

An essentially anti-British and Russian-instigated alliance of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and, at one point, Prussia, designed to protect the members' shipping against British search and seizure. The league was initially formed during the American War of Independence to protect neutral shipping against the predations of the Royal Navy. In 1801, Britain went to war with a resurrected league during the Napoleonic Wars, and on April 2 of that year it attacked Copenhagen, successfully destroying the Danish fleet. The British victory at Copenhagen led the Danes to accept an armistice. The assassination of Tsar Paul of Russia, whose anti-British animus had been behind the league, led to an Anglo-Russian peace being signed in July 1801, with the other league powers following by the end of the year. The league did little to secure neutral rights, as was demonstrated a decade later by the **Anglo-American War** of 1812, fought over many similar issues. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Royal Navy.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Armenia

A Caucasian territory on the northeastern border of modern Turkey that in the sixteenth century was divided between the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia. In 1828, the Persians ceded the northern part of Armenia to Russia. In the late nineteenth century nationalist movements emerged in both Ottoman and Russian Armenia. The Russian imperial regime was less overbearing than that of the Ottoman Turks, who, in 1894–96 and again during World War I, waged a campaign of genocide against the Armenians in their half of the territory. The Treaty of **San Stefano** temporarily placed Armenia under Russian protection, but the Congress of **Berlin** subsequently reversed the decision. *See also* Armenian Massacres; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

FURTHER READING: Adshead, S.A.M. *Central Asia in World History*. New York: St. Martin's, 1994.

CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Armenian Massacres (1894–1896)

The first wave of genocidal massacres of Armenians by the Ottoman Turks. At the end of the nineteenth century, Armenians were the largest Christian minority in the Anatolian region of the **Ottoman Empire**. In the 1890s, Sultan Abdul Hamid II ordered a series of massacres that resulted in the rapes and brutal deaths of about 200,000 Armenians. The United States responded with humanitarian relief that involved the combined efforts of individuals like Clara Barton, Julia Ward Howe, and John D. Rockefeller and organizations like the Red Cross. The European powers also condemned the atrocities, setting up an investigatory commission and appealing for reforms, but the Ottoman Empire was never really held accountable. Consequently, the Hamidian massacres delivered the unfortunate message that large-scale

murder could be committed with impunity, thus paving the way for the Armenian Genocide of 1915. *See also* Gladstone, W. E.; Appendix: Words and Deeds, Document No.11.

FURTHER READING: Balakian, Peter. *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003; Morgenthau, Henry. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. Preface by Robert Jay Lifton, introduction by Roger Smith, afterword by Henry Morgenthau III. Edited by P. Balakian. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003.

LEE A. FARROW

Arrah, Siege of (1857)

An incident of the **Indian Mutiny**. The town of Arrah was situated 25 miles west of Dinapur in Bihar. On July 26, 1857, about 18 Europeans and 50 loyal Sikhs took refuge in the fort of Arrah. The fort was originally a billiard room that was bricked for defense. The next day, the insurgents—mostly armed retainers and peasants—led by a zamindar named Kunwar Singh laid siege to the fort. Because the rebels lacked artillery, they could not demolish the fort. From the cover of the walls and the trees, the rebels opened musketry fire against the fort. On July 29, Kunwar's men in the suburbs of Arrah ambushed a relieving force of 450 men that had marched from Dinapur. On August 2, another relieving force under Major Vincent Eyre defeated Kunwar's levies at the Battle of Gujrajanj. Kunwar retreated to Jagadishpur and Arrah was relieved next day. *See also* British Empire.

FURTHER READING: James, Lawrence. *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997.

KAUSHIK ROY

Arrow War (1856–1860)

Also known as the **Second Opium War**, the Arrow War was a conflict of Britain and France against China. Although China was forced to concede many of its territorial and sovereignty rights in the years following the First Opium War, the Western imperial powers also had to face rising antiforeign sentiment, as many Chinese believed that uncultured barbarians should be excluded from the Middle Kingdom.

On October 8, 1856, in this tense atmosphere in Guangzhou, Chinese policemen boarded the *Arrow*, a Chinese ship registered in Hong Kong under a British flag, and arrested 12 crewmen accused of smuggling and piracy. The British flag was reportedly torn during the struggle. The incident was immediately seized upon by Harry Parkes (1828–1885), the British consul in Guangzhou who wanted to legalize the opium and expand trade in China yet was frustrated by Cantonese opposition. Parkes demanded that the Qing Government release the *Arrow's* crew and apologize for the insult to the British flag. When Ye Mingchen (1807–1859), the Viceroy of Liangguang, released the Chinese crewmen but refused to apologize, Parkes had a fleet bombard Guangzhou. The British parliament sent an expedition under James

Bruce (1811–1863), the Earl of Elgin, to defend its honor. Meanwhile, France also dispatched its fleet under Baron Gros (1793–1870) to China. On the pretext of retaliating for the murder of a French missionary in the Guangxi Province. The Anglo-French force fought its way to Guangzhou and captured Ye Mingchen by the end of 1857. When local officials still did not produce the results the Western powers demanded, the joint fleet moved northwards along the Chinese coast and captured the Daku (Taku) fort outside Tianjin (Tientsin) in March 1858. In the meantime Russia and the United States sent representatives to Beijing for diplomatic maneuvering.

The Qing government had no choice but to comply with the Anglo-French terms, which included the payment of indemnities, the residence of foreign diplomats in Beijing, the right of foreigners to travel in China's interior, the opening of the Yangtze River to foreign navigation, the permission for Christian missionaries to propagate their faith, the legalization of opium importation and the coolie trade, and the opening of 10 new ports to foreign trade and residence. As “neutral” mediators, the Russian and American diplomats secured similar privileges to those gained by Britain and France. In June 1858, the Chinese government reached separate Tianjin (Tientsin) treaties with the four Western powers.

A year later Elgin was dispatched to China to exchange the ratifications. He demanded exchanging the treaty in Beijing rather than in Shanghai as the Chinese wanted. Ignoring warnings he sailed north and ran into a blockade at Daku, where his convoy suffered many casualties and four British gunboats were sunk by the Chinese. In 1860, the British sent 10,500 troops and 41 warships, again under Elgin, along with 6,300 French soldiers and more than 60 French ships for the purpose of retaliation. The Chinese imperial army under the command of Mongol Prince Senggerinchin (1811–1865) was quickly defeated. The allied force entered Beijing and looted the Forbidden City and the Summer Palace in October 1860. Emperor Xianfeng fled to Chengde, and his younger brother, Prince Gong Qinwang, was appointed imperial commissioner in charge of negotiation. Nonetheless, when the chief British negotiator was seized while under a flag of truce and some of his people were executed by the Chinese, Elgin took personal revenge against the emperor by burning the Summer Palace, the royal retreat of Yuanmingyuan in northwest Beijing. Faced with the arrival of winter and short of ammunition, the Anglo-French force had to seek a quick settlement and withdraw. The Conventions of Beijing were promptly reached, ending a war of four years and resulting in further Chinese concessions. *See also* Boxer Insurrection.

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WENXIAN ZHANG

Artigas, José Gervasio (1794–1850)

A rebel leader who emerged as the most successful military commander in Uruguay after 1810. Artigas was part of the landowning elite in a territory claimed by both Spanish and Portuguese colonial authorities. He gained experience in the *Blandegues*, a militia cavalry that countered Native American raids and smugglers.

He initially sided with the independence movement launched in Buenos Aires, but by 1811, he pushed Montevideo and Uruguay in a more radical direction.

Promising independence, democracy, and land distribution to the poor of all races, Artigas built a large popular base. His initial victories helped *caudillos*, local military leaders, gain control of neighboring provinces. Isolation and a large-scale invasion of Portuguese troops from Brazil in 1816 led to a series of defeats. Fleeing north, he continued to fight as his troops dwindled in number. A final defeat at the Battle of Avalos forced him into exile in Paraguay.

FURTHER READING: Steet, John. *Artigas and the Emancipation of Uruguay*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

DANIEL K. LEWIS

Ashanti Wars

A series of four nineteenth-century Anglo-Ashanti conflicts in West Africa. The Ashanti essentially won the first two wars, the British the last two.

In 1821, the West African coastal forts, originally established for slaving, were taken by the British government from the disbanded Royal African Company, and for the next half-century were used against the slave trade and to support mercantile interests in the region. Although the explorer Thomas Bowditch had signed a treaty of cooperation on behalf of the African Company with the Ashanti in 1818, in 1823 the Ashanti moved against Cape Coast Castle in retaliation for British protection of their enemies, the Fante. In January 1824, a small forward party of British troops and African troops in British service was completely overwhelmed by the Ashanti. Its leader, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Charles Macarthy, was killed and his head taken as a trophy by the victorious Ashanti.

This episode led the government to let a committee of merchants take control of Cape Coast Castle. One of their employees, Captain George McLean, negotiated an agreement with the Ashanti whereby the regions near the coast fell under British protection and the British recognized Ashanti rights in the interior. What has been called the McLean system then broke down over British efforts to suppress the slave trade. An unauthorized expedition into the interior at the initiative of the local governor in 1863–1864 led to massive loss of life from disease. The disaster led a committee of the House of Commons to suggest that the Gold Coast be abandoned. The suggestion, however, was never acted on.

In 1873, disputes over slavery and fugitives aggravated by the British acquisition of additional territory in the region from the Dutch led to an Ashanti invasion of British-protected territory. This time an expedition was sent from England under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, “the very model of a modern major general,” who had the wisdom to fight his campaign during the dry and hence healthier season. Wolseley defeated the Ashanti army and burned Kumasi to the ground. A treaty in 1874 extracted an indemnity.

Failure to pay the indemnity of 1874 and the ever-recurring issue of slavery led to a renewed British expedition against Kumasi in 1895–1896, this time rapidly successful. A subsequent unsuccessful rebellion by a number of Ashanti chiefs in 1900 led to the 1901 declaration of a British protectorate over the territory of the Ashanti. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Slavery.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Aspern-Essling, Battle of (1809)

The first defeat of a Napoleonic army, inflicted by the Austrian army under Archduke Charles near Vienna on May 21 and 22, 1809. Having defeated the Austrians in Bavaria, Napoleon marched down the Danube to capture Vienna on May 12. A failed attempt to seize the northern end of the destroyed Danube bridge at Schwarze Lackenau on the next day prompted Napoleon to order the construction of an improvised bridge into the Lobau, a large island downstream of Vienna, and then across a narrow river arm to the north riverbank, where French forces were steadily reinforced on May 20.

The Austrians had marched through Bohemia to the Marchfeld plain on the north side of the river and prepared to advance that afternoon, thinking that the French would again try to reach the old bridgehead. Consequently, their attack was off-balance: three Korps marched from the west and just one Korps in two columns from the east, with cavalry screening the center. About 1 P.M. Napoleon began the battle with 24,000 men against 99,000 Austrians. The breaking of the fragile bridge by boats and trees thrown into the river by Austrian engineers upstream hampered French reinforcements from crossing throughout the battle. That afternoon saw a series of unsuccessful Austrian assaults on Aspern village, which was held by Marshal Masséna anchoring the French left flank; in the center, French cavalry made several attempts to split the Austrian army by charging the weak screen. It was 9 P.M. before the first Austrian assaults were made on Essling, defended by Marshal Lannes and anchoring the French right, but Feldmarschalleutnant Rosenberg's IV Korps made little progress.

During the night, French forces were increased to 71,000. In the early morning, Napoleon prepared to attempt to break the Austrian center, now reinforced by II Korps. Both Aspern and Essling were fiercely contested until the French secured both by 7 A.M. At that point Lannes' 2 Corps began its advance against the Austrian center but was soon bogged down under intense Austrian artillery fire. Attempts by French cavalry to break through were beaten off by steady Austrian infantry masses (closed-up columns). French artillery briefly smashed a hole in the Austrian line, as Infantry Regiment 15's masses broke up, but Archduke Charles rode forward to restore order, while the Reserve Grenadiers plugged the gap. After two hours, Lannes lost momentum, while another breach in the bridge prevented Marshal Davout's 3 Corps from crossing. By noon, the French were back behind the Aspern-Essling Road.

A series of Austrian assaults on Aspern set the whole village alight. Despite the intervention of French Guard infantry, the village was finally taken by 1 P.M. Archduke Charles then turned his attention to Essling and threw in four Grenadier battalions to help Rosenberg's Korps. Two hours later, Essling, too, except for its stone

granary, had been secured, while in the center, a massive Austrian artillery barrage with 200 guns blasted Napoleon's army. Nevertheless, General Boudet led some Young Guard battalions into Essling to retake the village and thereby threaten the Austrian right wing. By 4 P.M., both sides fell back some distance, having sustained heavy casualties, and the battle was reduced to artillery exchanges. The French retreated to their base in the Löbau. The Austrians had suffered about 20,000 casualties compared with 23,000 French. Napoleon would try again at the Battle of Wagram six weeks later. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Asquith, Herbert Henry, Earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852–1928)

British prime minister from 1908 to 1916. Asquith entered politics on the radical wing of the **Liberal Party**, but in 1914 it was he who took the decision to lead Britain into World War I.

Asquith won a scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1870, went on to a career at the bar, and came to some prominence as a strongly Liberal voice in the columns of the *Spectator* and the *Economist*. Asquith was first elected to the Commons as a Gladstonian Liberal and supporter of Irish **Home Rule** in 1886, and his intellect and his forensic debating skills assured his rapid rise to prominence. He became Home Secretary in William Gladstone's fourth government of 1892.

Asquith was one of the most prominent of the so-called Liberal imperialists of the 1890s. Along with R. B. **Haldane** and Sir Edward **Grey**, he supported an assertive British foreign policy, in part because he saw the traditional radical suspicion of the Empire as impractical. Asquith and the Liberal imperialists supported the Tory government during the **Boer War** of 1899–1902. Asquith did much, however, to make the case for **free trade** against the former radical Joseph **Chamberlain's** 1903 proposals for tariff reform on imperial lines.

After the resignation of A. J. **Balfour's** Tories in 1905, Asquith became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the government of Sir Henry **Campbell-Bannerman** and succeeded him as prime minister in 1908. It was under Asquith's premiership that David **Lloyd George's** "peoples' budgets," including old age pensions and higher direct taxation, were pushed through Parliament against the opposition of the House of Lords. Having won two elections in 1910, Asquith's government enacted the Parliament Act of 1911, limiting the powers of Lords, with the aid of a commitment from the new King George V to create peers if necessary to force the bill through the upper house.

Asquith's pre-1914 premiership was marked by extensive social conflict, including the suffragette movement, militant trade unionism, and Irish unrest. Nevertheless, his government's most significant decision was to take Britain to war in August 1914. The German violation of Belgian neutrality—guaranteed by the Treaty of **London** of 1839, the famous "scrap of paper"—was the legal *causis belli*; but it also

caused great moral offence among the Liberal caucus, ensuring that Asquith was able to lead his otherwise antimilitarist cabinet and party to war with few defections. Asquith served as prime minister until 1916, when he was replaced by Lloyd George. *See also* July Crisis.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Assaye, Battle of (1803)

The fiercest encounter of the Second Anglo-Maratha War, 1803–1805. On September 24, 1803, the Maratha and the **East India Company's** forces clashed at Assaye. Sir Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of **Wellington**, deployed 6,900 cavalry and 4,000 infantry 34 guns. After crossing the stream Kaitna, Wellesley deployed his infantry into two lines. When the company's infantry was 400 yards from the village of Assaye, Maratha artillery and seven infantry battalions deployed at this village opened up and caused great carnage among Wellesley's troops. Wellesley launched a frontal bayonet charge and his infantry was able to capture Assaye. The Marathas withdrew to Ajanta Ghat leaving behind 2,000 dead and 98 guns. Casualties among the company's forces numbered 428 killed and 1,138 wounded. *See also* India.

FURTHER READING: Keay, John. *The Honourable Company: A History of the East India Company*. New York: Macmillan, 1994.

KAUSHIK ROY

Association Internationale Africaine

The first of three organizations founded by King Léopold II of **Belgium** ostensibly to enhance international scientific and philanthropic cooperation in opening up the interior of Central Africa. The organization was founded at the Brussels Conference of 1876 and was intended to facilitate the sharing of newly acquired knowledge of the African interior among the colonizing powers. It failed to overcome either the fundamentally competitive relationship among the members or the corruption of Belgium's own imperial project in the Congo. It was supplemented in 1878 by the Comité d'Études du Haut-Congo and by the Association Internationale du Congo in 1881–85. The latter broke up over imperial rivalries and ultimately resulted in the **Berlin Conference** of 1884–85, which established rules and a semblance of order to the **Scramble for Africa**.

FURTHER READING: Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Atatürk

See Kemal, Mustapha

Atlanta Campaign (1864)

A late and critical campaign in the western theater of the American Civil War. The campaign for Atlanta began on Rocky Face Ridge at Dalton, Georgia, on May 5, 1864 and ended with the fall of Atlanta on September 1, 1864. General William Tecumseh Sherman commanded the Union Army, a total force of 110,000 soldiers and 250 guns. Defending Dalton was the Army of Tennessee commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. Confederate total strength was 73,000 men.

In May, Sherman moved south from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to near Dalton, Georgia, where the Confederates had fortified the north and south sections of Rocky Face Ridge cut by Mill Creek at Buzzards' Roost Gap. Mill Creek had been dammed to form a lake in the floor of the gap to protect Dalton. Blocked by the defenses Sherman moved through the mountains to flank Johnston. The outnumbered Confederates were flanked time after time. New battles of varying intensity were fought at Dug Gap, Resaca, Rome Crossroads, Cassville, New Hope Church, Pickett's Mill, Dallas, Kolb's Farm, Lost Mountain Line, Kennesaw Mountain, Smyrna Line, and Chattahoochee River Line, as Johnston was forced southward.

On July 17, Confederate President Jefferson Davis replaced Johnston with General John Bell Hood. His attacks at Peachtree Creek, Atlanta, Ezra Church, Utoy Creek, and Jonesboro failed to stop the Union advance. Atlanta's capture ensured President Abraham Lincoln's reelection. General Sherman's use of the railways and his scorched earth policy were noted by Helmuth von Moltke and others. On November 15, after burning Atlanta, Sherman's army began a 300-mile "March to the Sea." A 50-mile wide swath across Georgia was deliberately ravaged to crush civilian morale. Savannah was captured on Christmas Day 1864.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

Ausgleich (1867)

The diplomatic compromise that converted the Austrian Empire into the Dual Monarchy of **Austria-Hungary**. Traditionally, the Hungarian parts of the Habsburg monarchy enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, but in the aftermath of their defeat in the war of independence, 1849, Hungarians saw many of their privileges being revoked. Because of the weakened international position of the Habsburg monarchy since 1859, constitutional reform and a new legal status of Hungary had to be negotiated. In February 1867, the Ausgleich between the Hungarian opposition and the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph I transformed the monarchy. According to this agreement, the kingdom of Hungary would have its own government and parliament in Budapest and accept Francis Joseph and his heirs as kings. The agreement was approved by the Hungarian diet and laid down in Law XII of 1867. The monarch as King of Hungary and Emperor of **Austria**; the common ministries of foreign affairs, war, and finance; and the regu-

lar meetings of delegations from both parliaments formed institutional bonds between Austria and Hungary. There was also a common Austro-Hungarian army and navy. The customs union and a sharing of accounts had to be revised every 10 years. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Austerlitz, Battle of (1805)

The decisive battle of the War of the Third Coalition, and widely regarded as Napoleon's greatest tactical success. Austerlitz was fought on December 2, 1805 in Moravia, in the Austrian Empire, between approximately 70,000 French with 139 guns and 85,000 Allies (60,000 Russians and 25,000 Austrians) with 278 guns. Having surrounded and captured an Austrian army near Ulm six weeks earlier and taken Vienna, Napoleon proceeded northward to a position near Brunn. There he sought to draw the Allied army into a trap by feigning weakness; he first occupied, and then conceded, the high ground on the Pratzen plateau. With Tsar **Alexander I** of Russia and Emperor Francis II of Austria attached to his headquarters, the Russian general Mikhail Kutusov commanded a numerically superior Allied army, with which he occupied the heights unchallenged.

Ignorant that Napoleon had deliberately overextended his right flank and concealed some of his troops, Kutusov opened the battle with a flanking movement in an effort to cut French communications with Vienna. When a French corps under Marshal Davout arrived, Napoleon's position stabilized, prompting Kutusov to throw yet more troops into the fray. On the French left, Marshals Lannes and Murat enjoyed considerable success, driving back the Allied assaults before moving to the offensive themselves and pushing their opponents eastward. Seeing this development, and aware that the shift of Allied troops south across the Heights of Pratzen left that weakened, Napoleon threw in Marshal Soult's corps to seize the heights. The Russians counter-attacked with their Imperial Guard, against which the French sent their own elite formation, with the former unable to retake the lost ground. The French made still further gains, in the process dividing the Allied army in half and piercing their lines. Soult thereupon struck the Allied rear, already committed to the fighting against Davout. Finding themselves surrounded, the Allies fled across the nearby frozen lakes, where many drowned when the ice broke under French artillery fire.

Austerlitz constituted a crushing French victory. A third of the Allied army was rendered out of action, with 16,000 killed and wounded and perhaps 11,000 taken prisoner, plus a loss of 180 cannon. The French lost 1,300 killed and 7,000 wounded, plus 500 taken into captivity. Unable to prosecute the war further, the Austrians concluded a treaty of peace at **Pressburg** on December 23, thus confirming their withdrawal from the Third Coalition. The Russians, incapable of bearing the sole burden of the fighting, withdrew east into Poland. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Ulm, Capitulation at.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Australia

Originally *Terra Australis Incognita*, or the unknown southern continent, Australia was first claimed for Britain by Captain James Cook on August 22, 1770. Although the Dutch navigator Tasman had first explored what is now Tasmania in the seventeenth century, and the French were active in eighteenth century Pacific exploration, the British claim to Australia and many adjacent islands was within a short number of decades widely accepted. The lack of competition from other Western powers and weakness of the Australian Aborigines made Australia a land more or less available for the taking; it became the prototypical colony of British settlement, a fact exemplified by the title of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's treatise on the theory of settlement, *A Letter from Sydney*.

Facing overcrowded prisons, a dispossessed American loyalist population, and having lost in the war of American independence the ability to transport convicted felons there, the administration of Pitt the Younger was determined to establish a penal colony in Australia. The first colony of transported felons sailed from Portsmouth under Captain Arthur Phillip, RN, arriving at Botany Bay in New South Wales. Phillip selected the site of what is now Sydney for its qualities as an anchorage, and landed his small fleet there on January 26, 1788, now remembered as Australia Day, naming the place after Lord Sydney, then Home Secretary.

Cook named his discovery New South Wales, and Britain claimed the entire coast inland to the 135th meridian, although the geography of that coast was poorly understood at the time. In 1829, Britain also laid claim to Western Australia. In the course of the nineteenth century, as exploration and settlement proceeded, regions were separated from New South Wales, to create the colonies of Van Dieman's land in 1825, South Australia in 1836, Victoria in 1851, and Queensland on the north-eastern coast in 1859.

The first free settlers arrived in 1793. Tensions between free settlers, convicts, and freed convicts who had served out their sentences, and the military and official establishments charged with guarding the convicts shortly became the central feature of New South Wales politics. Popular resentment at the transportation system long characterized Australian attitudes to the mother country, and after much agitation it was abolished in New South Wales in 1854. In Western Australia, however, the local authorities welcomed convict labor, and from 1850 until the British abolished transportation altogether in 1868 that colony was a willing participant in a system decried elsewhere on the continent.

Sheep were grazed in Australia from the early years of the nineteenth century, but it was only in the 1820s that significant quantities of high quality Australian wool were imported into Britain. By 1850, Australia had displaced European suppliers

from the British wool trade. The economic incentives of the wool trade ensured that Australia soon filled with sheep. Although the colonial authorities were determined to keep settlement within official boundaries, so-called “squatters” moved outside the settled region in search of good grazing land. Although the term originally referred to small holders who simply took possession of unoccupied land, it soon came to refer to well-capitalized who took large numbers of sheep into the interior and established *de facto* but formally illegal claims to large tracts of grazing land. The state was compelled to recognize the legal status of the colonies’ economic mainstay, and regularize the position of the squatters.

Gold was discovered in Victoria in 1851, and the discovery produced a rapid influx of miners and speculators, which led to some disorder, notably the Ballarat riots of 1854, rapidly put down by the authorities. Gold diggings and other mineral exploration contributed to the inflow of settlers, and hence indirectly to the building of railways and to the establishment in 1852 of a regular steamship service to Britain. By the 1870s, Australia attracted large amounts of British capital and a consequent railway boom. Victoria introduced protectionist legislation in the 1860s, and even under the united Commonwealth formed in 1901, protectionist feeling remained strong.

Australians were often enthusiastic imperialists. They feared the expansion of other European powers in the Pacific, and attempted to implement an exclusionary Monroe-type doctrine in their region. There was a movement for the annexation of Fiji, and in 1882 the colony of Queensland annexed New Guinea, an act rapidly disallowed by the colonial office on the grounds that questions of international import were to be decided in London. On several occasions during the nineteenth century, Australia offered the mother country military forces to serve in imperial wars, and the several colonies sent a total of 16,000 men to serve in the Boer War of 1899–1902.

The idea of an Australian federation had first been mooted by Earl Grey in the 1840s, but ran into many local objections, particularly with respect to fiscal policy, and even a movement for free trade among the various colonies could make little headway. A national convention to design a federal constitution met beginning in 1891 under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Parkes. Extended disputes as to the form and powers of the new federation ensued. A further convention in 1897–1898 completed the task of writing a constitution that provided for a House of Representatives and a Senate, and reserved to the states all powers not explicitly conferred on the federation. Chief among the latter were control of interstate and foreign commerce. The six Australian colonies and the Northern territory were united under a federal government as the Commonwealth of Australia on January 1, 1901, by an act of the Imperial Parliament. *See also* British Empire; Japanese Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Australian Colonies Government Act (1850)

Passed by the British Parliament at the initiative of the Colonial Secretary (the third) Earl Grey, this act began a process of constitutional legislation in the Australian

colonies that resulted by 1853 in the effective adoption of responsible government in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania.

Although the act reserved control of waste or unsettled lands to the Crown and provided for revenues from them to pay Crown appointees independently of legislative control, it also called for the addition of elected members to colonial legislative councils. In short order, the British government gave up its claim to control waste lands and the colonial legislatures elected under the terms of the Act of 1850 enacted constitutional measures of their own which had the intended effect of rendering colonial executives responsible to the elected members of colonial legislatures. As the British government had conceded in principle the desirability of local self-government, it shortly conceded the reality.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Australian Commonwealth (1900)

Passed by the British Parliament under the auspices of the then-Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, the Australian Commonwealth established a federal government for Australia, creating a British Dominion on the Canadian model. It provided for a lower House of Representatives elected by population, a Senate with equal representation for each state as an upper house, and a ministry responsible to the lower house, on traditional British lines. There was full adult suffrage. A governor-general resident in Australia represented the sovereign. To ensure passage of the constitution within the various prefederation Australian colonies, powers not specifically allocated to the federal government were reserved to the states. *See also* Canada.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Australian Frontier Wars (1788–1928)

A series of frontier wars waged by Australian Aborigines against British settlers, soldiers, and police from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century for control of what is now Australia.

British authorities did not recognize these conflicts as war, as to do so would undermine the basis on which the British had occupied Australia. The British did not acknowledge aboriginal land ownership when they established the colony of New South Wales at Sydney in 1788. Unlike other British colonies, no treaties were signed with indigenous peoples. The British government claimed that all Australian Aborigines had automatically become British subjects and therefore any aboriginal armed attack was defined as criminal rather than warlike activity. As the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, told Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales, in

1837 that “To regard them as Aliens with whom a War can exist, and against whom H[er] M[ajesty]’s Troops may exercise belligerent right, is to deny them that protection to which they derive the highest possible claim from the Sovereignty which has been assumed over the whole of their Ancient Possession.”

Australian Aborigines fought on the frontier using a combination of traditional warfare and new tactics developed to deal with the new enemy. Aborigines spoke about 250 different languages, and these nations were further divided into smaller autonomous groups sharing kinship or a connection to a particular area of land. Aborigines did not have chiefs or hierarchical structures of government. Instead, decisions were made by a consensus of the elder men. For this reason, Aborigines found it hard to unite against the British and generally each group fought the invader on their own. Warriors used traditional tactics of raiding and ambush and also learned to attack crops, sheep, and cattle and to burn fences and farmhouses. In some areas where the terrain assisted this style of warfare, Aborigines were able to temporarily hold back the settlers. They retained their traditional weapons of spears and clubs and made little use of firearms. The British, as the sole colonizing power in Australia, were in a position to prevent firearms passing across the frontier, but equally the spear was a symbol of manhood in some aboriginal groups, and they may have thought it inconceivable to fight with another weapon.

On the British side, warfare was carried out by soldiers, mounted police, and settlers. Although New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land (present-day Tasmania) remained mainly convict colonies, governors were unwilling to distribute firearms among the civilian population and sent detachments of soldiers to the frontier to fight the Aborigines when required. These operations were defined as “aid to the civil power” rather than warfare. Martial law was declared in New South Wales in 1824 and in Van Diemen’s Land from 1828 to 1831 to provide legal protection for any soldier who killed an Aborigine. The last major British army deployment to the frontier took place in New South Wales in 1838. Thereafter, settlers and police took over the fight.

The defining factor in the British success on the Australian frontier was not firearms but horses. These gave the extra mobility, both in range and speed, that was necessary to pursue and attack aboriginal raiding parties. The New South Wales Mounted Police was established in 1825. At first this consisted of soldiers mounted at the colonial government’s expense, but at the War Office’s insistence, it became a civilian force from 1838. Aborigines were also recruited for native police forces. Under the command of white officers, and deployed against Aborigines to whom they had no kin relationship, the Queensland native police in particular became notorious for its brutality.

Settlers did the bulk of the fighting on the British side on the Australian frontier. They defended their farms from aboriginal attacks and carried out punitive raids on aboriginal campsites. These actions were veiled in secrecy for fear of prosecution for murder. As the Victorian farmer George Faithfull wrote about his district in the 1840s, “People formed themselves into bands of alliance and allegiance to each other, and it was then the destruction of the natives really did take place.” In the end, colonial authorities arrested and tried only a tiny number of settlers for murdering Aborigines. Fewer still were convicted and punished.

The Australian frontier was not universally violent. In some areas, especially coastal regions, there was little armed conflict as Aborigines and settlers found ways

to share economic resources and coexist. Where fighting did take place, Aborigines fought in small groups against the British colonizers, so although the numbers of casualties may have been small, the casualty rate was proportionally high and devastated aboriginal groups. Although the fighting on the Australian frontier was small scale, it conformed to Clausewitz's classic definition of war as "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."

The first frontier war in Australia was fought for control of the Hawkesbury River west of Sydney between 1795 and 1816. The Darug people destroyed settlers' maize crops and burned their farmhouses. Resistance ended once a British army expedition scoured the river valley and killed 14 Aborigines during a nighttime raid on a campsite. When the British crossed the Blue Mountains onto the inland plains, the Wiradjuri people killed cattle and convict stockmen. The Wiradjuri campaign forced the New South Wales Governor to declare martial law and led to the creation of mounted police units. In 1826, Lieutenant Nathaniel Lowe was charged with ordering the shooting of an aboriginal prisoner while serving with the mounted police. His fellow officers, however, quickly acquitted him when he came to trial.

Van Diemen's Land saw sustained frontier warfare from 1826 to 1831. Governor George Arthur mobilized 10 percent of the male civilian population along with soldiers and police in 1830 and had them march across the settled districts to clear these areas from Aborigines in an operation that became known as the "Black Line." The operation failed to capture many Aborigines, but its scale disheartened the raiding parties, and gradually each group came in and agreed to leave their land for the Flinders Island reservation.

From the late 1830s, settlers and their sheep and cattle spread rapidly onto aboriginal land, bringing conflict throughout inland eastern Australia. In what is now Victoria, aboriginal warriors deliberately dislocated the legs of hundreds of sheep so that they would be useless for pastoralists. In what is now Queensland, there were about 10 cases in which settlers probably poisoned Aborigines with flour laced with arsenic or strychnine. In the 1880s, fighting flared in western Queensland and the north of western Australia. The Kalkadoon were defeated in 1884 when they foolishly abandoned their raiding tactics after six years of success and openly attacked settlers at Battle Mountain, near Kajibbi in Queensland. In western Australia, one pastoral company claimed it lost 7,000 sheep to Aborigines in 1888 alone. Fighting continued in the Northern Territory at a sporadic level into the twentieth century. When a Walpiri man killed a white miner at Coniston, the local police officer mounted a punitive expedition and killed at least 31 Aborigines. An action that once had been condoned was now finally criticized, and there was an official inquiry into the massacre.

The frontier wars remain a controversial part of Australian history. According to Ernest Scott, the first great Australian historian, there had not been any frontier conflict at all. He wrote in 1910 that "Australia is the only considerable portion of the world which has enjoyed the blessed record of unruffled peace." In the 1970s, this view was revised as historians began examining official and private records and found example after example of frontier warfare. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Keith Windschuttle led a conservative critique of most that has been written about frontier conflict, arguing that other historians had exaggerated the level of violence and the number of casualties. A second

dispute revolves around whether “genocide” was perpetrated on the Australian frontier. There is no instance of government authorities ordering the extermination of Aborigines, so this argument considers whether there is evidence of individuals and small groups showing the intent and having the means to commit genocide. Both debates are certain to continue for some time. *See also* Canada, South Africa.

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JOHN CONNOR

Australian-German Relations

The German annexation of part of **New Guinea** in 1884 led to a minor rift between the Australian colonies and the British Government. Since the 1870s, Australians had perceived all nearby Pacific Islands as their sphere of influence and wanted the region under the British flag. In 1874, the Queensland, New South Wales, and South Australian governments asked Britain to annex Fiji, and the British met this request. The next year, the three colonies made a similar call in relation to the eastern half of New Guinea, the western half being under Dutch control, but the British refused to comply on the grounds that the cost of administering the colony outweighed any economic benefit. In 1879, the Queensland government claimed the islands in the Torres Strait between Australia and New Guinea. In 1883, in light of rumors of German interest in New Guinea, Queensland annexed the eastern half of the island. The British Government refused to recognize the colonial government’s action. The next year, the Germany annexed the northeast section of New Guinea. Embarrassed, the British Government then hurriedly claimed the remaining southeastern area, with the costs of administering the colony shared between the British, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victorian governments.

Germany created a colonial empire in the Asia-Pacific and developed a network of radio and coaling stations for the German East Asiatic Squadron based at Tsingtao, now Qingdao, China. German naval war plans called for the East Asiatic Squadron to attack British merchant shipping around Australia and elsewhere in the region. Australian and New Zealand military planning for a war with Germany began during the **First Balkan War** of 1912. It was decided that, in the event of war, Australia would occupy German New Guinea and New Zealand would take Samoa. This plan was followed on the outbreak of war in 1914. *See also* British Empire; German Empire; Navalism.

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JOHN CONNOR

Australian-Japanese Relations

Although Australia was part of the British Empire, and Japan had signed a treaty of alliance with Britain in 1902, these two nations had a strained relationship in the period immediately before the World War I. Japan considered the Australian policy of immigration restriction toward Asians as an affront, and Australians viewed the rise of Japanese military power with apprehension after its victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 and annexation of Korea in 1910. The popular fear of a Japanese invasion of Australia manifested itself in the 1908 play, *White Australia—or the Empty North*, the 1909 novel, *The Australian Crisis*, and the 1913 film *Australia Calls*, which included scenes of Australian cities being bombed by aircraft of an unspecified Asian nation. It also led the Australian government to introduce compulsory military training and establish the Royal Australian Navy and Australian Flying Corps. These anxieties, however, did not prevent the development of economic ties. The Japanese had imported Australian coal since the 1860s, and Japanese divers had played a vital role in the Australian pearling industry at Broome in Western Australia and Thursday Island in Queensland since the 1880s. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Australia and Japan fought on the same side against Germany and the first convoy of Australian and New Zealand troops was escorted by the Japanese cruiser *Ibuki*. See also Japanese Empire.

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JOHN CONNOR

Austria-Hungary

The state of Austria-Hungary was the product of the 1867 **Ausgleich** between the Hungarian opposition and the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph I. According to this agreement, which transformed the constitutional framework of the Habsburg monarchy, the kingdom of Hungary would have its own government and parliament in Budapest, and accepted Francis Joseph and his heirs as kings. The rest of the Habsburg monarchy, officially named the "kingdoms and lands represented in the Reichsrat," the parliament in Vienna, was usually called Austria. The monarch as king of Hungary and emperor of Austria; the common ministries of foreign affairs, war, and finance; and the regular meetings of delegations from both parliaments formed institutional bonds between Austria and Hungary. There was also a common Austro-Hungarian army and a common Austro-Hungarian navy. From 1867 to 1918, "Austria-Hungary" was the official name of the Habsburg monarchy.

Because of its status as a union of two states, Austria-Hungary was also called the “Dual Monarchy.” *See also* Austrian Empire; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Austrian Empire

The *Kaisertum Österreich* was proclaimed on August 11, 1804, by the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II. This was done as a reaction to the gradual dismantlement and possible dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the self-coronation of Napoleon Bonaparte as Emperor of the French. Under pressure from Napoleon and the Confederation of the Rhine created by him, Francis dissolved *de facto* the Holy Roman Empire on August 6, 1806. The hereditary Austrian Empire encompassed all of the Habsburg’s territories until 1867, when the *Ausgleich* transformed the Habsburg Empire into Austria-Hungary, the union of the Kingdom of Hungary (and the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia), and the other kingdoms and lands under Habsburg rule. *See also* Austria-Hungary; Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Austro-Prussian War (1866)

Also known as the Seven Weeks’ War, the Austro-Prussian War was a short although pivotal episode in the wars of German unification. German Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** sought the conflict in order to annex the northern states of the **German Confederation** and also to expel Austrian influence from southern Germany. After the defeat of Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein War, Prussia and Austria quarreled over newly acquired territory until a Prussian army under Edwin Hans Karl von **Mansteuffel** forced a weaker Austrian force out of Holstein. On June 14, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and several smaller German states declared war. After securing the neutrality of France and a secret alliance with Italy (Piedmont-Sardinia), **Bismarck** ordered Prussian forces under **Helmuth von Moltke** to the offensive.

Austria possessed an army of some 320,000 men, yet could field only 240,000 against Prussia’s 254,000 because of the need to fight Italy simultaneously. The Austrian army was at the time widely considered to be superior, but the very reverse was demonstrated when the better trained and better equipped Prussian army demolished the Austrians at **Königgrätz**. Prussia was further advantaged by two other factors. Most of the Austrian officers spoke only German, whereas many of their troops spoke one or the other of the several languages of the multinational Habsburg Empire. The Austrians were also outclassed in their mobilization effort, as Prussia had superior **railway** and **telegraph** systems. The fighting was made brief by these factors, as well as by **Bismarck**’s restraint of Prussian generals, who wanted

to invade Austria, and his insistence on a magnanimous peace. On August 23, the Treaty of Prague stripped Austria of no territory save Ventia, which went to Italy. The south German states that had been in Vienna's sphere of influence, however, now quickly came into Prussia's orbit by way of secret agreements; meanwhile, Frankfurt, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Nassau, and Schleswig-Holstein were annexed to Prussia.

In one stroke, Prussia became the unrivaled leader of the German states. The **Franco-Prussian War** and an even more spectacular demonstration of Prussian military professionalism made it the dominant power on the European continent. *See also* German Empire; Habsburg Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

B

Badli-ke-Serai, Battle of (1857)

A late engagement of the **Indian Mutiny**. On June 8 the rebels offered battle at Badli-ke-Serai, halfway between Alipur and Delhi, taking up a defensive position on both sides of the main road to Delhi. Their right was anchored at a walled village protected by a swamp where they deployed large number of infantry. The left of the rebel line was protected by a sandbag battery made up of four heavy guns and an eight-inch mortar. *Nullahs*, sharp and narrow gullies, intersected the ground on both sides of the rebel line's flanks. About a mile from the rebel's left wing ran the Western Jamuna Canal. The British 75th Foot charged at the enemy's guns and suffered 62 casualties. Brigadier Hope Grant, with 10 horse artillery guns, 3 squadrons of the 9th Lancers, and 50 Jhind *sowars* turned the enemy's left flank. The rebels then retired to Delhi, leaving their guns and prepared to withstand a long siege.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Bagehot, Walter (1826–1877)

British journalist, economist, political scientist, and editor of *The Economist* from 1860 to his death. Although Bagehot failed to win election to the British parliament three times, he was influential in mid-nineteenth-century England because of his writings and personal connections. Born into a Unitarian banking family in Langport, Somerset, he initially attended Bristol College and in 1842, at the age of 16, he began his degree studies at University College London. He studied and initially practiced law but soon moved into the family business of banking. He always wrote copiously, however, particularly for the *National Review*, and from 1860 edited his father-in-law James Wilson's paper, *The Economist*.

Bagehot is best known for *The English Constitution*, in which he analyzed the major institutions of British government. He split the functions of government into "dignified" and "efficient" parts. The dignified institutions, the monarchy and the House

of Lords, were important because they distracted the attention of the uneducated masses, about whom Bagehot was uniformly scathing, and hence bolstered the legitimacy of the system. The efficient institutions, primarily the House of Commons, were important because they appointed the cabinet, which in fact wielded most real power, a fact obscured by the noticeable dignified aspects of the constitution. Written at a time when electoral reform was being hotly debated, Bagehot disapproved of democracy, as he felt it would give the upper hand to the uneducated masses.

Bagehot had many interests. Another significant work, *Physics and Politics*, was translated into seven languages and had already reached its fifth French edition by 1885. Subtitled “Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of ‘Natural Selection’ and ‘Inheritance’ to Political Society,” it was a broad attempt to apply Darwinian ideas to politics. The book described the historical evolution of social groups into nations, and sought to explain why European nations alone were truly progressive. Bagehot argued that these nations had evolved primarily by succeeding in conflicts with other groups. For many political scientists and military strategists, ideas such as these justified overseas expansion during the later nineteenth century. Thus, in common with other nineteenth-century British thinkers, Bagehot’s writings helped to bolster the notion idea of European superiority and of English exceptionalism.

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PAUL LAWRENCE

Bailén, Battle of (1808)

The Battle of Bailén (or Baylen) was a small but significant engagement of the **Peninsular War** that shattered the myth of Napoleonic invincibility. A French army of 22,250 men under the leadership of General Pierre Dupont de l’Étang conducting a campaign of pacification in Andalusia was attacked and routed by a Spanish force of 29,770 men commanded by Francisco Castaños. Although there was clear incompetence on both sides, the more spectacular instances came from Dupont and his subordinates, with the result that 17,635 French soldiers ultimately surrendered to the Spanish. An offer of safe conduct back to France was promptly violated, as the French troops were denied repatriation, confined on prison ships in Cádiz harbor, and eventually left on Balearic Island to starve to death. Dupont, who had shown ability at Austerlitz, was operating for the first time in independent command and had begun the campaign in the hope of winning a marshal’s baton. Instead, he was disgraced and imprisoned for six years. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bakunin, Mikhail (1814–1876)

Mikhail Bakunin was a Russian intellectual known for his political philosophy of anarchism. The eldest son of a wealthy Russian landowner, Bakunin was fluent in

French, educated in the standard subjects and the classic works of European literature, and, as a young man, attended the Artillery Cadet School in St. Petersburg. He first began to read the German philosophers seriously in 1833–1834 and by 1835 had joined an intellectual circle in Moscow named for its head Nikolai Stankevich. Here Bakunin found his place. Steeped in the writings of the German philosophers such as Johann Fichte and G.W.F. Hegel, he began to formulate his own philosophy. He believed that to achieve inner harmony one had to abandon the old self, reject materialism, and live a life of self-denial. Complete freedom could be achieved only through complete destruction of the current repressive regime; there was no utility in gradual change within the system. He did not promote an individualistic rebellion against society; on the contrary, he had a strong faith in humanity's innate collectivism.

His anarchism was based on a sharp opposition between “society” and “state,” the state being an alien power that, tied to the institution of private property, killed the natural social instincts in humans. Bakunin became a recognized leader of the anarchist movement and the main antagonist of Karl Marx in the First International. His emphasis on the Russian peasantry as the source of all revolutionary energy came in direct conflict with Marx's focus on the industrial working class. Moreover, he criticized Marx's theories as proposing yet another form of tyranny, that of the educated over the uneducated workers. Bakunin's theories were very influential; his belief in the revolutionary instincts of the peasant inspired the great “go to the people” movement in Russia in 1874. *See also* Anarchism; Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Balaklava, Battle of (1854)

Fought on October 25, 1854, Balaklava was one of several major battles of the Crimean War (1854–56). With British and French forces besieging the principal Black Sea port of Sevastopol, the Russian General Menshikov sought to drive a wedge between Allied forces and the British base at Balaklava. Russian troops managed to seize some Turkish redoubts and guns on a height known as the Vorontsov Ridge, which commanded the Balaklava-Sevastopol road; but, when Menshikov's cavalry attempted to exploit this success, they were repulsed by the British Heavy Brigade and by a regiment of Highland infantry. The most noteworthy episode of the battle concerns the epic charge of the Light Brigade, accidentally launched to its destruction down a valley with enemy artillery to its front and infantry deployed on the heights on both flanks. Although it managed to silence the Russian guns, the Light Brigade suffered horrific losses, thus ceasing to be operationally effective for the remainder of the war. The Light Brigade's sacrifice, immortalized in a poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson that has since been memorized by generations of school children, was tactically inconsequential. Nevertheless, the Russian attempt to disrupt the siege and capture the British supply base failed, thus enabling the Allies to continue operations as before.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Balance of Power

A term with several meanings, most widely associated with the principle whereby military and political power is so distributed among nations that no one state wields overwhelming power with which to dominate the others. A state of equilibrium can be produced by ensuring that any threat of predominance by a single country or alliance is counterbalanced by the existence or creation of a group of nations of approximately equal power. In the case of the **Great Powers** of Europe up to 1914, the concept was generally applied across the Continent, although a balance could be—and continues to be—applied to a region. Statesmen and rulers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were acutely aware that any nation that sought to overthrow the existing political balance constituted a menace to peace and stability, although the growing power of one's neighbor need not necessarily portend imminent conflict. Nevertheless, coalitions were frequently formed—usually after fighting began—precisely to redress the imbalance created by the overweening power of a nation seeking to revise the political situation in Europe. The cases of Louis XIV and Napoleon serve as prime examples of this, as do Imperial and Nazi Germany in the twentieth century. Moral issues seldom arose; when mutual advantage demanded it, Christian states cooperated with Muslim Turkey, Protestant states aligned themselves with Catholic ones, and democracies worked with autocracies.

The maintenance of the balance of power generally aids in the preservation of sovereignty and the avoidance of conflict, but its principal purpose is not the maintenance of peace, but rather the survival of the strongest powers, often at the expense of weaker ones. Those favoring equilibrium of this kind do so through a conservative instinct for the political and military status quo, with the preservation of international order the primary function over considerations of justice, civil rights, or national self-determination. Hence, those who in 1815 convened at the Congress of Vienna and parceled out German, Polish, and Italian territory to the contending Great Powers did so with little or no interest in satisfying the nationalist aspirations of the various ethnic peoples of Europe. Borders shifted on the basis of political and strategic expediency; language and culture seldom influenced decisions of statecraft until the mid-nineteenth century. *See also* Entente Cordiale; Vienna, Congress of; Napoleonic Wars; Strategy.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Balfour, Arthur J. (1848–1930)

Arthur J. Balfour, First Earl Balfour of Wittinghame, was Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1902 to 1905 in succession to his uncle Lord Salisbury, and later Foreign Secretary under David Lloyd George from 1916 to 1919.

Known for his air of aristocratic languor, Balfour was a skilled Commons debater, and also a noted philosopher. Briefly associated with the populist Tory “fourth party” in the early 1880s, he joined Salisbury’s cabinet in 1886. In 1887, he was given the demanding job of Irish Secretary, where his stern law-and-order Unionism earned him the sobriquet “bloody Balfour.” In 1891, he became leader in the Commons as First Lord of the Treasury—the Prime Minister being in the Lords—a role in which he continued when the Tories were in office until he succeeded to the Premiership in 1902.

Balfour’s premiership is primarily memorable for divisions within the Unionist party, chiefly over imperial tariff policy. Following the massive Liberal victory of December 1905, he led the Conservative opposition until 1911, and against his own party’s diehards, favored a compromise over the Parliament Act of that year.

During World War I, Balfour joined Liberal Prime Minister H. H. Asquith’s coalition ministry of 1915 as First Lord of the Admiralty, after the departure of Winston Churchill as a result of the Dardanelles disaster. He moved to the Foreign Office when his old adversary Lloyd George became Premier in December 1916. As Foreign Secretary he did much to solidify U.S. support for the allied war effort, but he is chiefly remembered for the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which expressed approval for the idea of Jewish homeland in Palestine, as a means of attracting Jewish support for the western side in the war. He played a role secondary to Lloyd George at the Paris peace conference of 1919.

At the Imperial conference of 1926, Balfour negotiated with the settlement Dominions the agreement formalized in the Statute of Westminster of 1931, by which the independent Dominion governments were recognized as governments of the Crown equal in status to that at Westminster. The Statute of Westminster marked the final transformation so far as the settler states were concerned of the British Empire into the British Commonwealth of Nations. *See also* Conservative Party; Ireland.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Balkan Crises (1875–1878, 1908–1913)

A series of ethnic conflicts in southeastern Europe intertwined with imperialist aspirations of the great powers directly involved, that is, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, plus those indirectly implicated, that is, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy, which led to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Under the impact of national movements all over Europe since the mid-nineteenth century, Southern Slavs became politically sensitive to the ethnic, religious, and cultural nature of Ottoman Muslim rule. Nationalists believed that a national government

would better suit their Slavic identity than a multiethnic empire, and they were also convinced that the European Great Powers would support their struggle for independence.

The first Balkan crisis began with an anti-Ottoman uprising in the province of **Bosnia-Herzegovina** in July 1875. At first a peasant revolt against Ottoman taxation, Serbs, and Croats ultimately demanded outright freedom. Although there were several revolts in the Balkans in the first half of the nineteenth century—such as the Serbian uprising of 1804–1810, the Greek war of independence from 1821 to 1830, and the rebellions in Montenegro in the 1850s—from the 1860s onward national protest seized broad masses of illiterate rural, non-Turkic population. The European powers feared insoluble ethnic conflicts and aimed at a preservation of the Ottoman Empire. They also appreciated that the situation in the Balkans could trigger a larger war among them like the **Crimean War** of 1853–56. At first, no European power sought to interfere in the Bosnian conflict, but when Serbia threatened to declare war on the Ottomans in order to support Bosnian Serbs, Austria-Hungary feared a territorial expansion of Serbia in the region.

This fear was not far-fetched. A Serbian minority lived in the southern regions of Hungary, and there was the danger that irredentism could spread from the Balkans to Hungary and expose the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the same fate of progressive disintegration as the Ottoman Empire. Austria-Hungary therefore began consultations on the Bosnian question with Germany and Russia, the other members of the Three Emperors' League. In the summer of 1876, the situation escalated when Serbia declared war on the Porte on June 30 and was joined by Montenegro on July 2. Great Britain feared military intervention of Russia on the Serbian side. At the international conference in Constantinople in December 1876, a truce was negotiated between Serbia and the Ottomans, but the Porte rejected a Great Power demand for inner reforms. In April 1877, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, beginning the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877–78 in which Romania and Serbia became Russian allies. The war ended with the Treaty of **San Stefano** in February 1878. The Ottomans were forced to guarantee the autonomy of the Bulgarian principality, independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Romania, and cede self-administration to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This provoked the resistance of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary. German chancellor Bismarck mediated between Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and Russia to prevent a major war in the Balkans. The Treaty of Berlin, concluded in July 1878, approved the state independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania yet failed to define clearly the new borders in the Balkans, thereby fuelling further armed conflicts over the territorial question that culminated in the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in October 1908. This in turn aggravated Austro-Serbian animosity and Austro-Russian antagonism. Three years later Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece founded the **Balkan League** that declared war on the Ottoman Empire in the **First Balkan War** and the Porte from the Balkan territory in 1913. Internal strife among the allies over the territorial division then brought on the **Second Balkan War** in 1913. Bulgaria had to give up her dream of a leading power in the Balkans, while Macedonia was divided between Serbia and Greece. *See also* Balkan League; Balkan Wars; Bismarck, Otto von; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Balkan League (1912)

An alliance of Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria against the Ottoman Empire during the First Balkan War. Eleutherios Venizelos, the prime minister of Greece, had pushed for an alliance with Bulgaria early in 1911 to protect oppressed Christian subjects of Ottoman rule in Macedonia. Bulgaria thought Greece was too weak and too close to war with the Porte over Crete. But the weakness of the Ottomans in the Italo-Turkish War resulted in the Balkan states putting aside differences to tackle their irredentist ambitions. In March 1912, a secret bilateral defensive alliance was signed between Serbia and Bulgaria, which a military contract in May expanded. Athens then signed a military alliance with Sofia, and Sofia signed a similar one with Montenegro. Thus Balkan states formed a network of alliances against Constantinople.

The Great Powers immediately saw a threat to their interests. France feared Russian domination of the Balkans and with Austria-Hungary, itself unwilling to see an expanded Serbia on its southern border, rallied the other powers to caution the Balkan states against a change in the balance of power. But the Balkan League felt strong enough to challenge the Ottoman Empire militarily. On October 8, 1912, Montenegro was the first state to declare war. After issuing an ultimatum to the Porte on October 13, the other three states declared war four days later. The combined Balkan armies effectively destroyed Ottoman power in Europe and carved up Macedonia. But the alliance did not hold. After the successful conclusion of the First Balkan War, differences over the partition of Macedonia surfaced. Bulgaria's jealousy of Serbia and Greece tore the League apart and led to the Second Balkan War. *See also* Balance of Power; Balkan Crises; Balkan Wars; Ottoman Empire.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Balkan Wars (1912–1913)

Two wars fought principally over control of the Ottoman provinces in Macedonia and Thrace. The first, from October 1912 to May 1913, brought the states of the Balkan League, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, together into a military alliance against the Ottoman Empire with the goal of driving the Turks from Europe. In fall of 1911, Serbia and Bulgaria had first exchanged proposals and in March 1912 signed an agreement recognizing Bulgarian interest in Thrace and southern Macedonia and Serb interest in Kosovo and Albania but with no agreement on the

final terms of partition of Macedonia. Taking advantage of Turkish weakness caused by the **Italo-Turkish War** of 1911–1912, Montenegro started the First Balkan War on October 8, 1912, and the other Balkan states jumped in. Bulgarian forces won a victory at Kirk-Kilisse in Thrace and the Serbs at Kumanovo in Macedonia, while Greece captured Salonika. Bulgarian forces reached the outskirts of Constantinople. The first war ended with the Treaty of London on May 30, 1913 under the terms that the Turks gave up all their European possessions west of the Enos-Media line. To block Serbia from reaching the sea coast, **Austria-Hungary** and Italy insisted that an independent Albanian state be created out of the lost Ottoman territory.

These demands seriously limited the anticipated gains of Serbia and Greece, and consequently both states sought territorial compensation in Macedonia. Conflicting claims over Macedonia led to a second conflict between Bulgaria on one hand and Serbia and Greece on the other. Feeling deprived of most of the fruits of the war, Bulgaria attacked Serbia and Greece on June 29–30, 1913, starting the Second Balkan War. Montenegro immediately allied with the Serbs while Romania and the Ottomans also entered the fray against Bulgaria. Forced to fight on all sides, Bulgaria was defeated and the war ended with the Treaty of Bucharest on August 10, 1913, which confirmed Serbian and Greek gains in Macedonia, brought Crete and part of Epirus under Greek control, gave southern Dobrudja to Romania, and granted Bulgaria only a thin slice of Macedonia and a bit of the Aegean coastline. By the terms of the Treaty of Constantinople in October 1913 Bulgarian-Turkish hostilities ended with most of Eastern Thrace, including the city of Adrianople, reverting back to Turkish control. Serbia doubled in size, gaining the Kosovo region with its large Albanian Muslim population. *See also* Balkan League; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire; Serbia.

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JONATHAN GRANT

Barbary States

Four states of Northern Africa—**Morocco**, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—that plundered seaborne commerce for centuries. With the exception of Morocco, they were nominally part of the **Ottoman Empire**. Surviving by blackmail, they received great sums of money, ships, and arms yearly from foreign powers in return for allowing the foreigners to trade in African ports and sail unmolested through the Barbary waters. They demanded tribute money, seized ships, and held crews for ransom or sold them into slavery.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the effectiveness of Tripoli's corsairs had long since deteriorated, but their reputation alone was enough to prompt European maritime states to pay the tribute extorted by the *pasha* to ensure safe passage of their shipping through Tripolitan waters. American merchant ships, no longer covered by British protection, were seized by Barbary pirates in the years after American Independence, and American crews were enslaved. In 1799, the United States agreed to pay \$18,000 a year in return for a promise that Tripoli-based corsairs

would not molest American ships. Similar agreements were made at the time with the rulers of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis.

In May 1801, however, the United States refused to succumb to the increasing demands of the pasha of Tripoli; in return, the pasha declared war. The United States sent naval squadrons into the Mediterranean under the leadership of Commodores Richard Dale and Edward Preble. The navy blockaded the enemy coast, bombarded his shore fortresses, and engaged in close gunboat actions. In June 1805, a peace settlement was negotiated, thus ending officially the Tripolitan War.

After the War of 1812, two American naval squadrons returned to the Mediterranean. Diplomacy backed by resolute force soon brought the rulers of Barbary to terms. Commodore Decatur obtained treaties that eliminated the American tribute. In the years immediately after the Napoleonic Wars the European powers forced an end to piracy and the payment of tribute in the Barbary States. Algiers capitulated to the French on July 5, 1830, the *Dey* (ruler) went into exile and the Ottoman *janissaries* were shipped back to Constantinople. Following the French conquest of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli proclaimed at once an end to Christian slavery and corsair activities. They preserved a fictitious independence until they became respectively in 1881 and in 1911 a French protectorate and an Italian colony. *See also* Algeria.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Bashi-Bazouks

Irregular Ottoman cavalymen noted for their horsemanship, lack of discipline, and cruelty. Sometimes referred to as the “Spahis of the Orient,” they were usually Albanians, Circassians, or Kurds. The Anglo-French forces sought to employ them during the Crimean War but had little success in developing military discipline among them. In 1876, bashi-bazouks massacred 12,000 Christians in putting down a revolt against Ottoman rule. The “Bulgarian atrocities” provoked international outrage, particularly among pan-Slavists in Russia and in Britain in the attacks of William Gladstone against the government of Benjamin Disraeli for its support of Turkey. *See also* Bulgaria; Eastern Question; Pan-Slavism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bassein, Treaty of (1802)

A transitional treaty, signed December 1, 1802, between the British **East India Company** and the Maratha of **India**. The Maratha Confederacy was composed of four chiefs, namely Sindia, Gaekwad, Bhonsle, and Holkar, under the leadership of the *Peshwa* (prime minister). In 1802, Jaswant Rao Holkar occupied Poona. The

Peshwa fled to Bombay and in October 1802 signed the Treaty of Bassein with the East India Company. Under the terms of this treaty, the *Peshwa* became a subordinate ally of the company and a force of 6, 000 British troops was to be stationed with him. The treaty challenged by Sindia, Bhonsle, and Holkar, which resulted in the Second Anglo-Maratha War in 1803.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Basutoland

Basutoland, a mountainous area of South Africa conforming to the borders of present-day Lesotho, is the home of the Basotho people. Moshweshwe I created the Basotho nation from various remnant tribes of the early nineteenth century *Lifaqane*. The Boers attempted to engage the Basotho against British encroachment, but the Basotho correctly gauged the balance of power in South Africa and sought the protection of the British Crown, receiving it from Victoria I in 1868. Over Basotho objections, the British handed Basutoland over to the Cape Colony in 1871. When fighting broke out with the Xhosa in 1877, the Cape Colony attempted to disarm all Africans, including allies of the British.

A war erupted when the Basotho refused to surrender their firearms. Skilled in the use of guns, horses, and guerrilla tactics, the Basotho gave as good as they got against the Cape Colony's poorly trained constabulary forces. Britain resumed direct responsibility and the "Gun War" ended in negotiations with the Basotho keeping their arms. After 1884, Basutoland was governed by **indirect rule**, and, in 1910, a Basutoland council of 99 appointed Basothos was officially established as an advisory council. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Boer Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bates Agreement (1899–1904)

An agreement negotiated between United States Brigadier General John C. Bates and the Sultan of Sulu, Jamal-ul Kiram II, on August 20, 1899, governing U.S. and Moro relations between 1899 and 1904. According to the agreement, the Sultan and his principal *datos* (local chieftains) recognized American sovereignty over the Moro, the Spanish and American name for the Muslim inhabitants of the Philippines, Provinces of Mindanao, and the Sulu Archipelago in exchange for American recognition of the Sultan's jurisdiction over intra-Moro affairs. Initially designed to placate the Moros and keep them from joining the **Philippine** Insurrection against American rule, the Bates Agreement was abrogated by President Theodore **Roosvelt** on March 2, 1904 because of the Sultan's inability to maintain order and the American desire to curb Moro practices such as slavery, blood feuds, and polygamy. American intervention to curb these local customs led to Moro resistance and to the launch of the Moro Punitive Expeditions. *See also* Spanish-American War; Wood, Leonard.

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JAMES PRUITT

"Battle of the Nations"

See Leipzig, Battle of

Bavaria

The largest of the South German states incorporated into the German Empire in 1871. An independent duchy under the Holy Roman Empire and a German Electorate after 1623, Bavaria became an independent kingdom in 1806 within the Confederation of the Rhine under Napoleon and a member of the **German Confederation** after the Congress of **Vienna**. Bavaria sought and secured a high degree of autonomy by balancing the rivalry of Austria and Prussia, but nevertheless joined the *Zollverein* in 1834 along with Württemberg, Saxony and Thuringia. This pulled Bavaria somewhat more into the Prussian orbit. Dread of Prussian hegemony shunted Bavaria into alliance with Austria in the Seven Weeks' War of 1866.

After Austria's defeat Bavarian particularism remained resilient enough that Prussian commanders such as Helmuth von **Moltke** hesitated at the thought of linking the fortunes Protestant Prussia with Catholic Bavaria. German Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck**, however, handled peace negotiations with Bavaria delicately. He succeeded first in isolating and then, at the very moment of expiration of the German Confederation, managed to include it in the strongest union of northern and southern German states that had hitherto existed. This union was made stronger still by France's strident reaction to German unification and the subsequent participation of Bavaria, now in league with Prussia, in **Franco-Prussian War** of 1870. The triumph of arms in which Bavarian troops shared enabled German patriotism to overcome distrust of Prussia, so that under the terms of the Treaty of **Frankfurt**, Bavaria and the other South German states joined the Second Reich.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bechuanaland

The British name for Botswana, a land-locked territory of southern Africa dominated by the Kalahari Desert and home of the indigenous Tswana people, whom the British called the Bechuana. The Great Trek of the Boer settlers northward put the Tswana at risk of losing their land, but when the Boers declared a

protectorate over the region the British forced the Boers out in 1885. Cecil Rhodes secured a royal charter for the British South Africa Company in Bechuanaland in 1889, and in 1891 London declared the Bechuanaland Protectorate under the jurisdiction of the high commissioner for South Africa. The various Tswana tribes applied to London for the recovery of their autonomy, and the five major tribes were granted reserves within which they governed themselves while paying taxes to Britain for protection.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Baylen, Battle of

See Bailén, Battle of

Beck-Rzikowsky, Friedrich (1830–1920)

An Austrian military reformer, Count Friedrich Beck-Rzikowsky was born in March 1830 in Freiburg in southwestern Germany. He joined the Austrian army in 1846 and became the aide-de-champ (Generaladjutant) of Emperor **Francis Joseph I** and the head of the Emperor's military chancellery. Beck won the trust and friendship of Frances Joseph. From 1881 to 1906, he served as Chief of the Austro-Hungarian general staff and laid the foundations for a more professional general staff officer corps, modernized war preparations, and planning procedures. With his opposite numbers in Berlin, Helmut von **Moltke** and Waldersee, Beck set up a plan for offensive coalition warfare in the East in the 1880s, but under Waldersee's successor, **Schlieffen**, Germany's commitment to a joint campaign against Russia was withdrawn. Beck was able to initiate the construction of new strategic railways in the Northeast, but by the late 1880s, with troop numbers stagnant, Austria-Hungary was falling behind her military rivals and allies. The heir to the throne, Archduke **Francis Ferdinand**, called for Beck's resignation, because the septuagenarian general seemed to be an unsuitable choice for military leadership. Beck became commander of one of the Emperor's Guards, a strictly ceremonial post. He died in Vienna in February 1920. *See also* Habsburg Empire

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Beijing, Conventions of (1860)

The capstone of the "treaty system" imposed on China by the British Empire. After the dreadful defeat of the **Arrow War**, the Chinese government was forced to enter the Conventions of Beijing with Britain and France. On October 24, 1860, China signed the Convention of "Peace and Friendship" with Britain in Beijing, and with France the next day. Following the advice of the Russian negotiator, Nikolay

Ignatyev, who acted as mediator in securing the evacuation of the invaders from Beijing, Prince Gong exchanged ratification of the Tianjin Treaties of 1858, increased the Chinese indemnities to Britain and France, and added other concessions, including the Kowloon Peninsula in southern China to Britain, and the French demand for Catholic missions to hold property in the interior China. China also agreed to grant foreign powers to station diplomats in Beijing.

Tianjin was opened as a treaty port, and the opium importation was legalized. As the American and Russian negotiators had already exchanged the ratification of Tianjin Treaties in 1859, the 1858–1860 treaties extended the foreign privileges granted after the first **Opium War** and strengthened the developments in the treaty-port system. The Conventions of Beijing further opened the **Qing Dynasty** to Western contact. Not only was the Chinese imperial court forced to further concede its territorial and sovereignty rights, but more importantly the dominant Confucian values of the Chinese feudal society were seriously challenged. The right to disseminate Christianity threatened the backbone of the dynastic rule, and the permanent residence of foreign diplomats in Beijing signified an end to the long-established tributary relationship between China and other countries. As a reward for Russian's mediatory work, the Sino-Russian Treaty of Beijing was also reached, which confirmed the Treaty of **Aigun** and ceded to Russia the territory between the Ussuri River and the sea. In brief, the Conventions of Beijing enlarged the scope of the foreign privileges that British initially obtained, and the Chinese Empire skidded further down a disastrous path to its semicolonial status during the late nineteenth century. *See also* Boxer Insurrection; British Empire.

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WENXIAN ZHANG

Belgian Congo

A enormous territory of the sub-Saharan African interior conforming to the shape of the Congo River Basin and a Belgian colony from 1908 to 1960. It had hitherto been under the personal rule of the Belgian King, Leopold II (1835–1909), as the Congo Free State. Leopold had long wanted a colony for Belgium, but the country's politicians preferred to concentrate on the domestic economy. Leopold established independently the Association Internationale du Congo, ostensibly a benevolent organization but in fact a vehicle through which Leopold, the *Association's* sole shareholder, could enrich himself. Leopold focused his ambitions on the Congo River basin, a region largely unexplored by Europeans, and in 1879 independently financed Henry Stanley, the American-born British explorer, to undertake a philanthropic and scientific mission that for Leopold and his associates was nonetheless a colonial and commercial venture.

Stanley had gained international fame the previous year by finding the British explorer and missionary Dr. David Livingstone, who had set out to find the source of the Nile and disappeared. Stanley established way-stations and hospitals in the region to stake Leopold's claim, signed treaties on Leopold's behalf with local leaders, and helped open up the river basin to outside trade. In 1884, Leopold's claims

to the region were recognized by his European peers at the **Berlin Conference** on West Africa and Congo. The Conference declared the new Congo Free State an international **free trade** zone. In 1885, Leopold proclaimed himself sovereign of the Congo Free State and in 1888 organized the many African mercenaries in his pay into the Force Publique, the colony's army. Leopold subsequently tried to extend his influence into **Sudan**, striking a secret Congo treaty with the British, which would have granted the latter their long-wished-for Cape-to-Cairo line. French and German protests, however, squashed the treaty.

Under Leopold's rule, the Congo Free State combated the Arab **slave trade** in eastern Congo. Such humanitarianism was undercut, however, by Leopold's alliance with Tippu Tip, the Zanzibari slave trader who was the *de facto* ruler of the eastern Congo. Belgian businessmen, colonial officers, and foreign traders also exploited the colony for its rich natural resources, including lumber, ivory, and especially rubber. Rubber was needed for new industrial products like tires and cable insulation. To meet the demand, Belgian companies put horrendous pressures on their Congolese employees. Congolese rubber harvesters who failed to meet quotas had their hands chopped off, a practice that, combined with disease and poor living conditions, caused millions of deaths. Leopold's "personal rule" was among the most violent and tragic manifestations of European colonial rule.

By 1900, international protest against these atrocities increased, led by British activists like E. D. Morel and Sir Roger Casement. The latter's fact-finding mission to the Congo, where he met with indigenous opponents of Leopold, publicized the abuses for the international press and inspired a campaign for Leopold's ouster. In 1908, bowing to international pressure, Leopold transferred authority of the Congo Free State to the Belgian government, whereby it became the Belgian Congo. The Belgian Congo was governed as a formal colony, with a colonial governor responsible to the King of **Belgium**. Christian missionaries directed indigenous education. The Belgian Congo gained its independence in 1960, immediately followed by five years of war.

Joseph Conrad's famous novel *Heart of Darkness*, published in 1902, was inspired by his work as a steamer captain on the Congo. Mr. Kurtz, the European "corrupted" by "going native," is based in part on Arthur Hodister, a British ivory trader who was murdered in the Congo in 1892. *Heart of Darkness* portrays both the growing ambivalence with which some Europeans began to view imperialism by the early twentieth century and the racial prejudices that continued to determine relations between Europeans and Africans. *See also* Africa, Scramble for.

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DANIEL GORMAN

Belgium

A country the size of the state of Maryland situated in northwest Europe and surrounded by the Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg, France, and the North Sea. It was an advanced industrial economy and secondary imperial power by the late nineteenth century.

Before the French Revolutionary Wars, Belgium had been known as Austrian Netherlands since 1714 when Austria took possession of the Spanish Netherlands. Nominally ruled by the Hapsburg monarchy from Vienna, it enjoyed considerable autonomy until 1789, when the Austrian emperor attempted to centralize and consolidate his authority in the region. Upset with the loss of autonomy, and influenced by the events in neighboring France, the Belgians revolted and in 1790 declared their independence as the United States of Belgium. The Austrians quickly regained control, but soon found themselves at war with the revolutionary regime in France.

The next three years were chaotic and destructive, as the French conquered the country in a self-described “liberation” by 1792 and enthusiastically imported their revolutionary measures, complete with liberal use of the guillotine and widespread confiscations of church and noble property. The Austrians reconquered the country in 1793, but the French were back the next year. Between the French revolutionary predations and the tendencies of armies during this period to live off the land, Belgium was devastated. In 1795, France formally annexed the region, and for the next 20 years it was officially French. The Revolutionary government nevertheless treated Belgium as a colony to be plundered. Under Napoleon, conditions were eased, at least for French-speaking Belgians, and the country was accepted into the **French Empire**.

After the fall of Napoleon, the European map was redrawn by the victors at the Congress of Vienna. One of Britain’s major concerns at the Congress was for a power occupying the southern Netherlands that could defend it against what the British assumed would be inevitable expansionist pressure from France. After much discussion and haggling, the parties agreed that Belgium would be handed to the Netherlands. Given the conservative, Great Power preoccupation of the Congress with the European balance of power, little attention was given to what the Belgians themselves thought should happen. The reunified Low Countries were ruled by William I, of the intensely Calvinist Orange family that had ruled as *Stadtholder* in the Dutch Republic. It was supposed to be a joint kingdom, with dual capitals in The Hague and Brussels. William, however, became increasingly authoritarian and was insensitive to his Belgian subjects. His declaration of Dutch as the sole official language upset the French-speaking Walloons, and his attempts to impose the teaching of Calvinist doctrine in the schools offended both French and Dutch-speaking Catholics. Economic issues also played a role, as the Dutch tariff policies favored the northern provinces at the expense of the Belgians. In short, the Belgians and, in particular, the Francophone Walloons felt increasingly threatened.

In 1830, the July Revolution in France brought matters to a head in Belgium. On August 25, the citizens of Brussels rioted, spurred on by the performance of an allegorical opera dealing with revolt and patriotism, *The King’s son*, William II, who resided in Brussels as the crown’s representative, was convinced that the only solution to the growing crisis was an administrative separation of north and south. His father, however, rejected the plan, and an army was sent into Brussels to retake control. The operation failed. After intense street fighting from September 23 to 26, a provisional government was declared; and on October 4 a declaration of independence was issued. In November 1830, a National Congress assembled in Brussels, and on February 7, 1831, a constitution was proclaimed. In what became known as the “Ten Days’ Campaign,” on August 2, 1831, a second Dutch effort to recapture

the south began. It was initially successful, winning two quick victories against the Belgians. The attack ground to a halt on August 12, however, and the offensive was called off when a French army appeared to protect the Belgians.

International conditions at the time favored the Belgian cause. The British foreign secretary, Lord **Palmerston**, sought advantageous commercial conditions for British interests on the continent and therefore supported Belgian freedom. Either of two continental powers, France or Russia, might have posed a danger to cooperation in a peaceful resolution, but neither was in a position to run risks. The government of Louis Phillippe was, in 1830, dealing with political turmoil at home, even as a large part of its army was tied down in **Algeria**. Russia, on the other hand, was suddenly facing the **Polish Rebellions**. As a consequence, an international agreement was reached in London on December 20, 1830, recognizing the independence of Belgium. The conflict sputtered on for another eight years, until the powers imposed a peace on the parties in the Treaty of **London**, signed on April 19, 1839. The treaty recognized Belgian independence, with borders roughly similar to those today. More important, it also recognized Belgian neutrality—a neutrality recognized by all of the signatories, including Prussia, Austria, France, Britain, and the Netherlands. This commitment to neutrality would be crucial to the entry of Britain in World War I, some 75 years later.

In the meantime, the Belgians elected Leopold Georg Christian Friedrich of Saxe-Coburg, a German nobleman who was an advisor to his niece, Queen Victoria, as “King of the Belgians” in 1831. Leopold had earlier turned down the job of King of Greece. Belgian independence meant a complete reversal of roles between the Flemish and the Walloons. French became the dominant language, even in the north, and the Walloons the dominant group. Despite being a majority, the Flemish, mostly farmers and factory workers, were considered second-class citizens.

Under the rule of Leopold I and his son, Leopold II, Belgium prospered. Its industrialization was so successful that, by the eve of World War I, Belgium was, by some measures, the fourth strongest economic power in the world. The increasingly prosperous small nation was not a big enough stage for Leopold II, however. He hungered for an empire. Conventional wisdom during the mid-nineteenth century held that industrial powers needed captive colonial markets to provide a source of raw materials, as well as to “soak up” its surplus goods and perhaps also its excess population. Leopold was also driven by personal demons—obsessions with trade, profit, power, and an empire.

From the early 1860s, Leopold lobbied the Belgian parliament and people relentlessly to push the country into an imperial acquisition. Hardly anyone was interested. Eventually, he realized any colonial ambitions would have to be achieved with a private colony owned by him personally. He expanded his efforts to the European scientific and philanthropic community. He hosted conferences and formed international committees on the “plight” of the natives of Africa. These included the Geographical Conference of 1876, the Association Internationale Africaine in 1876, the Committee to Study the Upper Congo in 1878, and the International Association of the Congo of 1883, all studded with leading scientists and nobles. Always, he cloaked his efforts in the language of scientific discovery and philanthropy.

Leopold’s breakthrough came in 1878, with his meeting of Henry Morgan Stanley, the American who famously “found” the missionary David Livingston. The next year, Leopold funded an “exploratory” expedition by Stanley of the Congo River in central Africa. The expedition’s real purpose was to begin the establishment of

Leopold's personal empire. Leopold and Stanley's efforts were ratified by the international community at the **Berlin Conference** of 1884–1885, which recognized Leopold as sovereign of the Congo Free State. Leopold's personal empire, more in the nature of a proto-multinational corporation than a national colony, had little or no effect on Belgium. Leopold obtained a loan from the Belgian parliament in 1889, ostensibly for philanthropic work in his free state, but in fact used to fund the startup of commercial exploitation. Eventually, the brutal nature of Belgian rule in the Congo became known, and international public pressure forced the Belgian parliament to take over administration of the colony in 1908. The Belgian colonial administration was considerably less brutal than that of the Congo Free State, but no less paternalistic. Political administration fell under the total and direct control of the mother country, with no indigenous democratic institutions and almost no participation of any kind by the native population. The **Belgian Congo** thus earned a special place of infamy in the history of European colonialism.

In the years since independence and the declaration of neutrality in 1839, the Belgians scrupulously adhered to its provisions. The army spent considerable resources building a series of fortifications around major cities throughout the country, but Belgium made no effort to ally itself with any of the Great Powers surrounding it. In each of the abortive crises in the years before the outbreak of the war, the Belgian government made it clear to all of its neighbors that it would resist any incursion across its borders, whether hostile or "supportive." This was not enough to ensure Belgian security. World War I began with the German invasion of Belgium in an attempt to outflank the French army at the Franco-German border to the south. Officially, Britain went to war with Germany over the violation of Belgian neutrality but was not able to provide timely aid. The Belgians resisted stoutly but were rapidly overcome by the surprise and strength of the German army. Within weeks, the Germans had occupied all but a few square miles in the far west. They spent the next four years terrorizing and starving the civilian population, and pillaging the country of its economic resources. "The Rape of Belgium" became the symbol in the Western democracies, and especially the United States, of German barbarism. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars; Netherlands.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

Belle Époque

The term *belle époque* refers to the period between 1880 and the start of World War I in 1914 in Europe, and above all in France. The period defined a cultural revolution characterized by a sense of optimism and creative enthusiasm. Paris flourished as a center of art, literature, and fashion. The artistic scene flourished, and the pleasures

of life were pursued with conspicuous vigor. The era also witnessed the spectacular popularity of café-concerts and music halls, as well as expositions. The restaurants and cabarets of the Montmartre neighborhood in Paris attracted intellectuals and avant-garde artists converged; the music halls and café-concerts exhibited a new form of theatre free of conventional artistic constraints, not subject to strict social control, and thus accessible to many different social classes. Bourgeois norms were shed. The arts had been “democratized” and were no longer the privilege of the wealthy.

Mass production and new technologies were also on the rise, catering to a larger consuming public of various social strata. Featured in the contemporary novels of Émile Zola, such as *Le Bonheur des Dames*, departmental stores were filled with a huge variety items on display for sale and managed to attract throngs of people through innovative displays of products. The use of new technology was nowhere more prominent than in the development of the underground metropolitan network. The Paris Metro revolutionized urban travel, symbolized progress, and contributed to social optimism. Expositions, too, added to the aura of luxury and abundance. In 1900, the Great Universal Exposition attracted 51 million visitors to Paris to products using new technologies and to marvel at structures such as the Eiffel Tower and the Gare D’Orsay. There were also exhibits from overseas colonies considered exotic by the people of the metropole, including a **human zoo**.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Bengal

Bengal was a large region in northeastern India and an object of British colonial interest since 1633. After coming under the control of the **East India Company** during the eighteenth century, Bengal served as the springboard for the British conquest of the entire Indian subcontinent. Long before the heyday of British rule in India, the East India Company in Bengal operated as a state within a state whose predatory entrepreneurship produced overnight fortunes from ventures in salt, opium, tobacco, timber, and boat-building and made it scandalous with Parliament back in Britain. Divided by Lord Curzon in 1905, over nationalist protests that resulted both in a nationalist boycott of British goods and the founding of the Muslim league, Bengal was reunified in 1911. *See also* India.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832)

One of the most influential philosophers and legal theorists of the modern age. Against the traditionalist account of English law formulated by William Blackstone,

Bentham advanced the principle that law should aim to maximize “utility,” which he defined as human happiness, according to a directly hedonist and indeed reductionist account of happiness as pleasure. It was Bentham’s rationalist revolt against the prescriptivism of earlier legal and social theorists that was most influential. A method of reasoning that attempted to derive sound social policy from some stated root principle, from which all else was held to follow, was characteristic of Bentham and his followers among the so-called philosophic radicals. The radicalism of Bentham and his followers was a powerful weapon against the often rococo absurdities of the ancient constitution and its associated class structure. But it also led to the kind of dogmatic insistence on principle over evidence that Macaulay attacked in James Mill’s *Essay on Government* and ultimately depended on an unrealistic optimism about the ability of reason to prescribe social arrangements.

That dogmatic optimism was in evidence in Bentham’s letter to the French Assembly of 1793, “Emancipate Your Colonies!,” which argued on economic grounds against imperialism, and which clearly presumed that a democratic assembly would be swayed by a well-formulated rational argument. Obviously Bentham’s advice on colonies was taken neither in Paris nor in London; he later argued that colonies were retained as sources of employment, emoluments, and ideological justification for the ruling class and its institutions, a line of argument that became a fixture of subsequent anti-imperialism. Bentham’s rationalism, his humanism—social arrangements existed to further secular human happiness—and his disdain for traditional and prescriptive arguments were central to later arguments about empire, and indeed most other political subjects. *See also* Liberalism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Bentinck, Lord William (1774–1839)

Governor General of **India** from 1828 to 1835, Lord William Bentinck was the second son of the Duke of Portland, leader of the so-called Portland Whigs and effectively Prime Minister in the Ministry of the All the Talents (1807–1809). As a young man, he was commissioned in the army, and was in and out of Parliament for a family-controlled seat between 1796 and 1826. Family influence saw him appointed Governor of **Madras** from 1803 to 1807.

On his return from India, Bentinck commanded a brigade with credit under Sir John Moore at **Corunna**. Appointed ambassador to Sicily in 1811, he became an enthusiast for Italian nationalism, in line with his inherited Whig principles, eventually being recalled in 1815 under Austrian pressure. Appointed Governor General of India by his old ally **Canning**, Bentinck served from 1828–1835. In India, he focused on reducing expenditure and enhancing revenues. He abolished suttee and waged war against the thugs. He also made English the official language of government and was lauded by Macaulay for having aimed to “elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge.” *See also* British Empire; Napoleonic Wars; Suttee; Thugs.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Beresina, Battles of (1812)

A series of bloody Franco-Russian engagements fought during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in 1812. French forces were down to about 50,000 men and were pursued by Kutuzov and Wittgenstein's combined 80,000 men to the north and Tshitshagov's 34,000 men to the south. Worse, the Beresina River had thawed and was impassable.

Diversionary tactics by Oudinot, however, kept Tshitshagov at bay and Kutuzov delayed his pursuit. Engineers worked through the night of the November 25 to build two bridges. The French began to cross and Tshitshagov's realization of the situation on November 26 was too late. Against all odds, by the end of November 28, the French army was across the river. Perhaps 30,000 noncombatants died, many trying to get across in a panic as the bridges were destroyed, or killed by Cossacks in the aftermath. The French lost perhaps 25,000 men, the Russians 10,000. But what was left of the *Grande Armée* was able to continue marching to Poland. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Berlin-Baghdad Railway

An Ottoman-German initiative to construct a continuous rail link between the German capital and Baghdad, securing for Germany access to the Persian Gulf and the Ottoman Empire a modern transportation infrastructure. In 1888, the Ottoman government granted a syndicate of German banks a concession to build a rail link from Constantinople, where the extant Oriental Railway terminated, to Angora. The link was extended to Konia in 1896. In 1903, The Baghdad Railway Company, a German-financed Ottoman organization, was commissioned to extend the line to Baghdad. The railway would strengthen Germany's empire, allowing her to send troops quickly to her African colonies, and enable her to bypass the Suez Canal, potentially threatening Britain's primacy in the Mediterranean and India. The project therefore contributed to the heightened international tension that eventually caused war in 1914. It was never completed, and the victorious imperial powers split among themselves the built sections after World War I. *See also* German Empire; Ottoman Empire; Railways.

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DANIEL GORMAN

Berlin Conference (1884–1885)

A congress hosted in the German capital from November 1884 to February 1885 by Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** to attenuate growing imperial rivalries caused by what historians now term the “new imperialism.” This process, which began in about 1870 and was at its most intense between 1880 and 1900, saw European powers engage in a rapid process of overseas colonization, seeking economic gain, national prestige, and the universalization of European values. The most intense part of this process was the Scramble for Africa, in which European powers carved up the African continent into colonies. The scramble led to several disputes over territory and threatened to cause a European war. The Berlin Conference was called to create rules for continued colonization in Africa. Bismarck also hoped to negotiate a greater imperial role for Germany.

The conference was attended by all of the major European powers, the Ottoman Empire, and the United States. There were no representatives from Africa itself, reflecting a paternalistic view of indigenous peoples common at that time. The conference had two significant outcomes. The first was to recognize “spheres of influence” in Africa, requiring colonial powers to establish administrative and defense capabilities in a region before it could be effectively claimed. This provision recognized the claims of King Leopold II of **Belgium** to the Congo River basin, creating The Congo Free State. Leopold subsequently exploited his position by allowing indigenous peoples to be used as forced labor extracting resources like ivory and rubber. During the next 20 years, people perished from mass killings, disease, and starvation under the brutal oversight of Belgian and international masters. Appalling atrocities were ordered by white officers and carried out by black soldiers. The creation of what was in effect an international free trade zone prioritized the rights of European traders over indigenous peoples, and encouraged many European nations to establish chartered companies to do business in Africa. Closely linked was the Conference’s second major provision, the establishment of international freedom of navigation on Africa’s waterways.

Alongside Leopold, Germany was the main beneficiary of the Conference, subsequently establishing African colonies in South-West Africa (present-day Namibia), Togoland and Cameroon in West Africa, and **German East Africa** (present-day Tanzania). The meeting also ensured continued Anglo-French rivalries in Africa, a rivalry that almost led to war in 1898 over the Fashoda Crisis in southern Sudan. Germany’s later colonial interest in Morocco almost led to war on two separate occasions in 1903 and in 1907. By establishing rules for Africa, the Berlin Conference helped prevent a European war over Africa in the short term. In the long term, it arguably heightened the international tensions that eventually caused war in 1914, a war in which many Africans fought and died. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Fashoda Incident; German Empire; Morocco Crises.

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DANIEL GORMAN

Berlin, Congress of (1878)

A meeting called by German Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** to revise the Treaty of **San Stefano**, the 1878 Berlin conference as the first large international conference of the era of new imperialism. In the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire's defeat by Russia in 1878, the treaty provided for a new order in European and Asiatic Turkey. Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania were extended and a new state, Bulgaria, was to emerge out of the Ottoman provinces north and south of the Balkan Mountains from the Danube to the Aegean and from the Albanian mountains to the Black Sea. Britain and Austria-Hungary agreed that the changes to European Turkey would damage their economic and strategic interests and give a preponderant power to Russia. The Treaty of **Paris** had established that matters pertaining to the Ottoman Empire's integrity was for the joint cognizance of all the European powers, and so the Concert of Europe met to decide its fate.

Representatives of the European Powers and the Ottoman Empire met in the Radziwill Palace, Berlin, on June 13, 1878 under Bismarck's chairmanship. But the British Prime Minister Benjamin **Disraeli** and Lord Salisbury, his Foreign Secretary, had already determined the new balance of power in secret conventions. The convention with Russia was signed on May 30, and in it Britain allowed Russia to retain southern Bessarabia from the Ottoman vassal State of Romania, and Kars, Ardahan, and Batum on the Asian side of the Black Sea. In exchange, Russia agreed to reduce the size of Bulgaria.

In Asia, Disraeli worried about the Russians establishing a foothold in Armenia and moving across Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf and beyond to India. Britain agreed to Russia retaining Kars, Ardahan, and Batum only after deciding to acquire a base—as it turned out, Disraeli selected Cyprus—in which to station an army to launch against any future Russian incursions against Ottoman Asia. Although the policy of territorial aggrandizement had been muted in 1876 against a weak Porte, it was now linked to maintaining the order established by the Anglo-Russian Convention.

Although the strategic order had been determined by the British, Russian, and Ottoman governments, the delegates at Berlin had a number of other questions to determine. The Congress, which lasted from June 13 to July 13, decided that Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania would be completely independent. Bulgaria became a self-governing principality, subject to the Porte, under Alexander of Battenberg. Not to be outdone, Austria-Hungary was assigned the occupation and administration of the volatile Ottoman province of **Bosnia-Herzegovina**. The British government offered leave to its French and Italian counterparts to pursue their ambitions in Tunis and Tripoli, an offer the French took up within four years, and the Italians in 1911. *See also* Crimean War; Eastern Question; Great Game.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Berlin, Treaty of

See Berlin, Congress of

Bethmann-Hollweg, Theobald von (1856–1921)

Chancellor of Germany from 1909 to 1917, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg was born in Hohenfinow, Brandenburg. He studied law in Strasbourg, Leipzig, and Berlin before embarking on a career in the civil service. In 1905, he was appointed Prussian Minister of the Interior and in 1907 to the head of the Imperial Office of the Interior. Finally, he rose to the chancellorship upon Bernhard von Bülow's resignation in July 1909.

Bethmann was essentially a well-meaning, able, and industrious bureaucrat. By the German standards of his time, he was a political moderate who was unable to cope effectively with the domestic political pressures exerted by the socialist left and the nationalist and reactionary right. Over strenuous conservative opposition to broader reform, he managed to engineer a constitution for **Alsace-Lorraine** that raised its status to that of a *Reichsland*. In foreign policy he sought détente with Britain. Although unable to halt or slow the Anglo-German naval arms race largely as a result of ferocious opposition from **Tirpitz**, he managed to recover some lost diplomatic capital after the **Agadir Crisis** to work with the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, to lower tensions over the **Balkan Crises** of 1912–1913. After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, he initially was among those urging a tough Austrian stand against Serbia but then gestured in support of Grey's late efforts to mediate a settlement. When Britain ultimately declared war on Germany over the latter's violation of Belgian neutrality, Bethmann made himself infamous for referring to the 1839 Treaty of **London** as a "scrap of paper." *See also* German Empire; Wilhelm II.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bismarck, Otto Eduard Leopold von (1815–1898)

Known as the "Iron Chancellor," Otto von Bismarck was a European statesman, the architect of German unification, and the first Chancellor of the German Empire. Born into a conservative **Junker** family from Pomerania, Bismarck went on to study law before entering the Prussian civil service in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1848. From 1851 to 1859, he served as chief Prussian delegate to the Frankfurt Diet where he frequently clashed with his Austrian counterparts over federal policy and their leadership of the **German Confederation**. Bismarck distinguished himself as an able diplomat during stints as Prussian ambassador to Russia, 1859–1862, and France in 1862, before being appointed Prussian Chancellor in 1862 as part of an effort to break a parliamentary crisis over army reforms.

Soon after his appointment as chancellor, Bismarck orchestrated German unification under Prussian leadership via the **Austro-Prussian** and **Franco-Prussian** Wars, in 1866 and 1870–1871. The **German Empire** was officially created in January 1871 with the coronation of **Wilhelm I** as Kaiser. Thereafter, Bismarck assumed a dual role as Prussian and Imperial Chancellor and committed his political career to safeguarding the newly unified German state. As part of this process, he not only created and controlled a complex alliance system aimed at preserving the **balance of power** in

Europe, but also oversaw a series of domestic social welfare reforms designed to ease the sting of rapid industrialization and ensure continued Prussian dominance.

Although earlier in his career Bismarck had been a vocal opponent of colonialism, arguing that colonies would generate unnecessary political dangers and expense, in the mid-1880s, he oversaw the creation of a German colonial Empire. The reason for the sudden reversal of his anticolonial policy remains the subject of historical debate, with explanations ranging from a simple change of heart, a calculated response to domestic political pressures, or the desire for Germany to keep pace with other great nations in Europe. The combination of Belgian activities in the Congo and growing pressure from German colonial interest groups convinced Bismarck to play host to the Conference of Berlin in 1884–1885, which sought to guarantee free trade in the Congo River basin and laid ground rules for the partition of Africa. In the mid-1880s, Germany quickly acquired colonies in **Cameroon**, **Togo** (now parts of Ghana and Togo), **German East Africa** (now Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania), **German Southwest Africa** (now Namibia), **New Guinea**, and various Pacific Islands.

Despite years of loyal and effective service, starting in 1888, Bismarck began quarreling with the brash, ambitious, and egotistical new Kaiser **Wilhelm II**. In 1890, he resigned and spent the remainder of his life working on his memoirs and engaging in vocal criticism of the Kaiser and his government. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Caprivi, Georg Leo von; Ems Telegram; Frankfurt, Treaty of; Koniggrätz, Battle of; Kulturkampf; NorthGerman Confederation; Schleswig-Holstein; Weltpolitik.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Björkö, Treaty of (1905)

An abortive Russo-German pact. Against the background of the **Russo-Japanese War** and the **First Moroccan Crisis** in 1905, Germany attempted to split Russia from its alliance partner France. Kaiser **Wilhelm II** met the Russian Tsar Nicholas II at Björkö off the southern coast of Finland on July 24, 1905 and convinced him to agree to a defensive alliance with Germany, which seemed to give Germany the upper hand internationally after the quashing of French ambitions in Morocco. The meeting was a result of the German Kaiser's attempt at personal rule, and he prided himself on his achievement. The treaty would have freed Germany of the threat of a war on two fronts. Nicholas's advisors soon counseled against the agreement, however, because it would upset the European balance of power and make Russia dependent on Germany. The treaty was rejected in favor of Russia's alliance with France in November 1905, leading to a deterioration of relations between Germany and Russia. Although often dismissed as a non-event by historians, Wilhelm II was correct in his estimation of the treaty's potential importance. If successful, the European balance of power could have been significantly altered and ultimately war might have been avoided.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Black Hand

"Black Hand" (in Serbo-Croatian *Crna Ruka*) was the byname of the secret Serbian organization Union or Death (*Ujedinjenje Ili Smrt*). In the early twentieth century, radical nationalist societies operated in Serbia and tried to undermine the Habsburg regime in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Black Hand was founded in 1911 by extremists. Most of them were officers in the Serbian army and involved in the regicide of 1903, like the Black Hand's leader Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijevic, head of the intelligence service of the Serbian army. Dimitrijevic (his *nom du guerre* was "Apis") supported the terrorist group that assassinated Austria-Hungary's heir to the throne, Francis Ferdinand, and his wife on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo. In the aftermath of a power struggle within the Serbian government in exile, the leaders of the Black Hand were sentenced to death or imprisonment in a trial in Saloniki in 1917.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Blood River, Battle of (1838)

An engagement between the Boers and the Zulu during the former group's Great Trek, the Battle of Blood River was fought on December 16, 1838, along the banks of the Blood River in Natal in southern Africa. The Boers, led by Andreas Pretorius, encountered a force of 10,000 Zulu under Dingaan. The battle, in which 3,000 Zulu died with no losses on the Boer side, was a reckoning for the Bloukrans Massacre (February 17, 1838) in which a Zulu force had attacked a Boer laager and killed 41 men, 56 women, and 97 children in violation of a pact in which Dingaan had agreed to permit a Boer settlement in northern Natal. *See also* Afrikaners.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Blücher, Gebhard von (1742–1819)

The most famous Prussian general of the Napoleonic Wars, Gebhard von Blücher was a prominent member of the "war party," which sought conflict with France in 1806. He served as a cavalry commander in the disastrous campaign of that year, and carried on resistance until forced to surrender at Ratkau in November. The

previous month most of the Prussian Army had been decisively defeated at the twin battles of **Jena** and **Auerstädt** (October 14) and then relentlessly pursued by Napoleon's forces.

Virulently opposed to cooperation with the French after the occupation of his country, Blücher condemned Prussian participation in Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812. He played a prominent part in the "War of German Liberation" of 1813 and in France the next year, during which he commanded a Prussian army that he had helped modernize in the difficult years after 1806.

Although never distinguished as a tactician, Blücher was determined and energetic, and by fulfilling his promise to come to Wellington's aid at **Waterloo**, he was instrumental in ensuring Allied victory and Napoleon's final downfall.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Boer Wars (1880–1881, 1899–1902)

Two conflicts waged by Dutch settlers in resistance to the expansion of the British Empire in South Africa. Dutch settlers, later known as "Boers," established farms in southern Africa beginning in the seventeenth century, gradually expanding north into the hinterland, pressing against lands held by indigenous African tribes. Dutch rule ended, however, when in 1795, Britain seized Cape Colony during the French Revolutionary Wars, and at the general European peace of 1815, the colony became a permanent British imperial possession. From the 1830s, many Boers ventured north to establish independent communities that would later become the republics of the Transvaal and the **Orange Free State**, both of which shared borders with the British possessions of **Cape Colony** and **Natal**.

The source of the wars principally lay with the desire for British expansion into Boer lands, not least after the discovery of gold and diamonds. After the Transvaal was proclaimed in December 1880, conflict arose in what subsequently became known as the Transvaal Revolt or First Anglo-Boer War. Two thousand Boers invaded Natal and defeated a British force of 1,400 under General George Colley at Laing's Nek on January 28, 1881. The decisive encounter took place at Majuba Hill on February 27, when Colley, occupying a hill in the Drakensberg Mountains with a contingent of 550 men, lost 20 percent of his force, himself numbering among the dead. The British government had no desire to pursue the conflict further and on April 5, 1881 concluded the Treaty of **Pretoria**, which granted independence to the Transvaal, of which Paul Kruger became president.

The discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 increased British interest in the area and led directly to the annexation of Zululand, part of a strategy to

isolate the Transvaal from access to the sea. Internally, both Boer republics welcomed foreigners (known as *Uitlanders*) seeking work in the goldfields, but in the diamond industry and in various urban services, the Boers often resented what they perceived as a growing trend of immorality and licentiousness that permeated their strict, largely rural, Calvinist society. On the other hand, immigrants, most of whom came from Britain, resented the disproportionate share of taxation that fell on their shoulders and campaigned for a share in the political life of the country.

Both Boer republics made large purchases of foreign weapons in 1899, and when Cape authorities refused to conform to an ultimatum from Pretoria to withdraw troops from the borders, hostilities opened in October, with the Boers assuming the offensive. On October 13, General Piet Cronjé laid siege to **Mafeking**, where Colonel Robert Baden-Powell, the future founder of the Boy Scout movement, made superb use of limited resources to establish a determined and successful defense. At the same time, forces from the Orange Free State invested Kimberley on October 15, while the main Boer blow fell on General Sir George White at Talana Hill and Nicholson's Nek later that month, forcing White's troops to take refuge in Ladysmith. In an effort to relieve the three towns, General Sir Redvers Buller divided his forces, a strategy that led to failure in all cases.

At the Modder River on November 28, General Lord Methuen, commanding a column of 10,000 men, seeking to relieve Kimberley, found his progress blocked by 7,000 Boers under Cronjé and Jacobus de la Rey. After losing almost 500 killed and wounded, Methuen succeeded in driving through the Boer lines, but his exhausted troops required rest, and no pursuit was possible. The British army was slow to appreciate three fundamental lessons: first, it was nearly impossible to inflict anything beyond negligible losses on Boer defenders occupying entrenched positions; second, smokeless, repeating rifles, fired from concealed positions, rendered frontal attacks costly, nearly supportable affairs; and third, since all Boer forces were mounted—even if, through force of numbers, they were eventually driven off—they could simply vanish into the veldt, reform, and fight again on another occasion. The British army could not, at least initially, offer an adequate answer to such tactics, for it possessed paltry numbers of mounted forces, and was obliged to rely heavily on Cape yeomanry units. Until the arrival of mounted reinforcements, therefore, British troops were forced to cover vast areas of enemy territory on foot, with little or no opportunity of pursuit even when success on the battlefield invited it.

Despite growing numbers of reinforcements, the British continued to find themselves bested by opponents both more determined than themselves and with considerable more knowledge of the ground. At Stormberg, on December 10, a British force under General Sir William Gatacre lost heavily in an ambush; the same day, at Magersfontein, 8,000 Boers under Cronjé entrenched themselves on a hill overlooking the Modder River and inflicted heavy casualties on Methuen's force, which not only unwisely attacked frontally in heavy rain, but without extending into open order. The third British disaster of what became known as **Black Week** took place at **Colenso** on December 15, when 21,000 men under Buller, seeking to relieve Ladysmith, crossed the Tugela River and attempted to turn the flank of General Louis **Botha**, in command of 6,000 Orange Free State troops. The Boers, dug in as usual, easily drove off their adversaries, whose flank attack became encumbered by broken ground. Buller suffered about 150 killed and 800 wounded, together with more than 200 men and 11 guns captured.

Disillusioned with this string of defeats, Buller advocated surrendering Ladysmith, a view that led to his being relieved of senior command. His replacement, Field Marshal Viscount Roberts, had extensive experience of colonial warfare, and from January 1900 he and his chief of staff, Viscount Kitchener, began a massive program of army reorganization, in recognition of the need to raise a sizable force of mounted infantry and cavalry. Buller, meanwhile, remained in the field, only to be repulsed at the Tugela in the course of two separate attacks: first, at Spion Kop on January 23, and then at Vaal Kranz on February 5. The British lost about 400 killed and 1,400 wounded; Boer casualties, as usual, were disproportionately small, with only 100 killed and wounded. Nevertheless, General Sir John French managed to relieve Kimberley on February 15, and on the same day, Roberts, with a column of 30,000 men, skirted Cronjé's left flank at Magersfontein, obliging the Boers to withdraw lest their communications be cut off. At Paardeberg on February 18, Cronjé found his retreat across the Modder River opposed by French, who arrived from Kimberley. Owing to illness, French handed command to Kitchener, whose unimaginative frontal attack predictably failed against the Boers' prepared positions, leaving some 300 British dead and 900 wounded.

Fortunes were soon to change, however. On recovering, Roberts resumed command and encircled Cronjé's position at Paardeberg, shelling the Boers with impunity while expecting an attempted breakout that never came. After an eight-day siege, the Boers, burdened with many wounded and out of food, surrendered on February 27. Almost simultaneously, the British enjoyed successes in other theaters. Buller, positioned along the Tugela in his third effort to relieve Ladysmith, managed to dislodge the Boers from their positions around the town and reached the garrison on February 28.

For the next six months Roberts, finally benefiting from the arrival of large numbers of reinforcements, was able to make good use of the railways to move troops and supplies considerable distances through enemy territory. Accordingly, on March 13, he took Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, which was annexed by the Empire on March 24. In Natal, Buller defeated the Boers at Glencoe and Dundee on May 15, and two days later a fast-moving column of cavalry and mounted infantry under General Bryan Mahon relieved Mafeking after a seven-month ordeal. Thereafter, Roberts was free to invade the Transvaal, taking Johannesburg on May 31, and then the capital, Pretoria, on June 5, before uniting his forces with Buller's at Vlakfontein on July 4. The Transvaal was annexed as an imperial possession on September 3, and two months later, with the fighting apparently over, Roberts was recalled, to be posted to India.

Yet the war was far from over. The capture of the Boer capitals merely marked the end of the conventional phase of the fighting. Indeed, substantial numbers of Boers still remained in the field and a new, more fluid, *guerrilla* phase replaced the more static form of warfare that had hitherto characterized the war. In short, Kitchener found himself faced with the unenviable task of pursuing highly mobile enemy units across the vast South African veldt. For the next 18 months, small groups of Boers harassed British outposts and conducted raids, which Kitchener sought to oppose by implementing a harsh new "scorched earth" policy, which amounted to the wholesale burning of enemy crops and farmhouses and the driving off or slaughter of tens of thousands of Boer livestock. Most controversial of all, Kitchener ordered his troops to round up and imprison Boer women and children in **concentration camps**, both to prevent them from aiding their menfolk in the field, and to weaken

the fighting spirit of enemy combatants. Further, British troops laid lengthy cordons of barbed wire and built blockhouses stretching across the country in an effort to curtail enemy movement and communication. Eventually, Boer resistance collapsed, but not before more than 20,000 civilian internees had died of disease and (albeit unintentional) malnutrition while in British custody. In military terms, the war cost British and Imperial forces approximately 6,000 killed and 16,000 wounded, compared to upwards of 7,000 Boers.

By the Treaty of Vereeniging, concluded on May 31, 1902, the Boers recognized British sovereignty over their two conquered republics, and the British offered substantial financial compensation for the destruction of Boer farms. In one of the great ironies of a war, the absorption of the republics into the British Empire rapidly led to the establishment in 1910 of the Republic of South Africa which, although it included the large English-speaking populations of Cape Colony and Natal, emerged with an Afrikaner majority, thus effectively placing an erstwhile people in control of what amounted to a single—and massively enlarged—new Boer-dominated republic.

Apart from such far-reaching political consequences, the conflict exposed great deficiencies in the war-making capacity even of the world's largest empire, as a consequence of which substantial army reforms took place in the ensuing years. The conflict also highlighted the problem of troop shortages. In more than two and half years of fighting, Britain found its manpower resources stretched to the limit, thus requiring, for the first time, the deployment of Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian troops for service to the Mother country in a far-flung land. Almost half a million men would eventually be required to subdue the Boer republics, which together could scarcely field more than 40,000 men at any one time. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Afrikaners; British Empire.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Bohemia

Bohemia, a kingdom of east-central Europe occupying roughly the western two-thirds of the current Czech Republic, lost its political independence in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years War. In the revolution of 1848, an uprising in Prague, the capital, against Habsburg rule was crushed by troops loyal to the crown. In the nineteenth century, Bohemia became the industrial heartland of the Habsburg Empire. Unlike Hungary in the *Ausgleich* of 1867, Bohemia did not win a privileged position in the political system of the Habsburg monarchy. One of Austria's crown lands, Bohemia nevertheless played a prominent role in Austria-Hungary's domestic politics. The Czech majority of the population and the strong and influential German minority were involved in a long drawn out nationality conflict for supremacy. In 1897, it culminated in riots and chaos in the German-speaking parts of Austria, when protests escalated against prime minister Count Badeni's attempt to put Czech on equal footing with German in public services. *See also* German Confederation; Vienna, Congress of.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Bolívar, Simón (1783–1830)

Known as *El Libertador*, Simón Bolívar is regarded as the leader of the struggle for independence from Spain in most of Latin America, having liberated Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Panama, and Bolivia. Bolívar is today celebrated as a national hero throughout most of Latin America.

Born on July 24, 1783 in Caracas, Venezuela, to an aristocratic family, in 1799 Bolívar went to Spain to complete his education and became an ardent admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1802 he married the Spaniard María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro y Alaysa, and in 1803 they went to Caracas where she soon died of yellow fever. Bolívar never remarried. In 1804, he returned to Spain and in 1807 went back to Caracas. In 1808, when Napoleon made his brother Joseph king of Spain and its territories, juntas were formed throughout the Spanish-American colonies, initially in support of the deposed King Ferdinand VII but eventually as the forces of independence. The Caracas junta, in which Bolívar participated, declared its independence in 1810. He was sent to Great Britain as a diplomat. In 1811, the junta leader, Francisco de Miranda, assumed dictatorial powers and Bolívar returned to Caracas. When the Spanish attacked in 1812, Miranda surrendered and attempted to escape. Bolívar and others, regarding this surrender as treason, handed him over to the Spanish.

Bolívar fled to Cartagena de las Indias, in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, mostly present-day Colombia. There he wrote the *Cartagena Manifesto*, calling for Latin Americans to unite to form a republic and fight Spain. In 1813, he obtained a military command in the invasion of Venezuela, which took place on May 14, marking the beginning of the Admirable Campaign. He entered Caracas on August 6 and proclaimed the Second Venezuelan Republic, which fell the next year as a result of the royalist rebellion led by José Tomás Boves. Bolívar returned to Nueva Granada where he took part in the republican struggle for independence, but political and military rivalries forced him to flee to Jamaica in 1815. In 1816, with help from the Haitian President Alexandre Pétion, Bolívar went back to Venezuela and took over the city of Angostura, now Ciudad Bolívar. In 1819, the Colombian territory was liberated and in 1821 the federation of Gran Colombia was created, covering the territory of what was to later become Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama. Bolívar was named president. In 1822, in agreement with the Argentinean General José de San Martín, the official Protector of Peruvian Freedom, Bolívar took over the task of completely liberating Peru, which was accomplished on August 6, 1824. On the same day the next year, the Republic of Bolivia was created in his honor, for which he wrote a constitution. Internal political dissension moved Bolívar to declare himself dictator in 1828 as a temporary measure, but this only aggravated the situation and led to a failed assassination attempt later that year. Bolívar resigned on April 27, 1830, and died of tuberculosis several months later on December 17, in Santa Marta, Colombia. *See also* ABC Powers; Spanish Empire.

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GEORGIA TRES

Bolsheviks

The group of Marxist revolutionaries who carried out the Russian Revolution of October 1917 under the leadership of Vladimir **Lenin**. The group originated in a larger organization of Marxists called the Russian Social Democratic Worker's Party, founded in Minsk in 1898. Lenin began to influence the direction of the movement as he spoke out against what he believed were the liberal tendencies of some Marxists who focused on short-term economic gains for the workers over political aims. Over the next five years, Lenin became well known for his more radical ideas about the possibility of a revolution in Russia, most significantly with the publication of *What Is to be Done?* in which he argued that an effective organization had to be led by a small group of professional revolutionaries who would help the working class develop a political consciousness. These ideas became central to the power struggle within the Social Democratic Party, splitting the party into two factions in 1903.

Lenin, on one side, stressed that the revolutionary party should be secret, disciplined, and set up in a strict hierarchical organization; the other major faction in the Social Democrats, led by Julius Martov, favored a broad conception of the party, open to all who accepted Marx's principles. It was during these disputes that the names emerged: Bolshevik (from the Russian, *bol'she*, meaning larger) and Menshevik (from *men'she*, or smaller). Lenin very cleverly seized the opportunity of a momentary voting majority to call his group the Bolsheviks. Although standard Marxism called for a long interval between the first, bourgeois revolution and the second, socialist revolution, Lenin and his supporters—among them Lev Trotsky, Grigorii Zinoviev, and Lev Kamenev—argued in favor of pushing rapidly forward with plans for revolution. Consequently, in the fall of 1917, it was the Bolsheviks who took advantage of the instability of the Provisional Government to stage a coup d'état and establish the new communist regime. *See also* Russian Empire; Nicholas II.

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LEE A. FARROW

Bonaparte, Joseph (1768–1844)

Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s eldest brother, best known for his time as king of Spain (1808–1813) during the French occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. Joseph was never accepted by his new subjects, failed to control more than a fraction of the country, and remained largely impotent and strongly influenced by Napoleon, who sent him directives from Paris or from campaign headquarters. Joseph made increasingly

urgent and largely futile requests for the social and political reform of his kingdom, and in spite of his several attempts to abdicate, remained on the throne.

He had no aptitude for military affairs, and after his disastrous defeat at the hands of the Duke of Wellington at the Battle of Vitoria on June 21, 1813, was forced to flee Spain. During the Allied invasion of France in 1814, Joseph, put in command of Paris, authorized Marshal Marmont to enter into a truce, as a result of which the capital was surrendered. After Waterloo, Joseph went to live under an assumed name in America until 1839, when he retired to Florence and died there five years later.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Bonaparte, Louis (1778–1846)

Napoleon Bonaparte's third brother, Louis, served as an aide-de-camp to his more famous sibling during the 1796–1797 campaigns in Italy, where he was present at Arcola, Rivoli, and at the siege of Mantua. He served in the cavalry in 1799, became a brigadier general in 1803, and a general of division the next year. In September 1806, Louis was given command of all forces in Holland, and on September 24, 1806 he was crowned king of that country. In 1809, he led Dutch troops against the British landings on Walcheren Island. Friction arose between Louis and Napoleon over the latter's Continental System, which was causing severe economic hardship for the Dutch, and which Louis refused to enforce. In July 1810, Louis abdicated and never held a senior position thereafter.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon (1808–1873)

Nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte and himself the Emperor of the French as Napoleon III (1852–1870). Known popularly as Louis-Napoleon, he attempted to seize power in 1836 and 1840 before being elected president of the Second Republic in 1848. Three years later, however, he seized more power for the presidency in a coup and a year after that inaugurated the Second Empire by accepting the imperial title on December 2, the anniversary of his uncle's self-coronation. He allied France with Britain in the **Crimean War** and began France's colonial penetration of **Indochina** in 1857, but he then stumbled badly in 1861 with a foolish scheme to establish a French-dominated empire in Mexico that provoked both Mexican resistance and the threat of American intervention. Thereafter his defeats were confined to Europe but were highly significant.

Otto von **Bismarck** outmaneuvered him diplomatically in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and then provoked him into the Franco-Prussian in 1870–1871. Compounding France's defeat, he was captured at Sedan and imprisoned in Germany before spending the last to years of his life in exile in England. The Napoleonic line ended, when his only son died in the British army fighting the **Zulu**. *See also* Bonapartism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769–1821)

Emperor of the French as Napoleon I, Napoleon Bonaparte (Napoleone di Buonaparte) was a military genius, law giver, and despot born in Ajaccio, Corsica, on August 15, 1769, to Carlo Bonaparte (1746–1785), a lawyer and Marie-Letizia Bonaparte (1750–1835). He graduated as a second lieutenant and artillery specialist from Parisian *École Royale Militaire* and in 1793 was dispatched by the French Revolutionary government to Toulon where he distinguished himself in the siege, a feat that earned him a national reputation. His fortunes were for the time being tied with the course of the Revolution, so on October 5, 1795, Napoleon suppressed the counter-revolutionary forces of the 13 Vendemiaire and saved the Revolutionary Government of Paris. He had become a national hero and was made the commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy in 1796.

Napoleon swept across northern Italy and marched southward through Milan. The Papal States were defeated, whereupon Napoleon ignored the Directory's order to march on Rome and instead took his army into Austria. As a result of his Italian campaign, Nice and Savoy were annexed to France; and Napoleon forged Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio into the Cispadane Republic, a French puppet state. When the towns of Lombardy formed the Transpadane Republic, Napoleon then merged the two into the Cisapline Republic. He overthrew the oligarchy of Genoa and set up a Ligurian Republic and forced a surrender from Venice that ended 1,000 years of independence. His pressure on Austria meanwhile produced the Treaty of Campo Formio in October 1797, according to which the Habsburgs recognized the new French protectorates, ceded the Austrian Netherlands and Ionian Islands to France, and secretly agreed to the expansion of France's border to the banks of the Rhine.

The next year he was off to distant Egypt, a province of the **Ottoman Empire**, seeking to further French trade, build a **Suez Canal**, and undermine British rule in India. Within three weeks he demolished the Mamluk army and with it centuries of Mamkuk dominance in Egypt, but the grandiose plan was cut short by destruction of the French fleet in the Battle of **Aboukir Bay** by the British Vice Admiral Horatio **Nelson**. With the War of the Second Coalition threatening France with invasion, Napoleon returned home in October 1799 and ceased power from the Directorate in the coup d'état of 18 Brumaire (November 9, 1799).

Napoleon's rule as First Consul (1799–1804) brought a strong government in France backed by far-reaching reforms. The rift between the French state and the Papacy was ended in the **Concordat of 1801**. The Civil Code of March 1804 (re-named the Code Napoleon) addressed questions of personal status and property; individual liberty, equality before law, and arrest with due procedure of law was guaranteed. The progressive spirit of the Code was marked by protection of religious minorities. His most positive legacy, the Code was widely followed all over world. The administration of government was highly centralized and constructed

around the prefecture system. The financial administration was overhauled with the creation of the Bank of France in 1800 with the power of issuing bank notes after two years, and industrial ventures were encouraged. The chief purpose of education, according to Napoleon, was to groom the gifted into capable administrators for the service of the state, so he established 45 *lycees* or high schools with emphasis on patriotic indoctrination. The cohesion of the nation sought by the reforms was backed by military triumphs, which gave Napoleon popular support. So there could be no doubt about such support, he was in 1802 made First Consul for life by a rigged plebiscite.

While Napoleon consolidated his hold on power, he offered peace to Britain. The government of William Pitt rejected the offer, and the Consulate was marked by further conquests and territorial aggrandizement. Northern Italy was conquered by defeating the Austrians in the battle of **Marengo** in June 1800. After Napoleon finally destroyed the main Austrian army at **Hohenlinden** the following December, the Peace of **Lunéville** of 1801 secured for France the left bank of the Rhine. In 1802, with Pitt out of office, Napoleon secured the Treaty of **Amiens** with Britain and a breather to concentrate on his domestic reforms and restore the French colonial Empire. He obtained Louisiana from Spain but because of American opposition sold it to the United States for \$15 million. His attempt to establish French authority in Australia and India also failed.

On December 2, 1804, Napoleon crowned himself Emperor of the French in the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris in the presence of Pope Pius VII. The revolution that had established a republic ended in an empire. The reforms of Napoleon that were implemented in the conquered territories of France had nonetheless disturbed the European social order as Napoleon's ambition menaced its monarchies. War returned to Europe. In May 1804, Pitt returned to power in Britain and set about forming a Third Coalition to defeat Napoleon. The Emperor seized the initiative, however, by reorganizing his forces, renaming them the Grande Armée and moving quickly into Italy and Southern Germany. At **Ulm** he captured 33,000 Austrians with minimal fighting and then scored his most impressive victory at the battle of **Austerlitz** in December 1805 by routing the combined armies of Austria and Russia. Austria sought peace, and the Treaty of **Pressburg** recognized Napoleon's Italian claims. Napoleon further strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances in principalities of southern Germany. The Bourbons were ousted from Naples and Napoleon installed his brother **Joseph Bonaparte** (1768–1844) as the king. The only thorn was Britain, whose navy under Nelson's command shattered the combined fleets of France and Spain off **Cape Trafalgar** in October 1805, ending the chances of a French invasion of Britain. "Wherever wood can swim," he later observed, "there I am sure to find this flag of England."

Having disposed of Austria, Napoleon completely redrew the map of Germany by eliminating 120 sovereign entities dating to and beyond the Peace of Westphalia, dissolving the Holy Roman Empire, and establishing a French protectorate in the **Confederation of the Rhine**. When Prussia then joined Pitt's alliance in October 1806, the War of the Fourth Coalition brought Napoleon to the apex of his military career. He defeated the Prussian army at **Jena** and **Auerstädt**, occupied Berlin and fought a bloody but inconclusive battle with the Russian army at **Eylau** before smashing it decisively at **Friedland**. Napoleon now wanted to punish the "nation of shopkeepers" with a trade boycott. With the French army in Berlin, the Emperor

issued a decree from there on November 21, 1806 forbidding trade with Britain by France and her allies. Britain was to be in a state of blockade and commerce with her was banned. Britain retaliated by the Orders in Council declaring ports of France and her allies to be in a state of blockade. The naval supremacy of Britain resulted in failure of the Continental System, although trade embargos caused hardship for Europe including France and Britain. The hope of the Emperor that English industry would be devastated did not occur. Russia's defeat at Friedland forced Tsar **Alexander I** to negotiate a spheres of influence arrangement. On July 7, 1807, the Treaty of **Tilsit** made Russia observe the Continental system of trade embargo and recognize the Confederation of the Rhine.

Almost the whole of Europe was under domination of the Napoleonic Empire. Austria, Prussia, and Russia were captive allies after their defeats in war, and the satellites of France were ruled by relatives of Napoleon. At the core was the French Empire and territories acquired since the Revolution. The frontiers of France included Belgium and the Netherlands, Germany west of the Rhine river and along the North Sea, the Duchy of Warsaw, Italy, and the Illyrian provinces. From 1807 onwards, the grandiose plan of conquest, unbridled ambition, and desire for mastery over Europe led to draining of resources of France and the downfall of the Emperor himself. The desire to impose the Continental system on Portugal, an ally of Britain, led to the **Peninsular War**, and it was the "Spanish ulcer" that began Napoleon's ruin. The British Commander Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), the future Duke of **Wellington**, defeated the French at **Rorica** and **Vimiero**. The Convention of **Cintra** of August 1808 secured for the British a base of operation in Portugal. It angered Napoleon, who invaded Spain and made his brother, Joseph, king. Although Spain was defeated in December 1808 at Madrid, the irreconcilable Spanish people fought Napoleon using **guerrilla** tactics. The long Peninsular war continued with 300,000 troops of Napoleon. Wellington defeated Joseph at the Battle of **Vittoria** in June 1813 and marched toward southern France.

There were reports of sedition in Paris and the Emperor returned to Paris to settle the matter. Meanwhile, Austria was rearming itself and in 1809 liked its chances enough to declare war against France. After an Austrian victory at **Aspern-Essling**, Napoleon triumphed decisively at the Battle of **Wagram** in July 1809. Russia was getting jittery. The tsar did not abide by the Continental System as agreed at Tilsit, as it was detrimental to Russian trade. With 675,000 troops, the *Grande Armée* crossed the Nieman in June 1812 and marched toward Moscow and opened Napoleon's invasion of Russia. He took Smolensk and in September won a costly victory in the savage Battle of **Borodino** before slogging on to Moscow. Napoleon remained in the burning city for five weeks, but Alexander I did not surrender. The retreat was devastating for the *Grande Armée*, owing to bitter cold, lack of supplies, and the scorched earth policy of the Russians combined with harassing attacks by partisans and Cossacks. Napoleon left 300,000 dead in Russia.

As Wellington was meanwhile chewing up Napoleon's Spanish army, the prestige of the Emperor hit its nadir. Europe was united against Napoleon in the final, Sixth Coalition. In the Battle of **Leipzig** of October 1813, Napoleon suffered his most humiliating defeat. He did not accept the offer of peace and was defeated finally at **Arcis-sur-Aub**. Paris fell to the invading army in March 1814 and Napoleon abdicated. There was a Bourbon restoration and Louis XVIII (1755–1824), a younger brother of Louis XVI (reigned 1774–1792), became the king of France. Napoleon

gave up claims to the throne. He was exiled to the island of Elba with an annual provision of 180,000 pounds. But that was not the end of Napoleon and while the Congress of Vienna was redrawing the map of Europe, he landed near Cannes and entered Paris in March 1815.

The Fifth Regiment sent by the new king to interdict Napoleon joined the Emperor with a cry of *Vive L'Empereur*. Napoleon promised a genuine liberal regime and within three months raised an army of 140,000 soldiers and 200,000 reserves. His old foes arrayed against him soon and his Second Empire lasted for only 100 days only. The final blow came at the battle of **Waterloo** near Brussels from a British army led by Wellington and a smaller Russian force commanded by **Blücher**. After surrendering formally on board the HMS *Bellerophon*, Napoleon was sent to the British island of St. Helena in the south Atlantic Ocean and died there on May 5, 1821. Napoleon was no more, but his legacy remained. He was responsible for doing away with vestiges of feudal order in many parts of Europe. The centralized rule in Italy and Germany laid the foundation for unification of both. For the French, he remained a national hero of mythical attraction, but for his enemies, he was a tyrant and power-hungry conqueror. His ambition and arrogance caused his downfall. Napoleon was an “enlightened” despot, combining liberal ideals and with authoritarian rule, who temporarily restored order to revolutionary France and national pride to the French. Bonapartism and the Napoleonic legend remained. *See also* Bonapartism; French Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Bonapartism

An ideological tradition of nineteenth-century France based on the perpetuation of the ideas and the mythical national status of Napoleon I. Bonapartism attempted simultaneously to represent national glory, preserve the achievements of the Revolution, and to affirm the principle of authority. Influenced by the memory of the murderous anarchy of the Terror, it nonetheless sought to square democracy with order by offering leadership to appeal to the whole nation, as opposed to political parties and parliamentary factions who sought power for their own benefit. Bonapartists therefore often advocated the abolition of class and privilege, whether

or not they meant it, and promoted a social order based on the equality of all men and social mobility open to talent and ambition.

The Bonapartist ideal was of a charismatic leader capable of unifying the nation by force of personality. Because such leadership was in short supply, Bonapartists adapted to party politics. They became synonymous in the eyes of their opponents with populist authoritarianism, hatred of the Bourbon restoration, the corruption and deceit of Louis Napoleon, and the mischievous use of plebiscites in reactionary causes.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bond of 1844

A treaty, signed on March 6, 1844, by the King of Denkera and seven Fanti and Assin chiefs, acknowledging British “power and jurisdiction” over their respective territories on the **Gold Coast**. By the end of the year, the rulers of a dozen more coastal polities had signed the agreement, which banned human sacrifice and other customs and recognized the judicial authority of British officials. The treaty stood as the basic charter of British rule on the Gold Coast until it was superseded by the formation of Crown Colony of the Gold Coast and Lagos in 1874.

In the early 1840s, British authority was officially limited to the coastal forts inhabited by British merchants. Nonetheless, British officials wielded a considerable degree of informal influence within a loosely defined protectorate and were periodically called on to intervene in legal and political disputes. During the tenure of George Maclean from 1830 to 1844, the frequency and scope of such actions grew inexorably despite the formal limits of British jurisdiction. In 1842, the informal and irregular nature of British legal proceedings on the Gold Coast was criticized by a committee of the House of Commons. One result of the inquiry was the passage of new legislation clarifying the legal foundation for British jurisdiction and requiring the formal consent of the various African states.

In this context, it is clear that the Bond of 1844 was not intended to expand British jurisdiction, but simply to document its existing extent. As intellectuals like James Africanus Horton understood, the signatories to the Bond “submitted themselves to the British Government, not as subjects, but as independent nations.” In practice, the Bond provided a license for the continued expansion of British authority over the next three decades in ways that went well beyond the actual terms of the agreement. That the Bond was ultimately superseded by a unilateral proclamation of British authority in 1874 rather than another consensual agreement was no accident but rather a reflection of the altered balance of power on the Gold Coast. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire; Indirect Rule.

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SCOTT ANDERSON

Borodino, Battle of (1812)

A bloody and critical battle of the **Napoleonic Wars** fought between French and Russian troops on Russian soil. As Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s forces moved across the European continent, Russian Tsar **Alexander I** formed an alliance with Britain, Austria, and Prussia, the Sixth Coalition, in an attempt to check French expansion. These alliances fluctuated, however, with each French victory. Such was the situation with Russia. Napoleon's powerful war machine inflicted significant military defeats on Russia in 1805 and 1807, forcing Russia to sign the Treaty of **Tilsit** and maintain peaceful relations with France from 1807 to 1812. During this period, Russia was part of Napoleon's Continental System, a reluctant collaboration of subjugated or conquered European nations who, through various trade embargos, were supposed to help Napoleon bring England to its knees. Russia's participation in this system, however, was a product only of Napoleon's military power, not common interests, as Russia had a long trade relationship with England. Alexander was also concerned when Napoleon won Prussia's Polish holdings and created a French-dominated state called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Finally, Napoleon's ambitions in the Mediterranean conflicted with Russia's interest in controlling Constantinople and the Turkish Straits.

When it became apparent that Alexander would no longer cooperate, Napoleon decided to invade Russia. He amassed an army of 600,000 men, 200,000 animals, and 20,000 vehicles and entered Russia in late June 1812. The Russians retreated eastward, avoiding battle and drawing the French further into Russia. As they retreated, they destroyed everything, leaving nothing of use for the French army. Finally in September, the Russians took their stand at Borodino, under the leadership of Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov. Although the battle lasted only one day, both sides suffered devastating losses. The Russians lost more than 40,000 men, about one-third of its strength; although Napoleon's forces won the battle, they lost about half their men yet failed to destroy the Russian army. Exhausted and with severely overextended supply lines, they proceeded to Moscow where they waited a month for Alexander's surrender. When this failed to occur, Napoleon chose to withdraw rather than face the Russian winter. His army, by this point only 30,000 strong, crossed the Russian border in December. The failure of the Russian invasion was a devastating defeat for Napoleon. Napoleon's invasion and Borodino are the backdrop to Leo Tolstoy's novel, *War and Peace*, in which it is described as "a continuous slaughter which could be of no avail either to the French or the Russians." *See also* Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Boshin War

See Restoration War

Bosnia-Herzegovina

A southeast European province of the **Ottoman Empire** from 1463 to 1878. Unusual for most Ottoman provinces on the Balkan Peninsula, Bosnia-Herzegovina was home to a large community of Slav Muslims, living alongside Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs. In 1878, after the Congress of **Berlin**, Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina. Armed resistance against Habsburg rule was crushed by military force. Supervised by a special department within the common ministry of finance, the administration was run by Austro-Hungarian civil servants and officers. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 caused an international crisis and outraged Serbian and Yugoslav nationalists who wanted to unite the province with **Serbia**. At least partly successful in modernizing the province, Austria-Hungary's policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina failed to effectively counter Great Serbian or Yugoslav propaganda campaigns. One of the groups striving to free Bosnia-Herzegovina from Habsburg rule, Young Bosnia (Mlada Bosna), managed to assassinate Francis Ferdinand, the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, on June 28, 1914. Austria-Hungary perceived this as a legitimate cause to wage war on Serbia that had harbored anti-Habsburg organizations. *See also* Black Hand; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Bosporus

A strait connecting the Sea of Marmara with the Black Sea, 20 miles long and less than 3 miles across at its widest. Bosporus literally means "ox ford" and is traditionally connected with the legendary figure of Io, who in the form of a heifer crossed the Thracian Bosporus in her wanderings. Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans constructed fortifications along its shores because of its proximity to Constantinople. With the growing influence of the European powers in the nineteenth century, rules were codified to govern the transit of vessels through the strait.

The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774 and the Treaty of **Inkiar Skelessi** in 1833 gave the Russian government the right to navigate freely in Ottoman waters through the Bosporus, but its strategic value made it a central issue of the Straits Question, and the second treaty was reversed by the **London Straits Convention** in 1841. *See also* Eastern Question; Mehmet Ali; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Botha, Louis (1862–1919)

A Boer general and statesman, Louis Botha was a political moderate who was elected to the parliament (*Volksraad*) of the Transvaal. He opposed war with Great

Britain yet joined the Transvaal army when war came and ultimately became commander-in-chief of the Boer forces in the Second Boer War (1899–1902). He was initially second in command and later in charge of the Boer forces at Ladysmith, was largely responsible for Boer successes at Colenso, Spion Kop, and Val Kranz, and then led an 18-month guerrilla campaign when the war turned in Britain's favor.

When the Boer cause was lost, Botha proved as able a negotiator as a soldier. He attended the peace conference and signed the Treaty of Vereeniging. After becoming premier of the Transvaal in 1907, he represented the new British possession at Imperial Conferences and promoted reconciliation between Boers and the British in the Cape Colony. A loyal British subject, he became the first premier of the South African Union in 1910, put down a pro-German Boer rebellion in 1914, and then led Empire troops to victory in German Southwest Africa in 1915. *See also* Afrikaner; South Africa.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Boulanger, General Georges-Ernest (1837–1891)

French soldier and failed political adventurer, Georges-Ernest Boulanger served in Algeria, Cochinchina, and in the Franco-Prussian War. He entered politics in 1884. Initially a protégé of the Radical Party under Georges Clemenceau, he was made War Minister in 1886, a post in which he introduced many needed reforms to the French military. When the government fell, Boulanger was relegated to a provincial command and quickly became unhinged. Frantic to recover his position, he now flirted with anti-Republican forces—ranging from disenchanted Radicals to Bonapartists and royalists—that sought a more authoritarian system. He agitated for the return of Alsace-Lorraine and campaigned for a revision of the constitution. By 1889, he was momentarily so popular that many feared he would attempt a *coup*. Threatened with arrest, however, Boulanger fled the country and was later condemned *in absentia* for treason. He lived for two years in Belgian exile before shooting himself over the grave of his mistress in 1891.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bourbon Dynasty (1589–1848)

The ruling dynasty of France from 1589 until the proclamation of the First Republic in 1792 and the execution of Louis XVI on January 21, 1793. Upon the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte on April 11, 1814, the Bourbons were restored to the French throne in the person of Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. Forced to flee when Napoleon returned from exile, Louis XVIII was again returned to the throne after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo. In 1830, the reactionary Bourbon Charles X was toppled in favor of the Duke of Orleans, Louis-Philippe, and the establishment of the "July Monarchy," which lasted until 1848 and the proclamation of the Second Republic.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Boxer Insurrection (1900)

A short conflict arising out of antforeign sentiment in China as a result of many factors, including the rapid development of European trade and the acquisition by various European powers of important Chinese port cities: **Kiaochow** by Germany in 1897, Port Arthur by Russia, and Wei-hai-wei by Britain in 1898. The Chinese government connived with young Chinese associated with a fanatical secret society known as The Society of the Righteous Harmonious Fists, popularly known as “Boxers,” who also received active support from the Dowager Empress Tzu His. While professing a powerlessness to influence matters, she actually incited them. Intensifying violence on a wide scale was directed against converts to Christianity, **missionaries**, and laborers and foreign managers on foreign-controlled railways. Responding to such threats to their own nationals, various European powers, together with the United States and Japan, dispatched troops to China to protect their citizens and to reassert what they claimed to be their commercial and property rights.

Beginning in June 1900, foreign warships began assembling off Tientsin, from which they detached a military contingent of about 500 troops from various nations with orders to proceed to Beijing and guard the foreign legations. Shortly thereafter Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Seymour, commander of the British naval forces in China, landed a force of 2,000 Royal Marines and sailors, who were repulsed by a Chinese force of overwhelming strength at Tang Ts’u. After suffering 300 casualties, the force returned to the ships. On June 17 the allies seized the Taku Forts, which guarded the river up to Tientsin. Meanwhile at Peking, the Boxers murdered the German Minister, massacred thousands of Christians, and laid siege to the foreign legations.

From Taku, a force of Russians, French, British, Germans, Americans, and Japanese were dispatched to the legations’ relief. The allied force, reinforced to 5,000, successfully stormed Tientsin on July 23, and by early August numbered 18,000 men. The allies then advanced on Peking, driving off a Boxer force at Yang T’sun on August 5–6, and reached the walls of the capital on the August 13. The troops stormed the walls and gates the next day and relieved the combined legations, which had narrowly survived incessant Boxer attacks. On August 15, American artillery broke down the gates of the Imperial Palace, which, however, in deference to the Emperor, was not occupied until August 28. After Russian forces occupied Manchuria in September, the Dowager Empress accepted all allied demands on December 26. Boxers and suspected Boxers were executed, often by decapitation; German and Russian troops in particular engaged in mass reprisals. According to the **Boxer Protocol**, signed by 12 nations on September 12 1901, China was forced to pay a heavy indemnity of more than \$335 million at the 1900 rate of exchange and to submit to other humiliations. *See also* Arrow War; Opium Wars; Qing Dynasty; Sino-Japanese War.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Boxer Protocol (1901)

After the allied forces marched into Beijing and crushed the **Boxer Insurrection** in 1900, the Empress Dowager and the imperial court fled to Xian and summoned Viceroy Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) to be in charge of negotiations with the foreign powers. Meanwhile, motivated by a desire to protect its own commercial interests in China, the United States reiterated its **Open Door** policy, insisting on the preservation of the territorial and administrative entity of China, a position eventually consented to by Britain, Germany, Japan, and Russia. Therefore after extensive discussions, partition of China was avoided by mutual restraint among the imperial powers, and a protocol was finally signed on September 7, 1901 by Li, acting for the Qing court, and the plenipotentiaries of 11 countries, officially ending the hostilities and providing for reparations to be made to the foreign powers.

The indemnity included 450 million taels, the equivalent of \$335 million, to be paid over the next 40 years, an amount so outrageously excessive that both the United States and Britain volunteered to rechannel some of the money to finance the education of Chinese students abroad. In addition to formal apologies, the Boxer Protocol also specified the execution of 10 high-ranking Chinese officials and the punishment of 100 others, as well as suspension of civic examinations in 45 cities to penalize the gentry class who sympathized with the rebels. Moreover, the settlement demanded the expansion of the Legation Quarter in Beijing, to be fortified and permanently garrisoned, and the destruction of forts and occupation of railway posts to ensure foreign access to Beijing from the sea. In sum, the defeat of the Boxer uprising was a complete humiliation to the Chinese government, and the Boxer Protocol made an independent China a mere fiction. With mounting nationalistic sentiment, the once mighty **Qing** Empire was well on its course of final collapse.

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WENXIAN ZHANG

Brandenburg-Prussia

See Prussia

Brazil

Brazil, a country of some 3.3 million square miles on the eastern coast of South America, is by far the largest country on the continent. In the sixteenth century, the first Europeans settled in the land now known as Brazil, the Dutch in the northeast and the Portuguese in the southeast. Archaeological evidence is accumulating

that indicates that a thriving, advanced civilization in the Amazon collapsed at the approximate time of the European arrival, possibly because of pandemic disease.

By the nineteenth century, the Portuguese had expelled the Dutch and established a slave-based economy along the coast, focusing on farming and mining. In 1808, the Portuguese royal family, escaping from Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Portugal, established Brazil's capital, Rio de Janeiro, as capital of the **Portuguese Empire**. When Napoleon was defeated, the family returned to Lisbon, leaving the Crown Prince, Pedro, as regent for Brazil. The **Peninsular War** opened Brazil to trade when Britain demanded trading access as the price of its support for Portuguese independence. In 1821, when Portugal attempted to tighten control over Brazil, Pedro, urged on by the Luso-Brazilians, Brazilians of European ancestry, declared Brazilian independence and became Pedro I of the Empire of Brazil.

The independent Brazil fought several border conflicts in the nineteenth century, notably with Argentina over Uruguay—after a compromise peace established an independent Uruguay in whose politics both sides meddled freely—and Paraguay. The Paraguayan War in the late 1860s was started when the Paraguayan dictator, Francisco Solano López, simultaneously declared war on Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Paraguay was crushed, and the Brazilians and Argentineans between them claimed about 25 of the country's territory.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the other South American countries generally mistrusted Brazil's expansionist tendencies, which included interventions in the governments of its neighbors, notably Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, and the occasional outright land grab. The best example of a land grab is the Brazilian State of Acre. The region, a nominally Bolivian province in the upper Amazon, was experiencing a rubber boom in the 1890s as Brazilian settlers and entrepreneurs flooded the region. In 1899, a Brazilian journalist denounced a nonexistent agreement between the United States and Bolivia to reclaim the region, and set himself up as *presidente* of the Independent State of Acre. By 1904, the Brazilian military had marched in to restore order, and the state was annexed.

Until the late nineteenth century, most of the interior of Brazil was unexplored, and almost all of the population was located along the Atlantic Coast or in isolated settlements such as Acre. Nevertheless, the Indians suffered from the occasional slaving raids—slave trading was banned in 1850, but slavery was not completely abolished until 1888—and epidemics. In 1890, the first serious governmental effort to open up the interior was begun under Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, a military officer. Under his command during the next 20 years, thousands of miles of **telegraph** lines were laid linking the wilderness to the central government. Rondon considered himself a champion of the Indians—his motto was “Die if need be, but never kill”—but the government's efforts weren't to preserve them but to peacefully assimilate them.

The Indian Protective Services (SPI), set up in 1910, was officially charged with protection of the Indians. The SPI and its successor organization, the National Indian Foundation, conducted a highly paternalistic campaign to find the Indians and “aid” them, which meant bribing them onto *de-facto* reservations and making them dependent on handouts from the government. In taking this path, the government often found itself in conflict against the mining companies, railroads, and farmers, who often favored extermination, or at least expulsion. *See also* ABC Powers; Tampico Incident.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

Brazza, Pierre Paul Francois Camille Savorgnan de (1852–1905)

A Franco-Italian naval officer, explorer, and colonial official in Equatorial Africa. Although born into an Italian noble family, he enrolled in the French naval academy in Brest and became a French citizen in 1874. Because of the success of his 1874–1878 exploration of the Gabon and Ogoue Rivers, in 1879 the French government sent de Brazza on a mission to thwart Belgian efforts, led by Henry Morton Stanley, to annex the entire Congo River basin. Over the next three years, de Brazza explored portions of the Upper Congo and established a French protectorate centered around the newly created settlement of Brazzaville. After a brief return to France, he served as Governor-General of the French Congo from 1886 to 1897. De Brazza died in Dakar, Senegal in 1905 shortly after completing an investigation into allegations of African exploitation commissioned by the French government. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Belgian Congo; French Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Briand, Aristide (1862–1932)

A French politician and statesman, Aristide Briand started his career in the French Socialist Party, associating himself with the most advanced movements. In 1894, Briand persuaded the trade unions to adopt general strike as a political weapon. Appointed premier in 1909, Briand alienated himself from his socialist colleagues by breaking up a railway strike by conscripting its leaders into the army. Since October 1915, Briand headed a coalition cabinet. His failed attempts to establish control over the army brought his government down. Briand returned to power in 1921.

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MARTIN MOLL

British Columbia

The westernmost province of Canada, initially an object of European interest when Juan Perez Herdandez explored the Pacific Coast of North America for Spain in 1774. British and Russian traders also became active on the coast in the late eighteenth century, and British interests, in the form of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, became dominant in the early nineteenth century—

especially after the two companies merged into the Bay Company in 1821, and the new company established a dominant position in the lucrative fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains. Britain's position on the west coast of North America, however, was contested by the arrival of American settlers and commerce in the Oregon Territory in the 1830s. The loss of Oregon to the United States confined the **Hudson's Bay Company** to the northern half of its Pacific territory, and in 1849 Vancouver Island was made a British crown colony.

In response to an influx of American miners during the gold rush of the late 1850s, London sought to preserve British authority by creating the mainland colony of British Columbia in 1858. The Vancouver and mainland colonies were joined in 1866, but British Columbia considered annexation to the **United States** until it was persuaded to join the new Dominion of the Canada Confederation in 1871 by the promise of the construction of a transcontinental railway within two years. In any event, the Canadian Pacific Railway did not link British Columbia to Montreal in the eastern province of Quebec until 1886. *See also* Manifest Destiny.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

British East African Protectorate

The territory that became Kenya colony in 1920. British East Africa was originally acquired by the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC), a chartered company under the control of the self-made shipping magnate Sir William Mackinnon. The IBEAC was chartered in 1888, with many prominent Britons, including Sir T. F. Buxton of the Aborigines' Protection Society among its shareholders. It promised to abolish **slavery** and establish **free trade** within its territories; Mackinnon himself told shareholders to expect their returns in philanthropy.

The East Africa Company secured a coastal territory around the port of Mombasa, and attempted to build a **railway** inland to Lake Victoria. Lord **Salisbury** proposed to subsidize the railway on the grounds that it would solidify Britain's control of the headwaters of the Nile and assist in putting down slavery, but Parliament would not go along. The company rapidly ran out of money and had to go back to its shareholders for additional funds on several occasions. It sold its claims in East Africa to the British government in 1895. A railway from Mombasa to Uganda—often then called Buganda—was begun in 1895 and completed in 1902. The railway was built in large part by Indian labor. The opening up of the fertile and temperate regions of what became Kenya attracted British immigrants looking for farmland, leading many to describe British East Africa as “a white man's country.” Racial tensions between white immigrants, Africans moved off the land and compelled to work for wages by taxes designed to that end, and Indians demanding equal status with whites characterized politics in the protectorate and eventually led to its reconstitution as Kenya. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

British Empire

The British Empire was the archetypical colonial empire, the empire to which other aspiring empires often looked as a model. The British Empire was for both imperialists and anti-imperialists the epitome of a modern empire. It was at its height the largest of the colonial empires, in some ways the most successful, and certainly the most influential. The United States grew out of British imperial history, and Americans argue at length and in English about such topics as free trade, constitutional rights, and the proper place of religion in society, all issues inextricably linked to the history of the British Empire. And yet a legal pedant could argue that the British Empire never existed. With the possible exception of the British crown itself, there was never a unified legal structure or institution called “The British Empire,” and the late Victorian idea of institutionalizing the empire was, in the inimitable words of Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, Lord **Salisbury**, a project better suited to peroration than to argument.

The empire covered at its height a quarter of the earth’s surface and included a similar proportion of its population. And yet, for most of the last 500 years, it consisted of a motley collection of islands, ports, and hinterlands. The empire was at the height of its power in the late nineteenth century and reached its greatest territorial extent in the wake of World War I. But as little as a century earlier, Britain’s possessions in **India** had been half the size, most of **Australia** was unsettled, and claims to what became **Canada** had been uncertain. As Edmund Burke wrote in the eighteenth century, “the settlement of our colonies was never pursued upon any regular plan; but they were formed, flourished and grew as accidents, the nature of the climate, or the dispositions of private men, happened to operate.” Or, one might add, they rebelled, fell away, or failed to flourish for similar contingent reasons.

British Seaborne Trade

The British Empire was always a seaborne empire; however, the earliest seaborne empires were those of **Portugal** and **Spain**. English seaborne trade in the fifteenth century largely looked eastward to the Baltic and the Hanseatic League of northern Germany, and the domestic instability during the Wars of the Roses of the fifteenth century and the Reformation of the sixteenth century militated against hazardous or expensive overseas voyages. John Cabot, or Caboto, a Genoese living in Bristol, made a westward voyage to **Newfoundland** in 1497, but was lost at sea in a subsequent venture. The Newfoundland fishery was widely known and exploited at the time by the Portuguese, the French, and the Basques, as much as by the English.

The **slave trade** had its origins in mid-sixteenth-century gold-trading voyages to the **Guinea** coast of West Africa by Sir John Hawkins and many others. Hawkins initially obtained African slaves by means of piracy on Portuguese slave traders, but then moved to trading directly with African chiefs. He then sold slaves in the Spanish dominions in America, which was like slavery an illegal activity, at least under Spanish law. The Elizabethan adventurer Francis Drake continued the tradition of interloping among the Spanish Caribbean colonies and preying on Spanish trade.

During his famous circumnavigation of 1577, a feat not repeated by an English sailor until George Anson's voyage of the 1740s, Drake plundered Spanish shipping. To an extent, the English war on Spanish trade in the era of the Spanish Armada of 1588 was a war of self-defense. In this period, piracy, slave trading, commerce-raiding, and naval warfare were not distinct. Most enterprises involved a combination of private and royal vessels, and both crown and merchant hoped for a windfall. There was little idea of securing permanent colonies until the end of the century.

In the sixteenth century, maritime trade was usually pursued through joint-stock companies, in which a number of merchants pooled resources under a royal charter. The **East India Company** was formed on the pattern of other trading enterprises of the time, such as the Levant and Muscovy Companies. The intent was to pool capital and share risk among a number of traders rather than to colonize or conquer the country into which they traded. The Levant Company secured extraterritorial privileges from the Porte (the Turkish government) in 1583, but it had no thought of conquest; likewise the Muscovy Company of 1555 aimed only to trade with the Russia of Ivan the Terrible.

The East India Company was founded on a similar pattern in 1600. During its first century and a half of existence, it made no extensive territorial acquisitions, limiting itself to trading forts and surrounding territories. In India, these included Fort St. George, later **Madras**, and Bombay, acquired from the Portuguese in 1660. The East India Company was not without competition, chiefly from the French, the Dutch, and, in early years, the Portuguese, as well as from English "interlopers," violating the company's monopoly of trade with India. Disorder created by the breakdown of the Mogul Empire in the eighteenth century and consequent opportunities for plunder and mercenary warfare drew the East India Company and its army deeper into Indian politics. The company made significant conquests in southern India, but its most notable conquest was **Bengal**, with Robert Clive's victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757. At that point, the company became a large Indian landowner.

Colonial Wars

Wars in India customarily reflected, and at points anticipated, those in Europe. Between the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the consequent wars with Louis XIV's France and the end of the **Napoleonic Wars** over a century later in 1815, Britain and France were at war almost every other decade, and these wars provided both the motivation and the opportunity for imperial expansion in India and elsewhere. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the rapid expansion of Britain's territorial holdings in India. The decline of the Mogul Empire, traditionally a British ally, led the British to assume many of the functions of government and of territorial sovereignty, once performed by that empire. At the same time as the East India Company's power was expanding in India, the company and its growing wealth became the subject of controversy in England. The India Bill of 1784 imposed a London-based Board of Control on the Company, and successive bills further regulated its conduct, restricting its role to that of administering, rather than trading in, India. By the nineteenth century, a widespread view had developed that rule by a chartered company was anachronistic. An 1857 rebellion by **sepoys**—native Indians in the Company's army—was put down only with great bloodshed. It led to the end of company rule in 1858 and the creation of an Indian government responsible to a Secretary of State in London. Since the time of Clive, British rule

in India had expanded to encompass the entire subcontinent. The Royal Titles Act of 1876 created Queen Victoria Empress of India, marking the new and larger place that India, and the empire as a whole, occupied in the British imagination. The viceroyalty of George Curzon, Lord Curzon, and the imperial Durbar at the accession of Edward VII in 1901, marked the height of British prestige in India.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) took place in Europe, in India, and at sea; but its most notable result was in North America, where the French colony at Québec was conquered by a British expeditionary force, giving Britain an exclusive claim to North America north of Florida. The first English attempt to colonize the mainland of North America was Sir Walter Raleigh's failed settlement at Roanoke, Virginia, in the 1580s. Two further colonies were founded in 1607, one that survived at Jamestown, Virginia, and another failed colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Numerous other small colonies, usually of a single ship's company of settlers, were established in this period throughout the Americas; there was no sense that those in the future United States were in any way special. The famous arrival of the *Mayflower* in New England in 1620 opened the way to more extensive settlement by English Puritans. By the end of the century, there were substantial cities at Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, the latter taken from the Dutch in 1664. Britain also acquired significant holdings in the Caribbean and small toeholds in South and Central America. Jamaica was taken from the Spanish in 1660, and became a rich sugar colony worked by slave labor. By the end of the eighteenth century, Jamaica and related Caribbean sugar islands were among the richest imperial holdings, and the influence of the planter class in London was considerable.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the British-American colonies had 10 times the population of New France, but they were still hemmed in behind the substantial barrier of the Alleghenies. The British conquest of New France removed the threat from the French and their native allies, but it also removed the apparent need for British forces. The British demand that Americans pay taxes to help pay the costs of their own defense led to the American rebellion and subsequent declaration of independence in 1776. In the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), Britain lost most of its American empire, but retained its colonies in Canada. Historians of the eighteenth century have been inclined to speak of a first British Empire lasting until 1783, and a second British Empire rising afterward. This makes sense in the American context, but not in India, where British power, or rather the power of the East India Company and its traders and soldiers, continued to grow steadily despite its setback in the Americas. Ten years after the conclusion of the War of American Independence, war with France broke out again, and the war would last, with the slight interruption of the 1802–1803 Peace of Amiens, until 1815. During the wars of the French Revolution and Empire, the foundations of the so-called second British Empire were laid. That empire consisted of dependent territories throughout the littorals of Asia and Africa, and settler colonies—the future **Dominions**—in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa.

Britain in the Scramble for Africa

Britain's original holdings in Africa were acquired to support the slave trade. The Royal African Company was founded in 1672 to exploit the West African slave trade on a more systematic basis than had the buccaneers of the previous century. At the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), Britain

retained **Gibraltar** and **Nova Scotia**, and won the right to sell African slaves in Spanish America, an enormous market. Forts, notably Cape Coast Castle, were acquired along the West African coast. After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and of slavery itself in the British Empire in 1833, these bases were used by the **Royal Navy** in its long campaign to suppress the slave trade. The colony of **Sierra Leone** was established in 1787 to settle liberated slaves and North Americans of African origin, in the optimistic but never realized hope that other trades would displace the slave trade and bring peace and prosperity to Africa. With the decline of the slave trade, Britain's bases in the region became increasingly less necessary, and it was even proposed in the 1860s to abandon them entirely. Substantial territorial holdings were only acquired in tropical Africa in the 1870s and 1880s, when imperial competition with other powers became acute. Although Mungo Park's explorations of the Niger River in the 1790s had significantly expanded knowledge of that region's interior, and trade to the "oil rivers"—the oil being palm oil—expanded throughout the century, it was not until the end of the century that Sir George Goldie's Royal Niger Company began to assert territorial control in the area; it was only in 1899 that the colony of **Nigeria** was formally brought under British rule. British expansion in East Africa followed a similar pattern, with explorers such as David **Livingston**, Richard **Burton**, and John **Speke** leading the way, a chartered company professing philanthropic purposes following him, and the formal declarations of East African **protectorates** occurring only in 1895.

The British acquired Cape Colony in South Africa in 1795, during the wars of the French Revolution. Although the colony was briefly returned to the Dutch at the Peace of **Amiens** in 1802, the British retained the Cape at the peace of 1815. This colony presented the British with a number of difficulties, including a disaffected Dutch Creole (or **Afrikaner** or **Boer**) population and poorly defined frontiers confronting numerous African tribes. The eastern boundaries of the Cape Colony saw in the nineteenth century by one authoritative count nine frontier wars, or "**Kaffir Wars**," in the language of the time, in most of which British frontiers advanced in the hope of pacification. **Afrikaners** discontented with British rule and specifically with the abolition of slavery migrated into the interior, the most significant movement, the **Great Trek**, beginning in 1837. Rapidly coming into conflict with the **Zulu**, the **Afrikaners** founded independent republics, the most prominent of which were the **Transvaal** and the **Orange Free State**, which were conditionally recognized by Britain in 1852 and 1854, respectively. British traders had in the meantime arrived at the port that became **Durban**, and the colony of **Natal** was annexed by the empire in 1843, creating another set of frontiers with both Africans and **Afrikaners**. The discovery of diamonds in the northeast Cape led to the annexation of the area in 1873, the cause of a diplomatic dispute between Britain and the Orange Free State. Further trouble with the **Afrikaners** resulted from the annexation of the **Transvaal** in 1877. Two years later, the **Zulus**, no longer threatened by the **Boers**, became a threat to the small British colony at **Natal**. The 1879 **Zulu** war resulted in a bloody British defeat at **Isandhlwana** before the British finally broke **Zulu** military power. A **Boer** rebellion in the **Transvaal** led to another British defeat at **Majuba Hill** in 1881 and the restoration of conditional sovereignty to the **Transvaal**. Gold was discovered in the **Rand** region of the **Transvaal** in 1886, leading to an influx of primarily British miners. Disputes about their legal status, combined with ambiguities about the status of the **Transvaal** and a determination on the part of some British imperialists,

including **Joseph Chamberlain** and **Alfred Milner**, to force the Boer republics into a union with the British colonies, led to the outbreak of the South African War, or Anglo-Boer War, of 1899–1902. After a series of initial defeats, the British were able to occupy the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, but it took another two years of guerilla warfare to suppress the Boers entirely. South Africa became a self-governing dominion in 1910. One condition of the Boer surrender, however, was the provision that Africans would not be enfranchised before the grant of responsible government, with the result that the Boer majority among the white South African minority was able to impose the apartheid regime of the twentieth century.

British expansion north from South Africa resulted in considerable holdings in southern Africa. Concern about the incursions of other powers, chiefly Germany, and the idea that large and prosperous colonies might be founded in central Africa, led in 1885 to an expedition into what is now Botswana, for the purpose of preserving control of the route north. In 1889, The ambitious diamond magnate **Cecil Rhodes** obtained a charter for his **British South Africa Company**, which established a colony in Rhodesia in 1890, and shortly thereafter fought and won two brief wars with the **Matabele**, a tribe related to the Zulu. Rhodesia included not only the current Zimbabwe but also the mineral-rich territory of northern Rhodesia, now Zambia. In 1915, during World War I, a South African expedition conquered **German Southwest Africa**, resulting in a British-dominated southern Africa.

In the Mediterranean, British trade and the need for protection from pirates dated to the sixteenth century. Britain established an unsuccessful colony at Tangier in the seventeenth century. Gibraltar, seized during the War of the Spanish Succession in the early eighteenth century, was kept as a permanent base afterward. During the French wars of the eighteenth century, Britain at points held the islands of Minorca and Corsica. Malta, seized in 1800, was retained after the Napoleonic Wars, as, for a generation, were the Ionian Islands. Britain acquired Cyprus from Turkey in 1878, for use as a military and naval base directed at Russia and at the protection of the route to India. The Mediterranean had assumed increasing importance as the route to India after the opening of the **Suez Canal** in 1869; although the canal was built with French capital, most of the ships using it were British.

In 1882, British troops occupied **Egypt**, nominally a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, as the result of a nationalist rebellion against the Khedive and of fears that the rebels would renege on Egypt's substantial foreign debts and endanger the route to India. At the time, the objective of the government of Prime Minister **William Gladstone** was only a temporary occupation to restore order; as it was, Britain and British officials, most notably **Evelyn Baring**, **Lord Cromer**, became increasingly implicated in ruling Egypt. The occupation of Egypt resulted in Britain being sucked into war in the Sudan, where the Egyptian government had claims. General **Charles Gordon**, sent to evacuate the province, was killed at Khartoum in 1885, creating outrage in Britain, and leading ultimately to the 1898 conquest of the Sudan. A protectorate was declared over Egypt when Britain went to war with Turkey in 1914. It was a result of war with Turkey that Britain allied itself with Arab nationalists, most famously as a result of the adventures of **T. E. Lawrence** (Lawrence of Arabia) and acquired the rest of its short-lived empire in the Middle East, including Palestine, Iraq, and Transjordan. Britain had long had interests in the Persian Gulf, largely as a result of trade between that region and India. In the early years of the century, competition with Russia for influence in Persia led to a 1907 agreement on spheres of influence; the

subsequent discovery of large oil deposits led to the formation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to provide fuel for the Royal Navy. British influence in Persia or Iran lasted until the nationalization of British oil interests in 1951.

Imperial Governance

Historians of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries—the age of self-conscious, programmatic **imperialism**—have also tended to divide the empire into two, in this case the dependent or autocratically ruled Colonial Office empire on the one hand, and the self-governing dominions or **Commonwealth** on the other. This division also has its uses, but it tends to apply primarily to the Victorian empire and its twentieth-century successor. In the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the Colonial Office concerned itself primarily with the emigrant colonies, but toward the end of that century those colonies were in most cases self-governing, and Colonial Office attention was directed toward the management of colonies not merely under British sovereignty but under British rule. Defenders of the British Empire have often emphasized its liberal character, and in so doing have directed attention to the emigrant colonies, or Dominions as they became. **Responsible government**, which meant colonial government in which a colonial ministry was responsible to the legislature and the London-appointed governor was bound to accept the advice of the ministry, was introduced by stages in Canada, but it is generally reckoned to have been permanently established in 1848. Shortly thereafter, responsible government was extended to most of the Australian colonies in 1853, and became effective in New Zealand in 1856. It was granted, under a property franchise that largely but not completely excluded Africans, to the Cape Colony in 1872. The liberal institutions established throughout the settler Dominions customarily excluded natives. However, they created a series of pro-British white Dominions that contributed materially to the empire's strength during the world wars.

Ireland has been viewed by some historians as England's first colony. The Norman kings had claimed the island in the twelfth century but did not succeed in imposing direct authority beyond the pale of Dublin. Schemes of "plantation," in the language of the time, under Elizabeth I in the late sixteenth century offered incentives for English settlers to colonize Ireland, the aim being to create populations loyal to the English crown. By the end of the seventeenth century, most of Ireland was in Protestant English hands. The Irish parliament set up in 1782 was abolished by William Pitt's **Act of Union**, which brought Ireland into a legislative union with England, Wales, and Scotland, the aim being to prevent further Irish rebellions by assimilating the Irish into the British state. The policy was hindered by the fact that most Irish, even those few meeting the property qualifications for the franchise, were Catholic. The Catholic Emancipation of 1829 followed by the successive reforms bills of the nineteenth century enfranchised increasing numbers of Irishmen and led to a rising demand for **Home Rule**. In 1886, the Gladstone government proposed to meet this demand, thereby splitting the **Liberal Party** and putting the **Conservative Party**, or Unionists, in power for most of the next 20 years. The idea of separate status for Ireland was an affront to the legal egalitarianism of many Liberals; to the Conservatives, breaking up the union presaged the fragmentation of the empire that they wished to unite. Ireland was granted Dominion status in 1922 as a result of civil war, a process notably divergent from the gradual assumption of self-government in the other Dominions. Although British contemporaries saw Ireland

as a poor and disorderly part of Britain, in the eyes of Irish nationalists and many current scholars it was in fact not merely the first colony conquered but the first to obtain independence.

The most powerful and influential successor state to the British Empire is of course the **United States**. American nationalism originally defined itself against the empire, although at the same time, it derived many of its core characteristics, including its hostility to the state and to centralized authority, from the British constitutional tradition. The **Anglo-American War** of 1812 heightened anti-British opinion in the United States. In the same period, however, Anglo-American trade and cultural links grew rapidly, trade having rapidly doubled its pre-War of Independence volume after the peace of 1783. Anglo-American tensions bubbled to the surface throughout the nineteenth century, but neither country had an interest in war. The seizure of Confederate representatives from a British ship almost led to war between Britain and the Union during the American Civil War in the 1860s, but the United States backed down. In the 1890s, Britain gave way as a result of Anglo-American tensions in British Guyana and **Panama**. Throughout the era of imperialism, Anglo-American trade grew, and Britain became the largest investor in the United States. Anglo-American ties reached their closest point during World War II, but the United States in this era had a profoundly ambivalent attitude to the British Empire, being in theory anti-imperialist but at the same time needing a strong ally.

The Legacy of British Imperialism

Explanations of the extent and influence of the British Empire have run the gamut from celebrations of the maritime genius of the British people, of the far-sightedness of English statesman, and of the adaptability of the British constitution, to denunciations of the imperialist and irresistible character of capitalism. All have an element of truth. The island nation did have the material basis and the ships and sailors to eventually best the Dutch, Spanish, and French. After the disasters of the American War of Independence, British statesman had the foresight never again to tax a colony, and never for long to deny self-government to a British population. Imperial possessions, notably the “sugar islands” of the Caribbean and the trading forts of India, contributed materially to British wealth in the eighteenth century, and, it has been argued, enabled the Industrial Revolution. The strength of the British domestic economy allowed Britain to dominate world trade and provided both the material basis for the rapid expansion of the nineteenth century and the motivations for the acquisition of many imperial territories. The “man on the spot,” in the Victorian phrase, had much to do with many imperial acquisitions, from the Indian conquests of Clive and Lawrence to the later African acquisitions of Rhodes. The self-conscious imperialism of the late nineteenth century, characterized by systematic programs of imperial expansion and rationalization, lasted for only a generation and, although it created pressures for expansion in Africa, was not responsible for creating any of the main imperial holdings. As David Lloyd George said, with characteristic cynicism, “the British empire has done very well out of side-shows,” an observation that is both true and provocative of the further question of how and why divergent events and motivations led to the acquisition of the largest and arguably most influential empire the world has ever seen.

The decline of empire is susceptible to the same variety of explanations. Economic growth created an Indian and an African middle class able to confront the

British on their own terms. The Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, was closely linked to the Fabian society in England, and was able to make effective use of anti-imperial ideologies created by British liberals such as J. A. Hobson. The decline of British economic power after, and in part as a result of, the world wars undermined Britain's ability to maintain a large empire, and the unprofitability of large parts of that empire reduced the incentives to resist its decline. The myth of Britain's liberal empire—containing, like most myths, an element of truth—and the precedent of the gradual evolution of the settlement Dominions to full self-government undermined the justifications for imperial rule, and provided a path from empire to Commonwealth. Britain fought colonial campaigns in Kenya, Cyprus, and Malaya, but none were as bloody and traumatic as those of the French or Portuguese empires. The one attempt that Britain made to reverse imperial decline by military means, the Suez intervention of 1956, lasted 24 hours and split the British political nation.

The historiography of the British Empire is enormous. No focus or approach has been ignored. Older histories spoke of great men and the acquisition of enormous wealth. More recent histories have also addressed topics of current concern, such as the relation of masculinity to imperial conquest and of discourses of race and alterity to the justifications of empire. The evolving, and it must be said rapidly expanding, state of British imperial historiography is perhaps best captured by the two great multivolume histories produced by England's ancient universities: The *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, in eight volumes, is a comprehensive survey of the acquisition and rule of the British Empire. Published from 1929 forward, it is quite Whiggish in its emphasis on the export of British constitutional practices yet is an invaluable reference work, based as it is on primary sources, full of names and dates, facts, and details. The more recent *Oxford History of the British Empire*, in six volumes from 1998, is more postcolonial in its sensibilities, more diverse in its topics, and concerned to leave out no perspective. So much has been published that its survey necessarily becomes less historical than historiographical, and it is irreplaceable as a survey of current scholarship. Various short surveys of the world the British made, and the process by which they made it, are listed in the Further Reading section. *See also* Disraeli, Benjamin; Fashoda; Navalism; Nelson, Horatio; Wellesley, Arthur, Duke of Wellington; White Man's Burden.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

British North America Act (1867)

An act of the British Parliament creating the federal state since known as Canada. It united the separate colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into a

federal Dominion of Canada while simultaneously dividing the old colony of united Canada into the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The capital of the Dominion was established at Ottawa.

The topic of a union of the British colonies in North America had been debated on and off since the War of 1812. In the 1850s, the idea was intermittently discussed, and the prospect of an intercolonial railway bringing the trade of the Canadas to maritime ports was raised. With the encouragement of the British government, of events south of the border during the **American Civil War**, and of financial interests looking to make the Canadian railway system at last a paying proposition, meetings of representatives from the three maritime provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) and from the Canadian legislature were held at Charlottetown and then at Quebec in 1864. It was agreed that a federal union would be formed, with a parliament consisting of a lower house elected by population and an upper house in which each section (Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritimes) would be represented equally.

The Canadian legislature, representing both Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario), passed a resolution in favor of Confederation in 1865. The scheme, however, met opposition in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, the latter of which did not join confederation until 1873. New Brunswick, prompted by the 1865 U.S. abrogation of the reciprocity (essentially free trade) treaty of 1854, endorsed it. At the initiative of the British government, a meeting was held in London in December 1866 to finalize the terms of the new union. That meeting, under the chairmanship of Sir John A. Macdonald and Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary under Disraeli, agreed the terms of a bill to be presented in the imperial parliament. It was suggested that the new federation be termed a “dominion,” reference being made to Psalm 72, “he shall have dominion also from sea to sea”: trans-continental aspirations guided the confederative project from the beginning.

The British North America (BNA) bill appeared, from the British point of view, to solve a number of potential embarrassing problems. After the Fenian raids of 1866, it unified for the common defense a disparate set of militarily indefensible colonies, it provided further for the expenses of Canadian government to be met by the Canadian taxpayer, and it raised the hope that British-financed railways might become solvent. In short order, the last significant British garrisons were withdrawn from Canada.

The BNA bill received its second reading in the House of Commons on February 28, 1867, passing without a division, after which the House filled up for a debate on a dog duty. The BNA Act received royal assent on 29 March 1867, the Dominion officially coming into existence on 1 July 1867, a date for many years celebrated as Dominion Day, but now known as Canada Day. *See also* British Empire; Manifest Destiny; United States.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

British South Africa Company

A venture controlled by Cecil Rhodes and chartered by Lord Salisbury's Conservative government in 1889. Rhodes' aim was to take control of a large expanse of

African territory up to and including the area of the Zambezi, largely for mineral exploration. The government's aim was to place the area under British suzerainty, excluding such competitors as the Germans and the Portuguese, without incurring the costs of ruling it or the need to ask Parliament for money. The British South Africa Company was one of a number of such chartered companies—companies holding semi-sovereign power over a territory—created in the final two decades of the nineteenth century for similar reasons, other examples being the Royal Niger Company and the Imperial British East Africa Company. Rhodes's South Africa Company became the best-known, and certainly the most notorious, nineteenth-century chartered company, although it never made the fortune anticipated by its shareholders.

Advocates of chartered companies looked back to the conquest of India by the **East India Company**; anti-imperialists often drew a similar parallel. It was in deference to Victorian opinion that the company's charter promised **free trade** and the abolition of slavery within its territories. The British South Africa Company took over the so-called Rudd concession, a mining concession obtained from the Matabele (or Ndebele) king Lobengula under arguably fraudulent terms, as its main asset. It was under the auspices of the company that the Rhodesian "pioneer column" moved into what became Rhodesia in 1890, establishing Fort Salisbury (now Harare.) As formally a sovereign power in its own right, the British South Africa Company had its own armed force, the British South Africa Company Police. The Company's Police fought and won, with support from other British forces, the **Matabele Wars** of 1893 and 1896 against the forces of Lobengula, who had rapidly come to regret his concession. They were also used by L. S. Jameson, a prominent associate of Rhodes, in his abortive 1896 **Jameson Raid**. Although the company had a great deal to do with the expansion of British power into southern and central Africa—Rhodes' "great dream of the north"—and with subsequent "Cape to Cairo" schemes, it rapidly became unpopular with the settlers living under its rule. Its shares oscillated wildly on the London exchange, leading to justified charges that they were being manipulated and giving a filip to the credibility of theories of capitalist imperialism, but it did not pay a dividend until 1924, the year after the white settlers of Rhodesia had been granted **responsible government** and the company's rule terminated. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Boer Wars; British Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Buena Vista, Battle of (1847)

An important engagement of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–1848). After the conquest of its northern provinces failed to compel the Mexican government to accept American territorial demands, U.S. President James K. Polk, in late 1846, ordered the capture of Mexico City itself. The campaign's commander, General Winfield Scott, out of necessity drew units from General Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation at Monterrey. Losing half his troops and most of his regulars, Taylor was left with a depleted army of largely inexperienced volunteers.

At San Luis Potosi, Mexican General Antonia Lopez de Santa Anna learned of Taylor's weakened status through a captured dispatch and quick-marched 15,000 men northward across 250 miles of barren country in February 1847. Taylor, expecting Santa Anna to move southward against Scott, was completely unprepared for the onslaught. Belatedly alerted to the danger on February 21, Taylor hastily concentrated his 4,800 effectives at Angostura Pass near Hacienda Buena Vista. Mountain spurs and steep gullies made "the Narrows" ideally suited to the defense.

Santa Anna struck on February 22, 1847. Wave after wave of Mexican infantry and cavalry constantly threatened to envelop the American position in two days of hard fighting. Outnumbered three to one, Taylor refused to panic, skillfully maneuvering his units from one threatened point to another. His conspicuous presence on the battlefield also inspired his men, who repeatedly rallied to repair gaping holes in the American lines. Taylor's artillery also proved decisive, shifting rapidly to fill the breeches and providing rallying points for the often panic-stricken volunteers. Firing spherical case shot and canister, American batteries first blunted and then smashed successive columns of attackers.

Santa Anna withdrew in defeat on February 23, his army having suffered 2,100 casualties. American losses exceeded 660 killed, missing, and wounded. Although stunning, Taylor's victory at Buena Vista failed to advance President Polk's strategic objectives and Mexican capitulation remained elusive. *See also* Manifest Destiny; United States.

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DAVID R. SNYDER

Bukhara Emirate

One of the substantial Islamic states of Central Eurasia during the age of Russian imperialism. The Bukharan Emirate's capital, the city of Bukhara, was a very old city that had long been a center of Islamic cultural and intellectual achievement. The emirate was a major political contender and ally of Russia during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It was ruled according to Islamic law and under the leadership of an emir. In 1868, Bukhara formally recognized the superiority of the Russian Empire and, in 1873, was made a Russian protectorate but maintained its sovereignty until Bolshevik conquest in 1920. The last emir of Bukhara was Emir Muhammad Alim Khan, who continued the legacy of traditional Islamic rule. From 1800 until 1920, Bukhara was formally led by the Mangit dynasty, who took over rule from the Chinggisid rulers in the middle of the eighteenth century. *See also* Great Game; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Bulgaria

Since 1396, a European province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1870, the Porte (Ottoman government) permitted the establishment of a branch of the Orthodox Church, the Exarchate, for Christian subjects in Bulgaria. The Exarchate then nurtured a Bulgarian nationalist movement and was encouraged in the enterprise by the Russian government, as well as by Pan-Slavist organizations. The brutal repression of Bulgarian nationalism in 1875–1876 provoked international outrage, the most articulate of which was William Gladstone's protest of the "Bulgarian Horrors" and of the British Conservative government of Benjamin Disraeli for its alliance with Turkey, but the most important of which was the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877–1878. The outcome of the latter led to Ottoman acceptance of Bulgarian autonomy in the Treaty of **San Stefano**.

The Treaty of **Berlin** then limited Bulgarian autonomy to the territory north of Sofia and made southern Bulgaria the separate Ottoman province of Eastern Roumelia. Having won its freedom, Bulgaria promptly became an obstreperous nuisance to the Great Powers by expanding into Eastern Roumelia and inflicting a military defeat on **Serbia**. This made Bulgaria the largest of the new Slav states in the Balkans, a position it improved in the First Balkan War and then frittered away in the Second. *See also* Balkan Wars; Eastern Question; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Bülow, Bernhard Heinrich Martin Carl, Count von (1849–1929)

A German politician and diplomat, Count von Bülow was German Chancellor and Prussian *Ministerpräsident* from 1900 to 1909. Born into one of the oldest German aristocratic families on May 3, 1849, he studied law and then had a rapid diplomatic career, including placements in Paris, St Petersburg, Bucharest and Rome. Bülow was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1897 and the Kaiser **Wilhelm II**'s preferred candidate to replace Hohenlohe as Chancellor in 1900. Under his Chancellorship, he initially tried to further tensions among the other great powers and intended to turn Germany into a world power, although he eventually changed his strategy when his policy arguably resulted in anti-German alliances. He demanded Germany's "place in the sun" and nurtured much of Germany's bellicose foreign policy, such as in during the First Moroccan Crisis. Bülow personifies, like no other politician, Wilhelmine expansive foreign policy aspirations, yet eventually fell out of favor with the monarch after the Daily Telegraph Affair of 1908 and was forced to resign in July 1909, although he continued to harbor hope of reinstatement.

During the World War I, Bülow was critical of his successor's policy, blaming Theobald von **Bethmann-Hollweg** for the escalation of the July Crisis. At the end of 1914 he was called upon to use his influence in Rome as Germany's ambassador, but he had no success in convincing Italy to join its Triple Alliance partners in the hostilities. Bülow hoped he might be recalled to the office of Chancellor following Bethmann-Hollweg's and then Michaelis' dismissals in 1917. After the war, he wrote his memoirs in which he blamed Bethmann-Hollweg for the escalation of the July

Crisis. Bülow died following an earlier stroke in October 1929. *See also:* German Empire; *Weltpolitik*.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Bundesrat

One of the two legislative chambers of the German **Reich**. The Bundesrat represented the 20 states, as well as the three free cities and held considerable power when it came to the passage of laws, the formulation of policy, and the dissolving of the Reichstag. The Bundesrat epitomized the federal element of the Reich constitution and was especially designed to guard against parliamentarianism. At its inception in 1871, the Bundesrat was the highest constitutional body of the Empire. Modeled on the constitution of the North German Confederation, the Bundesrat was intended by Bismarck as a hybrid between legislature and executive. In practice, however, its main function was to make, not to implement, laws. All legislative proposals were first introduced in the Bundesrat. Only if the upper house approved of the proposal would the bill be passed on to the popularly elected Reichstag. Apart from making law, the Bundesrat decided on a possible declaration of war as well as over constitutional quarrels among the member states of the Reich.

In the Bundesrat, the otherwise obvious Prussian hegemony was disguised. Although the kingdom made up nearly two-thirds of the Empire's population and territory, it disposed of only 17 of a total of 58 votes (61 after the reform of 1911). Next to Prussia, Bavaria had six, Saxony and Württemberg four, and Hesse and Baden three votes each. The other votes were distributed among the smaller states, many of them enclaves surrounded by Prussian territory. Accordingly, Prussia wielded an often overwhelming influence in the chamber.

The position of both the Bundesrat and the smaller federal states was further checked by the fact that the chamber did not consist of independent deputies but of envoys who took their orders from the state governments. Because for a long time most of the legislative proposals were drafted in the Prussian state ministries and the committee chairmanships were monopolized by the Prussian envoys to the Bundesrat, Prussia marginalized the smaller German states. Only on important matters did the chancellor hold preliminary talks with some of the envoys, and this was largely confined to the representatives of Bavaria, Saxony, and of the other kingdoms. Because of ever-growing centralizing tendencies in the Reich, however, the Bundesrat as an institution increasingly lost influence to the Kaiser, to the Reichstag, and to national pressure groups. *See also* German Empire.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Burke, Edmund (1729–1797)

A British parliamentary, statesman, and philosopher, Edmund Burke was born and educated in Dublin. Burke studied law before becoming a political writer and, in later life, a leading parliamentarian. He served as secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, during which time he wrote *Tracts on the Popery Laws*, a critique of the laws that restricted the civil and political rights of Catholics. On returning to England, he was elected to Parliament in 1765, a Whig with strong ties to the faction led by Lord Rockingham. When Rockingham left office the next year, Burke declined a position in the new government and opposed it. In his *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (1770), he argued against the power of the Crown under **George III**. He later fought in Parliament and in print against political corruption and the maladministration of Bengal under the governor-generalship of Warren Hastings. Burke supported the grievances of the American colonists respecting taxation and, in March 1775, made a speech on reconciliation with America that, although eloquently delivered, failed to avert the conflict that broke out later that year.

Although many Whigs supported the French Revolution that broke out in 1789, Burke became an early critic of “Jacobinism,” viewing the increasing radicalism of the movement as dangerous to his country’s liberal political traditions. He was the anonymous editor of *The Annual Register* from 1759 to 1797, but is best known for his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), which, although it lost him the support of the leading Whig statesman, Charles James Fox, attracted a large following inside and outside Parliament among those who saw the Revolution as a danger to the social and political stability provided by British constitutionalism. As Anglo-French relations deteriorated with the invasion of strategically important Belgium, Burke redoubled his attacks on the Republic and strongly supported war, which began in February 1793. In 1796, he wrote *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796) in which he accused the revolutionaries of threatening the right of property-holding. Burke’s stature at home grew in proportion to the violence of the Revolution, particularly during the Terror. He died in 1797, an icon of his political adherents and one of several eighteenth-century statesmen—above all William Pitt—whose political philosophy spawned modern conservatism.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Burkersdorf, Battle of (1866)

Also known as the Battle of Soor, Burkersdorf was an engagement of the **Austro-Prussian War**. The Prussian invasion of Bohemia in June 1866 consisted of two prongs. The eastern prong, the Prussian Second Army under Crown Prince Frederick, advanced south and west from Saxony through the mountain passes.

Because the Prussian army had to split up and use several passes, it meant that the Austrian North Army had the opportunity to defeat the Prussians in detail. One Prussian corps was able to establish itself at the Bohemian pass at Skalitz, but another was driven back at Trautenau, the northernmost pass, on June 27 by General Ludwig Gablenz's X Corps. Gablenz's initiative left X Corps vulnerable to an attack on its right flank from the other Prussian bridgeheads, so he was ordered to retreat south the next day to Josephstadt and the main Austrian army. On the retreat, X Corps was nearly cut off at Burkersdorf by the Prussian Guard advancing west from Skalitz. Austrian artillery helped blunt the Prussian attacks, but X Corps was forced to retire west instead of south. Any chance for the Austrians to stop the Prussians at the passes was lost.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Burlingame Treaty (1868)

A treaty between the **United States** and China opening the United States to Chinese immigration. It was negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State William H. Seward and a Chinese commission that included Anson Burlingame, signed on July 28, 1868, and proclaimed on February 5, 1870.

China was in the throes of dynastic decline, which European nations eagerly attempted to exploit. Out of altruism and self-interest, the United States followed an “**open door**” policy opposing infringements on Chinese sovereignty. After the Civil War, American interests in China focused on cultivating the “China market,” protecting American missionaries, and securing labor for American economic development. The treaty guaranteed most-favored nation treatment for Chinese in the United States and Americans in China and permitted unrestricted immigration of Chinese into the United States while withholding naturalization rights. The United States pledged noninterference in Chinese domestic affairs and granted Chinese consuls in U.S. ports diplomatic equality with European consuls. Finally, Americans in China and Chinese in the United States were guaranteed freedom of religion.

The treaty improved Sino-American relations and the environment for American merchants and missionaries in China. By encouraging Chinese immigration, the treaty helped to meet labor needs in the United States while exacerbating racial tensions.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Burma

The home of a formidable empire in its own right in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the site thereafter of chronic civil war until the eighteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, it was increasingly under British control. Britain waged three **Anglo-Burmese Wars**, the last of which was prompted by a concern to secure all of Burma from competition after the French conquest of Tonkin to the East. In 1886, Burma was incorporated into British India, but during the next four years, Burmese resistance to British rule was fierce and British pacification of it brutal. Lowland peasants were jailed, beaten and shot; their villages were burned and livestock killed. Hill tribesmen, along with the help of troops brought in from India, were used by the British to help defeat resistance. The Burmese never accepted British rule and resented incorporation into India until 1937 when Burma was administratively separated from it.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Burschenschaft

A German student organization that emerged at the time of the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon between 1813 and 1815. The *Burschenschaft's* twin goals of the formation of a German nation state and political freedom were disappointed by the Congress of Vienna and the formation of the Holy Alliance, which restored the old order of absolutism and particularism. In spite of being persecuted by Austria and Prussia, former members of the *Burschenschaft* nevertheless played a prominent part in the German Revolution of 1848. It was, however, not until 1871 that their dream of a united Germany was finally realized.

Founded in Jena in 1815, the *Burschenschaft*, with their motto "Freedom, honour, fatherland," quickly spread to other universities in the German-speaking parts of central Europe. Their flag carried the colors black, red, and gold, the colors of the Lützow free corps, of which many students had been members during the Wars of Liberation. Among their main demands figured the abandonment of the confederal system and the creation of a constitutional German central government in place of the German Confederation of 35 independent states and 4 free cities, which they considered as an artificial entity. In October 1817, about 500 members of the *Burschenschaft* and their academic teachers met at the Wartburg castle near Eisenach to reassert their demands. Yet the fiery speeches given, as well as the burning of reactionary books and military uniforms, by a small number of students intensified the already aroused suspicion of German governments. Prussia was the first to react. She prohibited the fraternities and put the universities under a rigid system of control. The assassination of the author and alleged Russian agent August von Kotzebue one-and-a-half year later by the student Karl Sand, a member of the *Burschenschaft*, provided count Metternich with an opportunity to curtail civil liberties even more. Metternich, the main defender of the status quo in Europe, secured the approval of the governments of the German Confederation to wipe out what he saw was seditious action. The subsequent Carlsbad Decrees not only outlawed the *Burschenschaften* but drastically curtailed all efforts for further political reform. The decrees limited freedom of speech and the power of the legislatures, restricted the right of assembly, expanded the authority of the police, and intensified censorship.

Within a short period of time, the opposition had been subdued and throughout Germany the reactionary forces won the day. Most important, the Prussian king revoked his promise to grant his kingdom a constitution, and it was only after the 1830 Paris July Revolution that the German freedom movement began to stir again.

Ultimately, the forces of reaction could not stop the propagation of the modern ideas of nationalism and freedom. During the German Revolution of 1848–1849 former members of the *Burschenschaften*, most prominently Heinrich von Gagern, the speaker of the Frankfurt Parliament, actively participated in the struggle for unity and liberalism. However, the failure of the movement dealt a severe blow to the fraternities. After the foundation of the German Empire, their former espousal of liberal reforms declined. Many *Burschenschaften* now subscribed to a more aggressive nationalism and increasingly anti-Semitism also came to the fore. *See also* German Empire; Nationalism.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBURG

Burton, Captain Sir Richard Francis (1821–1890)

British soldier, explorer, master linguist, and diplomat, Sir Richard Burton was best known for his dispute with John Hanning Speke about the source of the Nile River. While serving in the Indian Army, Burton became an expert in local languages, customs, and political affairs, skills that led to his assignment as an intelligence officer. After his military career ended in a cloud of scandal over his explicit report on the brothels of Karachi, Burton returned to Europe and began writing the first in a series of books and articles about Indian customs, religion, and his own adventures.

Burton's career as an explorer began with an 1853 visit to Mecca and Medina disguised as an Afghan Muslim, a ploy that enabled him to write a highly detailed and accurate description of contemporary Muslim life and culture. Later that same year, he became the first European to visit the east African city of Harar and began planning an expedition to find the source of the Nile river by traveling overland through Somalia. His first Nile expedition, which included John Hanning Speke, ended in disaster when his party was attacked by Somali tribesmen. After recuperating from their wounds and serving in the **Crimean War**, Burton and Speke returned to Africa in 1857 and spent two years marching inland in search of the Nile. Their quarrel over Speke's claims to have discovered the source of the Nile while on a solo side trip began immediately after their return to Britain in 1860 and lasted until Speke's death four years later.

Shortly after his 1860 marriage, Burton began a diplomatic career that was to last for the remainder of his life. His postings, which included Fernando Po, Rio de Janeiro, Damascus, and Trieste, enabled him to continue indulging in his twin passions of travel and publication of translations, erotica, and travelogues. Burton's health began to decline shortly after receipt of his 1886 knighthood for service to

the crown. On his death, his devoutly Catholic wife burned the bulk of his papers to protect his reputation. *See also* East India Company; Egypt; India; Somaliland.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

C

Calcutta

A city of Bengal in Northeast India and, during the nineteenth century, the capital of the British Empire's most valued territorial possession. A principal base of the East India Company as early as the 1690s, Calcutta emerged as the administrative center of British India as the Company consolidated its control of Bengal. It also became a major commercial center and vital port of colonial seaborne trade and enjoyed a position of enormous prestige among colonial cities of the Empire. Also, Calcutta was known for its superb British colonial architecture and its rich cultural and intellectual life, particularly its role in the Bengali Renaissance. In 1885, the formation of the Indian National Congress made Calcutta into a center of nationalist politics, a role that became more important after the partition of Bengal province by Lord Curzon in 1905. In 1912, the Indian capital was moved to Delhi, but Calcutta remained a hotbed of radical nationalism until Indian independence in 1947.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Caldiero, Second Battle of (1805)

Fought between October 29 and 31, 1805, the Second Battle of Caldiero was an indecisive Austrian victory over Marshal Masséna's 43,000 Franco-Italian troops in northeast Italy during the War of the Third Coalition. Austria's 48,000 men under Archduke Charles were based along the Adige River. Napoleon ordered Masséna to prevent Charles from reinforcing the Austro-Russian armies in Germany. Charles planned a brief action followed by a retreat. The French assault on October 29 reached the entrenched fortifications around Caldiero village, east of Verona. Charles's planned counterattack early the next day was abandoned because of fog, while Masséna's renewed assault was unsuccessful. The Austrians advanced around 2 P.M., but failed to break the French center. Charles planned

another attack on October 31 to cover his withdrawal, but dawn revealed that Masséna had evacuated the battlefield, so Charles retreated toward Hungary. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

California

A present-day West Coast state of the United States, the northern portion of which was initially laid claim to by Russia in the early nineteenth century. Southern California passed from the Spanish Empire to Mexico, but the U.S. Navy took possession of Monterey and claimed California in July 1846. Acquisition of California was an unstated objective of the administration of James A. Polk during the Mexican War, and its cession to the United States by Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 gave the American republic both superb new ports and a vital interest in the Pacific Ocean. California's admission to the Union as a free soil state in 1849 served to intensify the domestic tensions that ultimately led to the American Civil War. *See also* Manifest Destiny; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Caliph

According to Sunni Islamic tradition, the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad and therefore empowered to lead the entire Muslim community. After the death of Muhammad, the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr (r. 632–634), Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644), Uthman ibn Affan (r. 644–656), and Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–661), were prominent companions of the prophet who were selected by other companions based on their piety, ability to control the affairs of the Muslims, and membership in the prophet's Quraysh tribe. The issue of succession, however, led to decades of sectarian strife, culminating with the assassination of Ali at the hands of troops loyal to Mu'awiya, the first caliph of the Ummayyad Dynasty. This action solidified a rift in Muslim society, causing the formation of the Shi'a branch of Islam and establishing the caliph as an undemocratic dynastic position based purely on heredity.

Over time, various caliphal dynasties came to power, and the resultant changes often included moving the dynastic capital to different cities within the Muslim world such as Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, and Istanbul. In the mid-thirteenth century, the Mongols razed Baghdad and destroyed the Abbasid caliphal line, effectively ending the traditional power afforded to the caliph. Although the position was quickly restored under the Mamluks of Cairo, it was no longer a strong unifying position, but rather a weak figurehead. The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in the early sixteenth century ended the Abbasid caliphate of Cairo. The Ottoman sultan Selim I (1467–1520) claimed that caliphal authority had been passed to him by

the last Abbasid caliph, conferring on him and future sultans the title of caliph. Most early Ottoman sultans, however, did not feel it necessary to call upon caliphal authority to rule their empire, using it mainly as a justification to conquer other Muslim lands.

In the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman sultan's authority became threatened by internal forces for independence and outside pressure from rival European empires. Sultan **Mahmud II** (1785–1839) sought to strengthen the central government's control of his far-flung empire and modernize Ottoman civil society and military forces. The European influence engendered in the modernization process caused friction within the empire, and a growing rivalry developed between the sultan and the universally popular Muhammad Ali of Egypt. Despite all of Mahmud II's efforts to hold the empire together, during his reign he lost Algeria to France and Syria to Muhammad Ali, and saw Greek independence established. By the time Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918) was firmly in power in the late nineteenth century, the empire was rapidly disintegrating. In response, he asserted his role as caliph in an effort to inspire pan-Islamic unity and support from the disparate ethnic groups within the **Ottoman Empire** and around the Muslim world.

As the Ottoman Empire foundered, its European rivals began to colonize regions previously under the sultan's control, as well as other Muslim lands. Some of the colonized peoples looked to the caliph as the symbol of the broader Muslim world and a last hope to restore their lands to Muslim control; this sentiment was particularly strong in British colonial India. Nonetheless, internal strife, defeat in World War I, and the rise of the secular westernized government of Mustapha **Kemal** in Turkey sealed the fate of the caliphate. The last caliph, Abdul Mejid (1868–1944), was deposed and the position of caliph abolished in 1924. *See also* Caliphate.

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BRENT D. SINGLETON

Caliphate

A term referring both to the Islamic institution of government led by the unifying office of **Caliph** as well as to the territories and people under his direct control. Until the death of Prophet Muhammad, Islamic lands were limited to the Arabian Peninsula. Under his immediate successors, however, an expansion to nearby territories proceeded quickly. Within a century after Muhammad's death, Muslims controlled a territory stretching from the Indus River in the east through Persia, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, and across the Strait of Gibraltar, encompassing Spain in the west. The non-Muslim peoples living under the caliph's rule were not forced to convert to Islam; however, the governors and major government figures in the provinces under caliphal control were Muslims, and various taxes and other limits were placed on non-Muslims.

At various times, rival claims to caliphal authority caused separate contemporaneous caliphates to arise. For instance, the Spanish and North African caliphate of Córdoba arose as a continuation of the Umayyad caliphal line after revolutionaries

established the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad. Later, the Shia-controlled Fatimid caliphate, based in Cairo, claimed authority despite the Abbasid caliphate. Time and internecine warfare doomed the rival caliphates until only the Abbasids remained powerful enough to rule. The whole of the Muslim world was not included within the direct purview of the caliph; many far-flung Muslim kingdoms and empires were fully independent of caliphal authority. Nonetheless, most of these states swore at least nominal allegiance to the caliph and often used his name to further their own legitimacy or called on him when in need.

After the demise of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad and later Ottoman victory over the Mamluks in Egypt in 1517, the caliphate became synonymous with the sultan and the **Ottoman Empire**. For the first time since the early centuries of the caliphate, authority and governance were completely centralized and encompassed significant areas inhabited predominantly by non-Muslims, such as Greece and Armenia. At the height of Ottoman power, the caliphate controlled Anatolia, large swaths of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and most of North Africa.

By the seventeenth century, the caliphate was weakening as a result of expensive wars with its neighbors in Europe and Persia, as well as a fundamental lack of leadership on the part of the sultans. A series of Russo-Turkish wars hampered Ottoman efforts to expand and maintain power just as European technological advances began to overwhelm the increasingly anachronistic Ottoman military, political, and social structures. In the early nineteenth century, these factors resulted in dramatic losses in the caliphate's territory through military defeat, independence movements, and European colonialism. By the end of the nineteenth century, the caliphate was reduced to holding only Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and small portions of Arabia.

The caliphate was effectively impotent but held on for several more decades until it was officially disbanded in 1924 in the aftermath of World War I and the establishment of the secular Turkish state.

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BRENT D. SINGLETON

Cambodia

The home of the Khmer Empire from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries and after the seventeenth century the object of rival Siamese and Vietnamese claims until the penetration of Indochina by France in the 1850s. Cambodia became a French protectorate in 1863. The protectorate retained limited Cambodian autonomy along with traditional administrative structures yet privatized land ownership, reformed the tax system, and encouraged commerce. Only in 1897 was the Cambodian king stripped of all power and his authority transferred to ministers who met at the pleasure of the French resident. With French aid Cambodia was able to recover three lost provinces from Siam in 1907. *See also* French Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Cameroon

A West African territory and German colony as of 1884. After centuries of intermittent contact with Europeans eager to trade for slaves, ivory, rubber, and palm products, Cameroon was colonized by Germany and quickly became the largest and most important of its West African possessions. The German acquisition of Cameroon came as a shock as Britain initially had stronger claims to the region. Not only had British Baptists established a mission station on the mainland in 1858, but the coastal Duala tribe had repeatedly requested the creation of a protectorate as a means of fending off unscrupulous European merchants. These requests were ignored, thereby opening the door for German merchant firms trading along the West African coast to expand their operations to Cameroon. The resultant competition eventually led the British to raise import duties in the **Gold Coast**. Concerned that this could lead to the exclusion of German merchants from all West African markets, Otto von **Bismarck**, in July 1884, sent a naval expedition under the command of Gustav Nachtigal to establish a German protectorate in Cameroon. The Germans subsequently used uprisings in the 1890s and 1904–1907 as a pretext for launching punitive military expeditions that completed the conquest of the interior and solidified their hold on Cameroon. Germany later obtained an additional 280,000 square kilometers in northeastern Cameroon when France ceded parts of **French Equatorial Africa** as settlement of the 1911 Moroccan crisis.

Bismarck's hope that private merchant firms would run the colony quickly fell apart, necessitating the creation of an official colonial administration. Colonial administrators soon found their efforts to develop the economy hampered by periodic uprisings, extreme linguistic diversity and frequent clashes with Protestant mission societies who championed native rights. Nevertheless, the Germans created a series of rubber, cocoa, and palm tree plantations that soon turned out more exports than any other German colony. Although roads and bridges were built deep into the interior in the hopes of opening up additional plantations, subsequent efforts to expand the agricultural sector were hampered by the need for land and the chronic lack of labor, necessitating the expropriation of African property and the introduction of coercive measures including bribery and the use of forced labor. Ultimately, the combination of continued African resistance to these tactics and the 1906 introduction of the **Dernburg reforms** requiring better treatment of indigenous peoples prevented German Cameroon from reaching its full economic potential. After falling to an allied invasion force in 1916, Cameroon was subsequently divided by Britain and France, a solution confirmed in 1922 with the League of Nations' decision to award them mandates over the former German territory. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Berlin, Conference of; German Empire, Morocco; Togo.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Campbell, Sir Colin, Baron Clyde (1792–1863)

British soldier whose career extended from the Napoleonic Wars to the Indian Mutiny and into almost every corner of the **British Empire**. Born in Glasgow, he entered the British army at age 16 and first saw action in the **Peninsular War** at Ricola in August 1808. As lieutenant Campbell served with distinction at Barossa in 1811 and also fought at Vitoria and San Sebastián in 1813. After surviving the debacle of New Orleans in the **Anglo-American War** of 1812 and participating in suppression of the Demerara rising in British Guiana in 1823, Campbell was promoted to the rank of captain in 1823 and to a lieutenant-colonel in 1832. Real distinction came with service in the First **Opium War**, after which he was made a Commander of the Bath and the First **Sikh War**, which brought him a knighthood.

In the **Crimean War** Campbell was promoted to major general and distinguished himself at Alma and Balaclava. Thus Campbell was already among the most celebrated military heroes of the Empire when in 1857 he was made commander-in-chief of British forces tasked with the suppression of the **Indian Mutiny** and ultimately contributed more than any individual to military victory and the restoration of political order. Campbell was made a peer, Baron Clyde, in 1858.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry (1836–1908)

British prime minister remembered as a staunch radical and consistent opponent of imperial expansion. His government of 1905–1908 nevertheless began an informal alliance with France that led into World War I.

Campbell-Bannerman was from a Scottish mercantile family. He was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Cambridge, and entered Parliament as a radical for the Scottish constituency of Stirling Burghs in 1868. He placed himself in the tradition of Richard **Cobden**, and became a lifelong follower of William **Gladstone**. He worked under Edward Cardwell during his reforming tenure at the War Office in the early 1870s, and subsequently served as Chief Secretary for Ireland under Gladstone in 1884–1885. As a Gladstonian, he supported Home Rule in 1886, dismissing Ulster's objections as "Ulsteria." Campbell-Bannerman served at the War Office in the Liberal governments of 1886 and 1892–1895.

During subsequent decade of opposition, Campbell-Bannerman was a leader among the anti-imperialist, the so-called "little Englander" Liberals. In protest against the army's tactics of burning farms and relocating the Boer population in

“concentration camps” during the Second Boer War and to counter the government’s argument that the army was not bound by the laws of war as the Boer guerilla tactics violated them, Campbell-Bannerman rhetorically demanded “when is a war not a war? When it is carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa,” a remark for which he is often remembered.

Arthur J. Balfour’s Conservative government resigned in December 1905, and Campbell-Bannerman became premier. In the subsequent election campaign he called for an international “League of Peace” adumbrating subsequent notions of a League of Nations, but campaigned primarily on the venerable Cobdenite slogan of “Peace, Retrenchment and Reform.” He won an imposing victory, and as prime minister he governed as more of a Gladstonian small-government Liberal than a social democratic “new Liberal”—as his old-fashioned electoral cry had implied. As Prime Minister, he agreed reluctantly to the staff conversations with France, initiated by Sir Edward Grey, which prepared the way for British intervention in World War I. He resigned the office due to ill health on April 8, 1908, and died on April 22, with Herbert Asquith succeeding him. *See also* Boer Wars; Liberal Party.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Canada

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Canada comprised the North American territories along the St. Lawrence River and to the north of Lakes Ontario and Erie, not including most of what became in the course of the century the Dominion of Canada. Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada by William Pitt’s Constitution Act of 1791. Lower Canada—subsequently **Québec**—had a French-speaking majority and Upper Canada an English-speaking one. Each colony was granted a representative assembly and an appointive upper house under a British-appointed Governor. Conflicts between the elected assemblies and the Governors led in both colonies to brief rebellions in 1837. The British responded by sending Lord Durham to report on the situation; his report led to the reunion of the two Canadas and the grant of effective local autonomy under the name of **Responsible Government** in 1848. The **Dominion of Canada** was founded on July 1 1867, pursuant to the **British North America Act**, which received its second reading in the British House of Commons on February 28, 1867.

The intention, inspired by the American example, was to create a strong federal government, leaving only local matters to the provinces. Nova Scotia was initially an unwilling province of Canada, but its protests were ignored by the imperial parliament. In 1870, the western territories of the Hudson’s Bay Company, known as Rupert’s Land, were ceded to Ottawa. This resulted in a brief rebellion under Louis Riel, but rebel forces scattered on the arrival of an Anglo-Canadian force under Colonel Garnet Wolseley. The Province of Manitoba joined Confederation in 1870. **British Columbia** followed in 1871, an agreement having been reached to construct largely at federal expense a transcontinental railway.

In 1905, the remaining territories on the prairies joined the Confederation as the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Canadian Pacific railway was completed in 1885, somewhat behind schedule. That same year saw a further rebellion led by Riel in Saskatchewan put down by an expeditionary force from Ontario after the Battle of Batoche; this time Riel was hanged for treason. Initially led by a Conservative government under Sir John A. Macdonald, in 1874, the Liberals came to power after a scandal over railway financing. MacDonald came back into power in 1878, remaining prime minister until his death in 1891, and instituting the so-called “National Policy” of tariffs designed to protect Canadian industry. Nevertheless, Canada remained primarily an exporter of primary products, including agricultural products, minerals, and timber, throughout the pre-1914 period.

Canada’s connection to the British Empire was controversial: many, likely most, English Canadians were imperialist to some degree, but the imperial connection was less popular with the French-speaking population of Québec. Under the Liberal Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Canada made a small contribution to the British war effort in the South African War of 1899–1902, and chose to create its own navy in place of making a contribution to the British. Canada’s initial reaction to the outbreak of war in 1914 was summed up by Laurier’s cry of “Ready, aye, ready!” but enthusiasm waned, particularly in Québec, as the war went on. *See also* British Empire; United States.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR)

Canada’s first transcontinental railway, built for the most part between 1881 and 1885 to connect the Pacific Coast province of British Columbia with Eastern Canada. British Columbia had made such a rail link the precondition of its membership in the Canadian Confederation, and the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald also saw the railroad as the commercial backbone of British North America, a unified Canadian dominion stretching across North America, invulnerable to economic absorption by the United States, with manufacturing interests in the East fueled by the resources of the West.

The railway’s construction had to overcome the engineering difficulties of crossing the Rocky Mountains and the danger of labor in rugged terrain. Immigrants from Europe and imported workers from China made up the manual labor force, the latter group in particular suffering a high rate of fatality in doing the most dangerous work. When complete, the Canadian Pacific Railway was the longest railway ever constructed. Much of the railway’s freight consisted of the fundamentals of a developing economy such as coal, timber, and wheat; but after 1890, it also carried raw silk cocoons from the Orient between the Pacific port of Vancouver and silk mills in New York and New Jersey. *See also* British North America Act; Railways.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Canning, George (1770–1827)

One of the leading British statesmen of the early nineteenth century. Canning forsook his Whig tendencies for more Tory sympathies when he supported William Pitt from 1794. Although a distinguished speaker in Parliament, Canning did not hold a prominent position in government until 1807, when he was appointed Foreign Secretary under the Duke of Portland in which office he served until 1809. In this capacity he sent a punitive expedition against Copenhagen and played a prominent part in Britain's involvement in the Peninsular War against Napoleon in Spain and Portugal. He strongly opposed his country's expedition against Walcheren in 1809, and his disagreements with Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for War, led to an inconclusive duel between them. He served again as Foreign Secretary in 1822–1827 during which time he recognized the newly independent Latin American states, thus securing substantial economic benefits for his country. He served briefly as prime minister in 1827.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Cape Colony

One of the original provinces of the Union of South Africa. Originally founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 to supply its fleets headed to the East Indies with fresh food, Cape Colony had fallen into British hands by the start of the nineteenth century during the course of the Napoleonic Wars. This sparked European expansion into the interior of southern Africa as the original Boer settlers attempted to flee British control. The arrival of 5,000 British settlers in 1820 not only made it clear that Britain intended to hold on to the Cape, but it also marked the start of declining Anglo-Boer relations. In addition to resenting the introduction of a new language and culture, the Boer settlers, many of whom relied on a combination of cheap African labor and slaves to work their farms, opposed the British policy of granting Africans legal rights and complained about the inadequate compensation for their lost property when Parliament abolished slavery in 1833. Eager to escape further British interference in their daily lives, many Boer families migrated north as part of the **Great Trek** into the **Transvaal** and the **Orange Free State** where they created independent republics.

Despite the loss of population resulting from the Great Trek, Cape Colony prospered throughout the nineteenth century. Immigration continued, and by the mid-1870s, white settlers made up a third of the Cape's population. Although settler demand for land caused periodic clashes with the neighboring Xhosa tribe, these conflicts effectively ended in 1856 when the Xhosa killed off their cattle and

destroyed their crops in the belief that doing so would prompt their ancestors to return and drive out the whites. The resultant famine broke the back of Xhosa resistance and ushered in a period of political stability that, combined with the abolition of the British **East India Company's** monopoly on trade, led to significant economic development. Growing economic prosperity in turn led to increased political autonomy for the Cape. In 1853, a parliament elected on the basis of property ownership and income, rather than race, replaced earlier advisory and legislative councils appointed by the governor. This was followed in 1873 by the creation of responsible government. Thereafter, the newly created prime minister and his cabinet assumed all responsibility for Cape Colony's domestic affairs.

The twin discoveries of diamonds in Griqualand West in 1867 and gold in the Transvaal in 1880 complicated the situation by financing the political career of Cecil **Rhodes**. Although he initially rose to power as prime minister of Cape Colony by championing Boer rights, by the mid-1890s Rhodes began to see an independent Transvaal as a major obstacle to British interests in southern Africa. His backing of the botched **Jameson Raid** not only ended Rhodes's political career, but it also renewed Anglo-Boer tensions and helped trigger the **Boer War** of 1899–1901. Although Britain annexed the former Boer republics in the aftermath of the war, final resolution of the political situation only came in 1910 when Cape Colony changed its name to the Province of Good Hope and joined Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State in the newly created Union of South Africa. *See also* Afrikaners; Bonaparte, Napoleon; British Empire; Vereeniging, Treaty of.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Caprivi, Count Leo von (1831–1899)

Otto von **Bismarck's** successor as German chancellor, serving from 1890 to 1894. Born to a family of Slovenian origin in Berlin-Charlottenburg, Caprivi served as an army officer in the wars of 1866 and 1870–1871 and as Chief of the Admiralty, 1882–1886. His basically sound policies of rapprochement and colonial agreements with **Britain**, replacing protectionism with bilateral commercial treaties, and cautious domestic reform earned him severe criticism from contemporaries, especially for his decision not to renew the 1887 Reassurance Treaty with Russia, regarded as one of Bismarck's most important achievements. In the Zanzibar Treaty of 1890, he secured from Britain German control of Heligoland in the North Sea in exchange for British control of Zanzibar off the coast of German East Africa, which prompted howls of protest from colonial pressure groups.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Cardwell, Edward, First Viscount Cardwell, (1813–1886)

British colonial secretary who did much to initiate the process of Canadian confederation but best remembered for his army reforms while at the War Office in Gladstone's first government, 1868–1874. Cardwell entered parliament for Liverpool as a Free Trade Conservative in 1842, and was always strongly associated with Sir Robert Peel, whose memoirs he edited. He was known for his expertise on financial, mercantile and maritime questions. Losing his Liverpool seat in 1852 because of his support for the repeal of the navigation acts—in effect protection for merchant shipping—he sat as a Liberal for the City of Oxford for the rest of his political career. As colonial secretary under Lord Palmerston and John Russell from 1864 to 1866, he prodded Canadian leaders in the direction of confederation and began the process of withdrawing British troops from both Canada and, more controversially, New Zealand.

He became secretary for war in 1868, in which office he continued the gradual draw-down of troops in colonial service. Influenced by Prussian successes in the 1870 war with France, he reorganized the War Office and introduced the concept of short service enlistments followed by service in the reserves. Most significantly, however, he abolished the system of army commission purchase, meeting significant opposition in committee and from the Lords. The latter he was able to overcome only with the assistance of a royal warrant, forbidding commission sales. The episode did much to estrange the officer class from the Liberal Party. Cardwell refused to succeed Gladstone as head of the Liberal Party on the latter's, as it turned out, temporary resignation in 1874, and was in poor health for the final dozen years of his life. *See also* Canada; Franco-Prussian War; Gladstone.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Carlist Wars (1833–1840, 1847–1849, 1872–1876)

Three wars in Spain fought during the period from 1833 to 1876. The Carlists were members of a conservative political movement in Spain with the goal of establishing an alternate branch of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne. Felipe V, grandson of Louis XIV of France and founder of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty, limited the royal succession to male descendants and only to female descendants in the absence of any male heir on any line. In 1830, Fernando VII published the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which was approved by the government in 1832. The decree restored the rights of female descendants to inherit the throne. Fernando VII died in 1833 without a male heir. His wife, Maria Cristina, became regent for their daughter, Isabel II. Ferdinand's brother, Carlos, claimed the Spanish throne under the premise that the *Pragmatic Sanction* was not valid. Carlists supported the ambitions of Carlos, while *Cristinos*, or *Isabelinos*, supported Isabel II and her mother.

Carlos was leader of the staunch royalist and Catholic faction at the Spanish court seeking to counter growing liberal and anticlerical influences after the French

Revolution and Napoleon. Carlism emerged as an umbrella ideology for political Catholics and conservatives, and served as the main group of right-wing opposition to ensuing Spanish governments. Carlists' rallying cry of "God, Country, and King" united them against liberal and later republican forces taking root in Spain. Carlism became a true "mass movement," drawing supporters from all classes, especially peasant and working classes. The areas in Spain where Carlism established a foothold included Navarre, Rioja, Basque Country, Catalonia, and Valencia.

Carlos V (1788–1855) was the first Carlist pretender to the Spanish throne. He abdicated in favor of his son Carlos VI (1818–61), who continued the claim from 1845 to 1860. Carlos's brother, Juan III (1822–1887), carried the Carlist banner from 1860 to 1868. Carlists forced him to abdicate because of his liberal leanings under the idea that the king must be legitimate both in blood and in deeds. Juan became head of the house of Bourbon after the extinction of the elder line of French Bourbons in 1883. Some French legitimists proclaimed him heir to the French throne. Juan's son Carlos VII (1848–1909) represented the Carlists from 1868 to 1909. Carlos was succeeded by his son, Jaime III (1870–1931), and then his brother, Alfonso Carlos (1849–1936). In 1936, the Carlists' male line died out.

The First Carlist War lasted from 1833 to 1840. The cruelties inflicted by both sides forced the European powers to intervene to establish a set of rules for warfare. France, Britain, and Portugal supported Isabel. All three powers gave financial support; Britain and Portugal also lent military support. The Carlists, short on finances, were quickly defeated yet continued to harass the liberal government for several years. The Second Carlist War, also known as the Matiners' War, lasted from 1847 to 1849. Catalanian rebels initiated a guerilla war in the name of the Carlist pretender. Carlist forces came to their aid, but the rebel forces were defeated. In 1868, a revolution forced Isabel II's abdication in favor of her son, Alfonso XII; however, the government elected Amadeo I of the house of Savoy as king of Spain. Shortly thereafter, a republic governed Spain before a Bourbon restoration under Alfonso in 1874. The political upheaval after Isabel II's deposition led to the Third Carlist War, lasting from 1872 to 1876.

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ERIC MARTONE

Carlyle, Thomas (1795–1881)

A prominent biographer, historian, and activist in nineteenth-century Britain. A Scot, Carlyle was educated at the University of Edinburgh before moving to London to pursue a literary career. His knowledge of Germany, its literature, and culture was comprehensive, and he did much to introduce German literature to the British public. His first major work was *The French Revolution*, his last a multivolume biography of Frederick the Great. Carlyle was a friend of the young John Stuart Mill, but their relationship cooled somewhat when Mill's maid threw the almost complete manuscript of the *French Revolution* into the fire. Carlyle went on to produce an edition of the letters of Oliver Cromwell and large numbers of shorter essays, polemics, and imaginative histories written in a style at once witty, declamatory, and in places

almost poetic. Carlyle gave a series of lectures on heroes in 1840, which became a volume celebrating great men. In imperial affairs, Carlyle played a leading role in defending Governor Eyre of Jamaica, accused of committing atrocities in response to an apprehended rising, and he parodied the abolitionist movement with his 1849 suggestion of a “Universal Abolition of Pain Association.” He wrote nothing systematic on imperial topics, but his *Past and Present* (1843) enthused that England’s epic poem, like that of the ancient Romans, was written on the face of the earth, and called for the misery of urban slums to be relieved by state-organized emigration, a common idea at the time.

Carlyle’s main contribution to the Empire, however, was cultural. He celebrated the heroic and the strong, and held that that rule of such men should be unapologetic and not hedged about what he saw as the bad faith of liberal self-justification. Against a background of rationalist, utilitarian liberalism, Carlyle provided a strong defense of authority, tradition, and of the right of conquest, along with, it must be said, a coruscating critique of many individual authorities who failed to live up to his exacting, world-historical standards. *See also* British Empire; Social Darwinism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Carlsbad Decrees (1819)

Measures agreed at an August 1819 conference of ministers from Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, Hanover, Baden, Mecklenburg, Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, and electoral Hesse that took place at Carlsbad (German spelling: Karlsbad; Czech spelling: Karlovy Vary). The meeting at the Bohemian spa was summoned at the behest of Austria’s foreign minister Klemens Prince von Metternich to discuss measures to be taken by the German Confederation against nationalist and liberal organizations and opinion leaders in Germany. The assassination of the dramatist August Kotzebue by a radical student offered an opportunity to persuade the governments of many German states to approve to harsh methods of repression. Uniform censorship of periodical publications, the dissolution of student clubs, liberal and nationalist *Burschenschaften*, and a central commission to investigate radical activities were agreed in Carlsbad and a few weeks later by the representatives of the German states at Frankfurt. The Carlsbad Decrees became synonymous with the suppression of freedom of speech and an anti-liberal policy of the German states.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Casement, Sir Roger (1864–1916)

Before his 1916 execution for treason and the British government’s subsequent effort to smear his reputation by releasing diaries that graphically detailed his alleged homosexuality, Casement was an Irish-born British diplomat and colonial

reformer best known for reporting the horrors of forced labor in the **Belgian Congo** and the Putumayo region of Peru. After several visits to Africa while serving as a ship's purser, in 1884 Casement became an employee of **Leopold II's** International African Association where he worked as a railroad surveyor and construction foreman. Casement left the Congo in 1892 to join the British diplomatic corps. After a brief tour of duty in **Nigeria**, he was promoted rapidly and served as British Consul in Mozambique from 1895 to 1898, Angola from 1898 to 1900, and the Congo Free State from 1901 to 1904.

Shortly after his return to the Congo, he began warning the British government about the mistreatment of natives and the damaging effects of forced labor in rubber cultivation. Under pressure from humanitarian groups, in 1903 the British government charged Casement with undertaking an official inquiry. His Congo report, published the next year, provoked an international scandal with its detailed evidence of atrocities and was instrumental in forcing Leopold to relinquish his private colony in the Congo Free State to the Belgian government. Following the appearance of his Congo report, Casement was transferred to **Brazil** where he served in a variety of Consular posts from 1906–1911. In 1910, he was ordered by the Foreign Office to investigate charges of atrocities against the inhabitants of the rubber producing Putumayo region of neighboring Peru. Casement's detailed report substantiated the worst of the allegations, earned him a knighthood in 1911, and eventually led Parliament to dissolve the London-based Peruvian Amazon Company two years later.

In 1913, ill health forced Casement to retire from diplomatic service. On his return to **Ireland** he became actively involved in the campaign for **Irish Home Rule**, helping to organize the paramilitary Irish National Volunteers and traveling to the United States to seek funds for the separatist movement. After the outbreak of World War I, he traveled to Germany in a failed effort to gain diplomatic recognition and possible military assistance for an independent Ireland. Germany's refusal to provide military assistance for the planned Easter rising prompted Casement to return to Ireland in April 1916 in an effort to stop the revolt. He was captured shortly after landing, taken to London for trial, convicted of treason, and executed August 3, 1916. *See also* Portuguese Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769–1823)

An Anglo-Irish politician and British Foreign Secretary, Castlereagh, a courtesy title he assumed in 1796 owing to his father's Irish marquissate, was initially a Whig, but the events of the French Revolution drove him to the Tories. Elected to the Irish Parliament in 1790, to Westminster in 1794, and sitting for several years in both Parliaments, he was a supporter of William Pitt the Younger's Irish Union,

and like Pitt he insisted on the need for the redress of Catholic disabilities. This latter cause earned him the displeasure of George III, which complicated his political career. He was at the War Office during the early years of the Peninsular campaign, when it was not popular, and resigned as a result of a series of complicated machinations by Canning coincident with the failure of the 1809 Walcheren expedition. The dispute with Canning led to a duel that both men survived and that did not prevent Castlereagh becoming foreign secretary under Spencer Perceval in 1812.

After the assassination of Perceval, Castlereagh kept his office under the premiership of Lord Liverpool and became known for his deft and moderate diplomacy. In the complicated and many-sided negotiations surrounding the defeat of Napoleonic France, Castlereagh was a consistent opponent of a vindictive peace, and he opposed the counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance. In domestic politics, however, Castlereagh was an equally consistent opponent of parliamentary reform and a supporter of repression, especially in the aftermath of the 1819 "Peterloo massacre," at St. Peter's fields, Manchester. Castlereagh did not believe that the government could or should remedy the commercial depression and widespread suffering that came with the peace. His reputation as a reactionary inspired Shelley's famous lines, "I met death on the way/he had a mask like Castlereagh." Increasingly depressed and unstable, Castlereagh committed suicide in 1823. *See also* Canning, George; Metternich, Clemens von; Napoleonic War; Vienna, Congress of.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Caucasus

The region between the Black and Caspian Seas and a territorial bone of contention among the Ottoman, Persian, and Russian Empires for centuries. During the nineteenth century, the Caucasus came increasingly under Russian dominance. Georgia was annexed to Russia in 1801; Baku and other parts of Azerbaijan followed in 1813; Persian Armenia and the remainder of Azerbaijan in 1828. Russian expansion into the Western Caucasus thereafter came at direct expense to the Ottoman Empire, and after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 the Treaty of Adrianople transferred Circassia to the Russian Empire. Between 1830 and 1859, the Muslim peoples of the region waged a *jihad* against Russian rule, known as the Murid Wars. After the deployment of ever larger and better equipped Russian armies brought the local tribes to surrender, the region remained under Russian control until the passing of the Soviet Union in 1991. *See also* Eastern Question; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Cavour, Count Camillo Benso di (1810–1861)

Italian statesman and prime minister of the Kingdom of Piedmont (1852–60) and the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. Cavour was a Piedmontese aristocrat who became the leading statesman of Italian unification. In 1847, he started a respected patriotic journal, *Il Risorgimento*, which brought him to the attention of the government. During the revolutionary outbursts of 1848, it was Cavour who urged King Charles Albert to not only promulgate a constitution but also lead a national struggle for liberation. The war failed, but the new king, **Victor Emmanuel II**, remained steadfast to unification and constitutionalism, and asked Cavour to become Prime Minister in 1852. Despite his idealism, Cavour was a realist prepared to lead his country to a new nation.

Cavour immediately recognized that no amount of reform would prevent Austria from defeating Piedmont unless he had an alliance with another Great Power. He seized the opportunity to do so by aiding the Allies during the Crimean War. Afterward in July 1858, he concluded a secret alliance with Napoleon III and manipulated the Austrians into declaring war in April 1859. By July the Allies had control over most of northern and western Italy, but the cities in central Italy revolted and received protection from the armies of Piedmont. In the south, Cavour permitted Giuseppe Garibaldi to seize Sicily and Naples. When the war concluded, all of these territories except for Rome and the Venetia were annexed to Piedmont and approved by plebiscite. On March 17, 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, with Turin as its capital. Cavour died on June 6 having created modern Italy. *See also* Crimean War; Habsburg Empire.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Central Powers

A term commonly used to refer to the Triple Alliance of Germany, **Austria-Hungary**, and **Italy** pitted against the Triple Entente of Britain, France, and Russia in the period leading to World War I, or alternatively to Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria during World War I. Because Italy declined to fight in 1914, the term was generally applied to the two core allies Germany and Austria-Hungary. The apparent blank check of diplomatic and military support given by Germany to Austria-Hungary in the wake of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in July 1914 was critical in prompting Russia to mobilize and therefore in turning the latest Balkan crisis into a general European war.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Ceylon

A large island off the southeast coast of India, present-day Sri Lanka. Ceylon was initially a target of Portuguese and then Dutch colonization, but the conquest of the Netherlands by France during the Napoleonic Wars prompted troops of the East

India Company to seize it against weak Dutch resistance in 1796. British control was then made official by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. The British abolished slavery, dissolved commercial monopolies in favor of free trade, and established a uniform administrative structure and legal system for the island. Indentured labor was imported from India, and coffee, tea, rubber, and coconut plantations prospered.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Chamberlain, Joseph (1836–1914)

A major British politician and from 1895 an imperially ambitious colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain made his fortune in the Birmingham manufacturing industry, retired from business, and became one of the ablest public figures of his time. As a city councilor, then mayor of Birmingham, he was a reformer and a driving force behind the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Chamberlain regarded the British aristocracy as a burden on the nation yet cultivated an aristocratic appearance with a monocle and a fresh orchid in his buttonhole—an ambivalence of attitude reflected in his politics. Elected in 1876 as a Liberal member of Parliament, he rose to cabinet rank in Gladstone's government of 1880. Chamberlain's democratic convictions, tinged with republican and socialist views, placed him on the radical wing of the Liberal Party; yet his deepest sentiments were for the ideal of imperial unity. Subscribing to the liberal imperialism of Charles Dilke, he favored a degree of Irish autonomy within the Empire yet resigned from Gladstone's cabinet in 1885 over the policy of Irish Home Rule.

Chamberlain emerged the leader of the Liberal Unionists, cooperating with the Conservative Party to bar Gladstone from office. When Salisbury's Conservatives formed a coalition government with the Unionists in 1895, Chamberlain was given his choice of ministries and chose the Colonial Office. "Pushful Joe" involved Britain more intensively in the Scramble for Africa. He favored bringing the Boer republics into the Empire and was accused of colluding in the machinations of Cecil Rhodes in the disastrous Jameson Raid. Chamberlain negotiated with the government of the Transvaal, but the failure to reach agreement on the rights of British Uitlanders led to the Second Boer War.

Yet Chamberlain was as concerned to consolidate British power as to extend it. He favored the idea of an **imperial federation** of the white peoples of the Empire and broke with the traditional Liberal principle of **free trade**, advocating **imperial preference**. He helped bring about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, sought an alliance with Germany, and ultimately favored *entente* with France as an alternative. His tariff policy split the Conservative Party and facilitated a Liberal landslide in the election of 1906. He died in 1914, but his sons, Austen and Neville, carried the family flag into Britain's foreign policy of the 1920s and 1930s. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Boer Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Chancellorsville, Battle of (1863)

A pivotal battle of the **American Civil War** fought in Virginia in May 1863. Union General Joseph Hooker assumed command of the Army of the Potomac in January 1863, following the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg. After a period of refitting the army, Hooker hoped to flank Confederate Commander General Robert E. Lee out of his defenses and into a fight on open ground.

Leaving John Sedgwick's corps at Fredericksburg to hold Lee in position, Hooker marched westward along the Rappahannock River. Lee was badly outnumbered, having sent James Longstreet's corps to North Carolina. In an effort to prevent encirclement, Lee boldly split his army and marched west to meet Hooker, leaving a rearguard near Fredericksburg. When Hooker crossed the Rappahannock on April 30, Lee again divided his army, sending Stonewall Jackson's corps to the south and west to flank Hooker in the vicinity of Chancellorsville. Within sight of seizing key terrain, Hooker halted his advancing columns. He lost his nerve completely when Jackson fell on the vulnerable Union right flank late on May 2. Without having used his entire force, Hooker retreated in defeat across the Rappahannock. Lee then turned east and routed Sedgwick's corps, which had successfully pushed the rebel rearguard out of its defenses.

Lee used the victory as a launching pad for his second invasion of the north, which ended in defeat at Gettysburg. Long considered Lee's masterpiece, the Chancellorsville victory proved costly to the Confederacy when Jackson was wounded by his own men while conducting a night reconnaissance, wounds that led to his death.

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THOMAS D. VEVE

Charles, Archduke of Austria (1771–1847)

Archduke Charles (Karl) of Austria, Duke of Teschen, was born in September 1771 in Florence, the capital of Tuscany. The third son of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and Emperor Leopold II made a career in the Austrian army. As General-governor of the Austrian Netherlands in 1793–1794 and as field-commander of Austrian armies operating in southern Germany, northern Italy and Switzerland from 1796 to 1800, he took part in Austria's warfare against revolutionary France.

In 1801, Charles became president of the Aulic War Council, *Hofkriegsrat*, and started to modernize the Austrian forces. In the war against France in 1805, Charles led the Austrian troops in Italy. With the army reform still in its infancy, Charles opposed another war against Napoleon in 1809. But when war had broken out, Charles commanded the Austrian field army and achieved the first victory over Napoleon in the Battle of **Aspern-Essling** in May 1809. Nevertheless, Austria lost the war and Charles his command. He became Austria's most influential military writer and died in Vienna in April 1847. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Charles X, King of France (1757–1836)

King of France from 1824 to 1830 and the personification of the dissolute life and reactionary politics for which the late Bourbon dynasty was caricatured. Charles fled to Edinburgh with the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 and returned to France in 1814 as leader of the ultraroyalists. He promptly fell in with clerical forces and authorized a series of penalties for irreligious behavior, which was merely the first of a series of measures that ultimately alienated all shades of political opinion. His Four Ordinances of St. Cloud provoked the July Revolution of 1830, and after three days of street –fighting, Charles was forced to abdicate and take refuge in England. His time on the throne being otherwise a waste of time and space, his most lasting legacy to France was his initiation of the military expedition against Algeria in 1830 to distract attention from his manifold failures at home.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Chattanooga, Battle of (1863)

A Union victory in the **American Civil War**. Chattanooga, Tennessee, an important rail center and river port, is situated on the south bank of the Tennessee River Valley at Moccasin Bend where the Ridge and Valley Region of the Appalachian Mountains meets the Appalachian Plateau Region. Missionary Ridge runs southwest to northeast on the eastern side of the city and was occupied by Confederates. They also held the heights of Lookout Mountain, a great plateau on the west.

After the Union defeat at Chickamauga, General Rosecrans was replaced by General Ulysses S. Grant. Opposing him were Confederates under the command of General Braxton Bragg. On November 23, Union forces captured Orchard Knob, a hill centrally located between Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge. The next day Union forces commanded by Major General Joseph Hooker scaled the walls of Lookout Mountain in the “Battle above the Clouds.” They then drove its Confederate defenders southward into Georgia. On November 25, assaults on Confederate positions on Missionary Ridge were repulsed until near dusk when Union forces commanded by Major General George H. Thomas attacked Confederate rifle pits at its base. The troops then spontaneously swept up the ridge without orders to attack. The dramatic assault by 23,000 men drove the Confederates off the ridge and back into Georgia. Confederate casualties were 6,600, Union losses at 6,000.

Europe received news of the last of a long series of battles in 1863 with some boredom. It was more news of enormous and deadly conflicts that had not brought an end to the war. Still, the use of railroads for moving troops continued to impress some in Prussian military circles.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

Chaumont, Treaty of (1814)

A treaty concluded between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Britain on March 9, 1814, during the campaign in France against Napoleon. By its terms, the Emperor Francis I of Austria, Tsar Alexander I of Russia, King Frederick William III of Prussia, and Lord Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, offered Napoleon peace terms that would provide France with her pre-1792 borders in exchange for a general cease fire. If these terms were rejected, the Allies agreed among themselves to pursue the war to a successful conclusion, with each partner supplying at least 100,000 men and promising not to conclude a separate peace with the enemy. Napoleon, who was only weeks away from final defeat, rejected the Chaumont terms, thus discarding the last opportunity to retain his throne through negotiation. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Cherniaev, General Mikhail Gregor'evich (1828–1898)

The Russian general whose forces conquered Tashkent in 1865. This was a major turning point in the Russian conquest of Central Asia, as the pace of conquests quickened thereafter. Cherniaev argued that the military conquest of Tashkent was much needed in 1864, despite some opinions to the contrary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Prior to Cherniaev's success, Russian leaders had envisioned Chimkent as the southern point of their empire. Tashkent was surrendered on June 17, 1865 and Cherniaev earned the nickname "The Lion of Tashkent." He served twice as governor-general of Turkestan, 1865–1866 and 1882–1884. After his first stint in Turkestan, he strongly criticized the Turkestan regime of his successor, General Konstantin von Kaufman, via his job as editor of the *Russkiy Mir* (*The Russian World*) newspaper. Throughout his career he alternated between periods of support and opposition from the tsarist government. *See also* Great Game, Russian Empire.

FURTHER READING: MacKenzie, David. *The Lion of Tashkent, the Career of General M.G. Cherniaev*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1974.

SCOTT C. BAILEY

Chickamauga Creek, Battle of (1863)

One of the bloodiest battles of the **American Civil War**, especially in the western theater. Confederate dead were listed at 2,673 and Union dead at 1,656, with total casualties in killed, wounded, and missing numbering 37,129. Chickamauga (in Cherokee, “river of death”) was fought south of Chattanooga, Tennessee, in extreme northwestern Georgia. The Union Army of the Tennessee was commanded by General William S. Rosecrans and the Confederate Army of Tennessee was commanded by General Braxton Bragg. The battle began when Confederate forces tried to move across Chickamauga Creek at the Alexander Bride crossing. During the day, the confused battle raged as small groups fought in the dense woods in thick gun smoke unable to hear officers’ commands. At dusk on September 19, the battle line lay along the LaFayette-Chattanooga Road.

On September 20, the renewed battle became a rout after a garbled order caused a gap in the center of the Federal army’s line. Confederates commanded by General James Longstreet, who had just arrived by rail from Virginia, poured through the gap. The defense of Snodgrass Hill by General George Thomas, “The Rock of Chickamauga,” saved the Union Army, and, as night settled, Union forces slipped away to rejoin Rosecrans in Chattanooga. The battle was a tactical victory for the Confederates, but a strategic nullity because Bragg failed to march to Chattanooga to destroy the Union army or to drive it back to the Ohio River. Sympathizers with the Confederacy in Europe, and especially imperialists in France, were cheered for a short while and others thought it would bring peace. The battlefield is now the Chickamauga National Battlefield.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

China

For 2,200 years China was an extraordinarily durable imperial state, yet by 1557, when Portugal took possession of Macao, it became an object of European interest. Ruled since 1644 by the **Qing dynasty** descended from Manchu conquerors, nineteenth-century China was beset by internal convulsions and external challenges until 1912 when a nationalist revolution led by **Sun Yatsen** produced a republic. The first domestic upheaval, the folk-Buddhist White Lotus rebellion of 1796 to 1804, revealed both popular discontent with the Qing government and the flagging competence of its military. The **Nian** (1851–1868) and the **Taiping** (1850–1864) rebellions further weakened China and left its large territory and extensive coastline increasingly vulnerable to the predations of Britain, Japan, and Russia in particular. Indeed, the Qing’s bureaucratic rigidity and China’s educational and economic backwardness led to its humiliation as early as the **Opium War** of 1839–1842 with Britain, the Treaty of Nanjing and the loss of Hong Kong. After the **Arrow War** of 1856–1860 against both Britain and France the capital of Beijing was occupied and the Yuan Ming Yuan summer palace burned to the ground by the British. The Forbidden City was spared on the calculation that the disgrace involved might topple the Qing dynasty, which the British in particular preferred to remain in power as a weakened negotiating partner.

The Treaties of **Tientsin** inaugurated the system of harbor treaties similar in many respects with the “capitulations” to which the **Ottoman Empire** had been subjected.

The European powers were thereby given extraterritorial rights in harbor cities such as Shanghai and Canton, where whole districts became enclaves of European culture and legal jurisdiction, and the sovereign authority of China was in effect suspended. Further “unequal treaties” with France, Germany, Russia, and the **United States** further opened up China to trade while displacing Qing authority from the coastal treaty ports. In 1880, France expanded its empire in Indochina with the occupation of Hanoi and Haiphong and also sought concessions from China in **Annam**. When negotiations with France collapsed in 1884, the Chinese navy promptly became the victim of a catastrophic defeat by the French fleet in which virtually every Chinese warship was either sunk or destroyed by fire within scarcely more than an hour of fighting. As a consequence, French control of **Indochina** was consolidated. Meiji Japan (see **Meiji Restoration**) then joined the competition for spheres of influence and commercial privileges and, as trophies of its victory in the **Sino-Japanese War** of 1894, took Taiwan, the Pescadores, and the Liao-tung Peninsula. China was forced to recognize the independence of **Korea**, where Japan promptly established a sphere of influence. In wholly accurate anticipation of a future struggle with Japan, Russia protested the Japanese gains recorded in the Treaty of **Shimonoseki**. A revision in which Japan’s territorial gains were scaled back was negotiated by Japan, France, Germany, and Russia over the head of the Qing government. Dissatisfied with its lack of a presence on the Chinese coast and under the spell of its naval lobby, Germany struck next by landing troops on the Shantung Peninsula in 1896 and extracting a 99-year lease on the port of Tsingtao. In 1898, Russia gained **Port Arthur**—under Shimonoseki initially given to Japan—on similar terms; the same year France secured its own 99-year lease of Kwang Chou Wan.

Thus China had by the turn of the century been the object of foreign competition every bit as intense as Africa. The fundamental contrast, however, was that the whole of China had at least a nominal government and was never taken over, made into a protectorate, or partitioned. Having behaved like jealous sisters in the scramble for Chinese ports, the Great Powers buried their rivalries in response to the antiforeign **Boxer Insurrection** in 1900 and cooperated in the comprehensive defeat of the revolt. They declined to partition the country, as each sought guaranteed maximum access to the Chinese market, along with the harbor rights entailed, at a minimal cost of administrative responsibility. The **Open Door** policy proposed by the United States, according to which extensive spheres of influence were forbidden to keep China open to all comers, secured the support of the British government as result of a convergence of interest. Whereas the United States as a latecomer did not want to be left out of China altogether, Britain sought to ease the direct cost of maintaining its worldwide empire and commercial interests. The Boxer Rebellion’s impact otherwise was to expose the final bankruptcy of the Qing. In 1903, Sun Yatsen praised the Fighting Fists for standing up to foreign bullies in a way that its impotent court had been unable to for the better part of a century. Thereafter China’s progress to the Revolution of 1912 gathered unstoppable momentum. *See also* Extraterritoriality; Japanese Empire; Portuguese Empire; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Ch'ing Dynasty

See Qing Dynasty

Chrysanthemum Throne

Based on the flower that is the official seal of the Japanese imperial family, the term *Chrysanthemum Throne* is a common English-language reference to the Japanese emperor. Although obscured by the warrior government that ruled Japan from the twelfth through early nineteenth centuries, the Japanese emperor became the ultimate locus of national authority after the toppling of the feudal regime in 1868. The 1889 Meiji constitution placed full sovereignty in the emperor. And although actual policy-making through the early twentieth century rested in the hands of the samurai founders of the modern nation, the emperor remained the ultimate symbol of nation and empire. That symbol would increasingly be imbued with spiritual and cultural, as well as political, significance and would become, by 1940, the focal point of a colossal new conception of a Greater East Asian world order. *See also* Japanese Empire.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Churchill, Lord Randolph (1849–1894)

The father of Winston Churchill and a prominent Conservative politician and Secretary for India in the Marquess of Salisbury's government of 1885–1886, Lord Randolph Churchill was largely responsible for the British annexation of Upper Burma in 1886. Born at Blenheim Palace on February 13, 1849, Churchill was the third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough. His political career began with election to Parliament in 1874, after which he emerged as the leader of "Tory Democracy," a progressive group of Conservative Members of Parliament who sought to secure a strong working-class vote for the government of Benjamin Disraeli by promoting its policies of social reform.

Churchill quickly made himself useful, and his rise to cabinet responsibility was rapid; after his tenure in the India portfolio he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Conservative leader in the House Commons, in each case the youngest member to hold the position for more than a century. Churchill was, however, of an impetuous temperament. He resigned after only five months because of quarrels with fellow ministers over budget estimates and never rose to cabinet level again, a lesson in unrealized potential. He was troubled by poor health for the remainder of his life.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (1874–1965)

Twice prime minister of the United Kingdom, Winston Churchill is remembered for his great achievement during World War II, especially during the period between the fall of France in June 1940 and the entry into the war of the United States in December 1941, when Britain stood alone against Nazi Germany.

In the pre-1914 period, however, Churchill was notable as an author on imperial wars, as a reforming cabinet minister, and as an energetic First Lord of the Admiralty. Educated at Harrow and Sandhurst, he was commissioned in the Queen's Own Hussars in 1895. In that same year, he took up a parallel vocation as a journalist, reporting on the Spanish campaign in Cuba. In 1896, he sailed with his regiment to India. Deploying his mother's extensive contacts in high places, he managed to attach himself to a punitive expedition to the northwest frontier in 1897, and to Lord Kitchener's reconquest of the Sudan the next year. During the latter, Churchill famously took part in one of the British army's last cavalry charges. Both experiences resulted in books, Churchill's *River War* on the Sudanese campaign being marked by a guarded sympathy for the defeated enemy, and remaining a valuable account. Resigning his army commission in 1899, Churchill went to South Africa as a journalist on the outbreak of the Second Boer War, but after taking command of the unsuccessful defense of armored train, he was captured by the Boers. His subsequent escape from prison in Pretoria and return to Durban via Portuguese East Africa made him a popular hero. He had stood unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1899, but in the "khaki" election of 1900, by now a national hero, he was successful.

Churchill crossed the floor to the Liberals in 1904 on the issue of free trade, the Tories having taken up the question of an imperial tariff wall. His crossing of the floor coincided with the rapid decline of Conservative fortunes and earned him a reputation as an opportunist. On the formation of a Liberal government in 1905, Churchill became undersecretary to the Colonial Office; as the Secretary, Lord Elgin, was in the Lords, Churchill represented the department in the Commons. When Herbert Asquith succeeded Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1908, Churchill became President of the Board of Trade—a cabinet minister at age 33. Under the influence of David Lloyd George, Churchill campaigned for the "peoples' budget" of 1909 and for the restriction on the powers of Lords contained in the Parliament Act of 1911. Although originally skeptical of higher naval spending, as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1911, he pushed for new and modern battle-ships, and for other technical innovations, such as submarines and aircraft. At the approach of war in 1914, Churchill ordered the fleet to move from its channel bases to its war station at Scapa Flow.

An aggressive advocate of the potential of naval power, he pushed the Dardanelles expedition of 1915, which of course went badly wrong, and cost Churchill the Admiralty. After a period in the trenches, he returned to office as minister of munitions, and then after the war at the War Office. Following his service as chancellor of the exchequer in the 1920s, Churchill's career once more seemed over, this

time because of his obstinate opposition to Indian self-government and his warnings about Hitler's rearmament. The rest, as they say, is history. *See also* Churchill, Lord Randolph; Fisher, Sir John; Navalism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Civil War

See American Civil War

Clark, William

See Lewis and Clark Expedition

Clausewitz, Carl von (1780–1831)

A Prussian general and military theorist, Clausewitz is best known for his magnum opus, *On War*. Born at Burg, near Magdeburg, Clausewitz joined the Prussian army in 1792 as a cadet and served on the Rhine front against the French from 1793–1794. He later trained at the War Academy in Berlin, where he became a protégé of Gerhard von Scharnhorst, a staff officer later to play a prominent part in the army reforms of 1807–1813. On the recommendation of Scharnhorst, Clausewitz was transferred to an appointment on the general staff. He was captured in the wake of the Battle of Auerstädt in October 1806. On his release three years later, Clausewitz assisted Scharnhorst and General Augustus Gneisenau in the complete reform and remodeling of the Prussian army. Clausewitz served in the Prussian contingent that formed the northern wing of the French invasion of Russia in 1812, but he defected to the Russians, with whom he served at the siege of Riga. He later persuaded General Yorck to sign the Convention of Tauroggen by which the Prussian contingent declared its neutrality. Clausewitz remained in Russian service until 1814, when he returned to the Prussian army and became chief of staff to Baron von Thielmann, one of the corps commanders at the battles of Ligny and Wavre during the *Waterloo* campaign of 1815.

In 1818, Clausewitz was promoted to major general and served as director of the staff college in Berlin until his retirement in 1830. Among his various books he wrote an account of his experiences on campaign in 1812, published posthumously, although his most highly acclaimed work, *Vom Krieg* (*On War*), also published posthumously, focused on the theoretical problems of war rather than on narrative history. Clausewitz argued that war constituted merely an extension of politics through violence—and therefore a natural tool of national policy. The supreme objective was the decisive encounter between the principal armies of opposing states, wherein the overwhelming success of one side enabled it to impose its political will on its opponent. This cardinal principle was applied with overwhelming success during Prussia's wars of unification (1864, 1866, 1870–1871) and the idea has become axiomatic since. Indeed, by extolling Napoleon's tactics and the principles he had applied to warfare as models of good generalship, Clausewitz ensured that his work

would become the standard, orthodox text for army officers and military theorists not only of his own century, but of our own. *See also* Liberation, War of; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850)

Negotiated and signed in Washington, D.C. by American Secretary of State John Clayton and the British Minister to the United States, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the treaty was a compromise between competing Anglo-American imperial ambitions in Central America. Both powers refused exclusive control over any transisthmian interoceanic canal project, but agreed to cooperate in its development and ensure its neutrality, guaranteeing to neither fortify nor exercise dominion over the route.

The project was a popular idea in both countries for years. The conclusion of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–1848) and the emerging Anglo-American rivalry for Oriental markets sharpened interest in a mid-hemispheric isthmus canal. Reacting to American territorial expansion in the Southwest and a treaty with New Granada (Colombia) that reserved canal rights through Panama for the United States, in 1848, the Russell Ministry augmented Britain's presence on the Mosquito Coast (parts of Honduras and Belize) to a protectorate. Domestic and foreign appeals prompted U.S. diplomats to negotiate commercial treaties with Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, the latter granting the United States perpetual rights to build, operate, and fortify a canal. Although none of the Central American treaties were submitted to the U.S. Senate for ratification, they were enough to spur the British to compromise with the United States.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was not without controversy, but it proved enduring. The Zachary Taylor Administration (1849–1850), which faced significant domestic opposition to the treaty, interpreted the noncolonization clauses to apply retroactively to Britain's existing colonies, but Westminster refused to relinquish Belize or the Bay Islands. From 1856 to 1860, amid heightened American filibustering expeditions, the United States and Britain quietly settled on the status quo, guaranteeing Britain's Central American possessions while allowing Americans to reaffirm their commitment to the Monroe Doctrine. The treaty remained in effect for a half century, but as the United States became increasingly involved in Latin American affairs and the British more attentive to Continental Europe, mutual cooperation required modification. The **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty** of 1901 abrogated the terms of Clayton-Bulwer, granting the United States rights to unilaterally construct, control, and fortify an isthmus canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was an early expression of American **Open Door** imperialism, which later became the stated policy of the United States, but also helped pave the way for eventual direct U.S. intervention in Latin America affairs. Anglo-American intrusion significantly disrupted local political alignments, altered traditional social relations, and permanently

rearranged Central American international relations. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore.

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JONATHAN GANTT

Clemenceau, Georges (1841–1929)

Twice French premier (1906–1909 and 1917–1920), Georges Clemenceau was a major radical figure of the Third Republic whose combative nature earned him the nickname “The Tiger.” He was born in Mouilleron-en-Pared on September 28, 1841. His political career began after becoming mayor of Montmartre in Paris in 1870. Even before the German unification was completed, as a deputy for Paris at the National Assembly at Bordeaux, he had voted against making peace with Prussia. He opposed colonialism on the grounds that it would divert national energies from the imperative of recovering Alsace-Lorraine, and he was a relentless opponent of Jules Ferry’s colonial policy.

Clemenceau’s career was damaged by the Panama Scandal but recovered when he championed the republican cause during the **Dreyfus Affair**. In his first premiership, his policies led to cementing friendship with Britain. The *Entente Cordiale* of April 1904 between France and Britain had led to formal recognition of the French influence in Morocco, and the First Morocco Crisis demonstrated the solidarity of the *Entente*. There was revival of nationalist feeling in France during his premiership nurtured in part by the revanchist spirit of Clemenceau’s policy. His government fell in 1909, but he continued to advocate greater readiness in case of a war and returned as a particularly energetic and effective wartime premier from 1917 to 1920. World War I made Clemenceau a legendary figure; indeed, his tough leadership in a struggle that nearly bled France white brought him the new title of “Father Victory.” At the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Clemenceau was the most forceful advocate of punitive peace terms for Germany.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Cleveland, Grover (1837–1908)

Because he served two nonconsecutive terms (1885–1889 and 1893–1897), Grover Cleveland is considered the 22nd and 24th President of the United States. He was born Stephen Grover Cleveland on March 18, 1837, in Caldwell, New Jersey. A Democrat in a Republican age, Cleveland nonetheless had a meteoric rise from mayoralty of Buffalo, New York to the presidency within four years. A courageous and upright man, he believed in the call of conscience in handling the external

affairs of the nation. He opposed the rising imperialist sentiment in the country, and in his second term refused the annexation of Hawaii. He was against assigning Hawaii the status of a protectorate, doubting that the U.S. Constitution could be made to work for a non-Caucasian society so far away, yet saw islands as an ideal location for a naval base to help defend the Pacific Coast. In the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute of 1895, Cleveland applied the **Monroe Doctrine**, a bellicose turn that annoyed the British government yet ultimately led it to agree to arbitration. Cleveland died in Princeton on June 24, 1908.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Cobden, Richard (1804–1865)

A British **free trade** and peace campaigner, Richard Cobden was possibly the most effective political activist of his time. Cobden was born to an unsuccessful farmer and shopkeeper in Sussex. After the failure of his father's business, he was sent away to a minor and abusive boarding school where he was extremely unhappy. Taken into an uncle's firm at age 15, he became a successful commercial traveler selling calico and other textiles. He learned French, read widely, and soon set up his own business.

In 1832, he moved from London to Manchester, where he continued to prosper. In 1835, Cobden published his first "pamphlet," a work of some 150 pages entitled "England, Ireland and America," under the pseudonym "a Manchester manufacturer." Cobden argued that Ireland and America were of far greater economic importance to England than any of the European countries with which traditional great power diplomacy concerned itself. Arguing that force could not make markets for bad or expensive goods, Cobden foresaw that the United States would soon be Britain's greatest economic competitor. He urged that wars and colonies be avoided, and taxes and debts reduced. In subsequent writings, he argued that not merely war but international diplomacy itself served only the interests of a parasitic aristocracy: "As little intercourse as possible betwixt the *Governments*, as much connection as possible between the *nations*, of the world," was one of his more compelling slogans. Colonies, for Cobden, were likewise of no commercial value, a doctrine reinforced by his reading of Adam Smith. The **Anti-Corn Law League** was started by a group of Manchester manufacturers in 1839 to oppose tariffs on imported wheat imposed after the Napoleonic wars. By the early 1840s, Cobden and his associate John Bright took the lead in organizing the league. Cobden's rural background and knowledge of Adam Smith enabled him to effectively frame the arguments for free trade as more than mere capitalist self-interest.

Elected to Parliament in 1841, Cobden became the Parliamentary spokesman for a national movement. Sir Robert Peel moved to abolish the Corn Laws in 1846, personally praising Cobden's advocacy. After the Corn Laws' repeal, Cobden toured Europe as the triumphant advocate of free trade and expressed great

confidence that Britain's move would be followed by other nations. Free trade, Cobden argued, would lead the nations of the world to appreciate their true interdependence, and thus to live in peace with one another. Cobden was offered the possibility of a place in the cabinets of both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, but he refused, wishing to maintain his role as the voice of principle. He was probably the most consistent and effective ideologue in Victorian England. Free trade assumed in England, if not elsewhere, a kind of totemic status, the cause of "protection"—tariffs—becoming in Benjamin Disraeli's words, "not merely dead, but damned." The Cobden Club, founded by leading Liberals after Cobden's death in 1865, adopted the device, "Free Trade, Peace, Goodwill among Nations," a classic statement of mid-Victorian bourgeois optimism. In the later years of the century, at a time when many considered Cobden's "little England" doctrines to be obsolete, his followers were among the most obdurate opponents of imperialism. *See also* Liberal Party.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Cochin China

Nam Kỳ, the southernmost region of contemporary Vietnam, was named *Cochinchine* by the French, who in 1858 occupied Da Nang on the coast to the north and from there moved southward. By early 1859, French forces occupied Saigon, and in 1862 the emperor of Annam ceded his provinces around the Mekong Delta. In 1867, these new possessions became officially France's new colony of Cochin China. In the wake of the sudden absence of the Annamite officials, French naval officers were forced to improvise an administrative apparatus, so they established a school for training staff from France in the customs of the country. After France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, however, the Third Republic abolished this system and replaced the naval staff with civil governors who made no attempt to learn the local language. French republican law was also imposed with ideological fervor, and its stress on individual liberty in a society constructed around the family unit was highly, and unnecessarily, disruptive.

In 1881, Cochin China was given the authority to elect a local deputy, but some of the administration and much of the commerce in the province were conducted by subject peoples of other French colonies. Despite the offense given to a local population thus doubly subjugated, Cochin China's fertile soil enabled the colony to generate sufficient revenue to make it financially independent of France. *See also* Indochina; French Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Code Napoléon

See Napoleonic Code

Colenso, Battle of (1899)

The third and most disastrous for British forces of three early engagements in the Second Boer War—the others being at Magersfontein and Stormberg—in which the Boer forces under General Louis Botha inflicted heavy losses on British regulars led by General Sir Redvers Buller. Buller subjected the Boers to a preliminary and ineffective bombardment before launching a frontal assault of three brigades against the Boer positions. As the Boers were in well-concealed trenches and firing German-made Mauser rifles loaded with smokeless cartridges, British forces were never sure of the exact location of their enemy. Buller's forces suffered 145 killed, 762 wounded, and 220 missing or captured. Of Botha's forces only 8 were killed and 30 wounded.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Colons

White settlers in France's overseas colonies. The term was usually applied to Algeria specifically or French North Africa more generally, as it was here that a particularly large white settler population posed the greatest threat to the indigenous population and in time constituted the greatest nuisance to the French government. *Colons* often came from poor economic backgrounds or were political exiles of the Second Empire, and many were not French but Italian, Spanish, and Maltese. Those with energy and an eye for the main chance quickly realized that in the newly conquered territories, they could secure a level of material comfort impossible for them in Europe. Native Algerians unfamiliar with European property rights could be persuaded to partition land hitherto held in common and sell off small parcels to *colons*, the most enterprising of whom within a generation employed them as landless wage laborers on prosperous estates. The *colons* also had full political representation in France, whereas native Algerians did not. The *colons* were therefore fanatical about maintaining France's overseas empire and, in the case of Algeria, made Algerian independence into a national crisis for France. *See also* Abd-al-Qādir.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Colony

The term *colony* is derived from the Latin *colonia*, which named an agricultural settlement created for soldiers who had finished their service. In English, until the late nineteenth century the term *colony* retained its etymological meaning, designating

a place to which settlers went, usually to establish themselves in agriculture. The term had connotations of natural, wholesome, and healthy expansion; “colonists” were engaged in bettering themselves, settling unimproved lands, and adding to the wealth of the world and of the nation.

Some mid-Victorian writers insisted that the **United States** was Britain’s best colony, because that was where British settlers found the best opportunities. The term had no necessary connotations of political subordination, and Victorians often compared their colonies to those of the Hellenistic world, which had of course not been governed from their home cities. Increasingly, however, influenced by the fact that the largest and most prominent British dependencies, those in **Canada** and Australasia, were also colonies in the etymological sense. It became common to refer to all imperial dependencies as “colonies.” The Royal Colonial Society, for instance, later the Royal Colonial Institute, was founded in 1868 and subsumed all imperial topics under the rubric of “colonial.” Although critics of imperial expansion often observed that many British possessions, particularly those acquired in Africa in the late nineteenth century, were not really colonies in the original sense, the term came to apply to all dependent territories, and therefore acquired by the twentieth century a connotation of subordination. Since World War II, the term *colonialism* has become a synonym for the term *imperialism* and has come to denote unjust political subjection. The British government at this writing still retains a small number of colonies but finds it necessary to refer to them as “British Overseas Territories.”

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MARK PROUDMAN

Commonwealth

Like its close cognate Commonweal, the term *commonwealth* implies the idea of a common good. The word came into use in the seventeenth century to name states deriving their legitimacy from a claim to pursue that good, as against legitimacy based on royal or prescriptive right. The term thus had republican connotations. The Commonwealth of England was the formal name of the English republic of Oliver Cromwell, and after the American Revolution former colonies such as Massachusetts named themselves commonwealths. The term was used occasionally in the pre-1914 period as a synonym for the **British Empire**, especially by those who wanted to emphasize its constitutional nature.

The Balfour Declaration of 1926 recognized all the **dominions** as being of equal status within “the British Commonwealth of Nations,” and became for a generation something of a synonym for the British Empire, particularly in discussions pertaining to the emigrant dominions. After World War II, the adjective *British* was dropped, and the Commonwealth devolved in the rather ethereal entity it is today. The name, which once clothed absolute authority, in the twentieth century served thinly to camouflage the dissolution of power.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Communism

Communism is a theory and system of social and political organization that negates the capitalist profit-based system of private ownership and argues for a communist society in which the means of production are communally owned. Largely shaped by the socialist movement of nineteenth-century Europe, modern communism derives its structural and logical core from the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. In the last half of the nineteenth century, the terms *socialism* and *communism* were often used interchangeably. Marx and Engels, however, came to see socialism as merely an intermediate stage of society in which most industry and property were owned in common but some class differences remained. They reserved the term *communism* for a final stage of society in which class differences would finally disappear, people would live in harmony, and the state would no longer be needed. Once again the meaning of the word communism shifted after 1917, when Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) and his Bolshevik Party seized power in Czarist Russia. The **Bolsheviks** changed their name to the Communist Party and installed a repressive, single-party regime clearly devoted to the implementation of socialist ideals.

The origin of the communist notion can be traced back to ancient times, such as in Plato's *The Republic*; or in the life of the early Christian Church, as described in the *Acts of the Apostles*. As early as the sixteenth century, Thomas More, in his treatise *Utopia* (1516), envisioned a society based on common ownership of property, whose rulers administered it by applying pure reason. Enlightenment thinkers such as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in Germany and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in France criticized the idea of private property. The upheaval generated by the French Revolution brought forth a flurry of communistic ideas. A revolutionary firebrand, Francois-Noel Babeuf (1760–1797) argued for the common ownership of land and total economic and political equality among citizens.

French socialist Louis Blanc (1811–1882) advocated “associations of workers” or “social workshops,” funded by the state and controlled by the workers. According to him, these would promote the development of balanced human personalities, instead of cutthroat competition encouraged by capitalism. Louis Blanc is perhaps the best known for developing the social principle, later adopted by Karl Marx that clarifies the distribution of labor and income. Another French revolutionary of the nineteenth century, Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805–1881), made an important contribution to communism, although by promoting the idea that a working-class revolution could not succeed without a small group of disciplined conspirators to lead the way.

In the late nineteenth century, Marxism increased in popularity, particularly in countries whose urban population was impoverished and whose intellectuals were given no voice in government. Marx and Engels flung themselves into national and international political movements dedicated to promoting socialism and their end goal of communism. They were active in the International Workingmen's Association—popularly known as the First International—an alliance of trade-union groups founded in 1864. A less disjointed union of socialist parties, the Socialist International (also known as the Second International), was formed in 1889 in Paris, France. Just before the revolution in Russia, in 1912 its constituent political parties claimed to have 9 million members.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Communist Manifesto (1848)

A pamphlet originally published in London in 1848 as a declaration of principles and objectives of the Communist League, a clandestine organization of expatriate German artisans and intellectuals. In 1847, the Communist League commissioned two new prominent members of the league, Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), to write a manifesto clearly stating its basic objectives and the underlying philosophy. Friedrich Engels first drafted *Principles of Communism* and handed it over to Karl Marx for revision. Drawing on Engels's *Principles*, Marx produced the theoretical and literary masterpiece that the world now knows as the *Communist Manifesto*. Among all the documents of the socialist movement, it is the most widely read, talked about, and hotly debated document. Manifesto is a carefully written systematic statement of a radical philosophy that was used to change political, social, and economic life of common people and finally come to be known as Marxism.

Although the *Communist Manifesto* was composed against the background of larger, long-term historical developments, it was written just before the outbreak of the 1848 revolution that swept across Europe—from France to Germany, Hungary, Italy, and beyond. In just a few weeks, one government after another fell. Although it cannot be said that the pamphlet played a major part in the events that followed, it is a product of that very specific time and that very specific revolutionary climate. In that historical fact lie both many of its strengths and some unresolved problems. The revolution, or revolutions, of 1848 took place in countries with diverse social, economic, and political conditions: from a relatively “developed” country like France, or parts of Germany such as the Rhineland, to “backward” areas like southern Italy or Transylvania. One thing they had in common, however, was that capitalism was not well advanced in any of them, and in some cases not at all. For all their differences, they all had predominantly rural populations. If the various continental revolutions had a common political program, it was not the overthrow of something like a capitalist system. It was rather the establishment of unified liberal or constitutional states with a degree of civil equality, inspired above all by the French Revolution. In some cases, like Hungary or Italy, the struggle for a more democratic state was closely linked with the fight for national autonomy.

At any rate, when Marx and Engels wrote the *Manifesto*, they did not believe that a socialist revolution, or a proletarian revolution of any kind, was in the offing. They briefly hoped that the events, and the failures, of 1848 might lead to something more, some further longer term development, a “permanent revolution” that would push beyond the bourgeois republic to proletarian rule and finally socialism. Any reader of the Manifesto must be struck by the fact that

the revolutionary hero of its eloquent narrative is the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary victories of the bourgeoisie were, of course, deeply contradictory for Marx and Engels, combining benefits and costs in equal measure. They hoped, and confidently expected, that the bourgeoisie's conquests would eventually be overtaken by the triumph of the working class and socialism. But even while the *Manifesto* calls workers to arms and foresees their emergence as a truly revolutionary force, it tells the triumphal story of the bourgeoisie. The impact of the *Manifesto* was nevertheless remarkable. It has been translated into all the major languages and has remained an inspiration for generations of socialists. *See also Communism.*

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Comparative Advantage

The idea of “comparative advantage” is a principal component of the doctrine of **free trade**; it was articulated most coherently in *The Principles of Political Economy*, published in 1819 by the economist **David Ricardo**. Developing ideas on national economic specialization also discussed by **Adam Smith** in *The Wealth of Nations*, Ricardo argued that a national economy benefits most from international trade by specializing in the production of goods and services in which it enjoys an advantage in efficiency relative to other national economies.

In an ideally free trading world economy, he maintained, each country would export the goods and services of which it is the most efficient producer, in terms of quality and price, but import those goods and services in which it is at a comparative *disadvantage*. The resulting international division of labor in a free trading world would therefore produce the highest quality goods and competitive prices. In practice, even governments nominally committed to free trade routinely protected industries in which they were less efficient as a result of the political costs imposed by uncompetitive domestic producers: electoral defeat at best, violent unrest at worst. Moreover, the doctrine was at odds with many of the economic motivations—ranging from privileged access to raw materials for industry to monopoly control of strategic materials crucial to survival in war—that prompted the Great Powers to seek overseas colonies.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Concentration Camps

Before their use as the internment and death camps built by Nazi Germany starting in 1933, *concentration camp* was a term coined by Lord Kitchener for internment centers developed as a counter to Boer guerrilla tactics in the final stages of the

Second Boer War. Kitchener attacked the very means of the Boers' sustenance by destroying their farms and livestock and herded Boer women and children, along with their black African laborers, into internment facilities. As a consequence of inadequate medical and sanitary standards, the camps were swept by disease and their populations devastated. A report later calculated that more than 27,000 Boers, 22,000 of whom were children, and some 14,000 black Africans perished in the camps. In 1900, Salisbury's government had won reelection in the "khaki election," partly on the back of popular enthusiasm for recent victories in South Africa. Now, Liberal Party and Socialist domestic critics of the war attacked the Conservative government's prosecution of the war as "barbaric," and the government itself felt mounting humiliation at its apparent inability to extract a Boer surrender.

Although Kitchener first used the term, he did not initiate the method. Reconcentration camps, as they were called, were used by Spain in Cuba during the rebellions of the 1860s and 1890s. In the latter instance, General Valeriano Weyler relocated 300,000 Cuba civilians sympathetic to the rebels. Here, too, thousands perished of hunger and disease. Liberals back in Spain denounced the policy, and the American press had additional outrage to justify the belligerent stand that ultimately led to the Spanish-American War.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Concordat of 1801

A form of truce signed by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), as First Consul of France, and the new Roman Catholic Pope, Pius VII (1742–1823). Roman Catholicism was recognized as the religion of the majority of French citizens, which came into full communion with the Vatican. The Concordat accepted supremacy of the state over the Church in the nomination of bishops. The general law of public worship of April 1802 was applied to other religious orders and clergy was placed under state laws. Although the concordat did not satisfy diehard anticlericals and devoted Catholics; it healed the schism between the priests, and Napoleon received the support of the papacy. When he was crowned Emperor in December 1804, the pope was present.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Confederation of the Rhine (1806–1813)

A puppet state created by Napoleon I after his abolition of the Holy Roman Empire. It was in effect a new constitutional arrangement for 16 states and territories of western Germany following on Napoleon's military successes at Ulm and Austerlitz in 1805. The Act of Confederation, established by a treaty signed in Paris on July 17, 1806, made some 8 million Germans subjects of the French Empire and bound states such as Baden, Bavaria, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Würt-

temberg to assist in the creation of an army of 63,000 men for their collective defense. The Confederation disintegrated after Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig in 1813 and the withdrawal of French forces. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Napoleonic Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Congo

See Belgian Congo

Congress System

A new form of diplomacy whereby the Great Powers agreed to meet at regularly fixed conferences, established by Article VI of the Quadruple Alliance signed in Paris on November 20, 1815 among Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The system was not, strictly speaking, meant to mimic the Congress of Vienna, which had met between 1814 and 1815 to discuss the political reconstruction of Europe in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, but rather to serve as an opportunity with which to hammer out their diplomatic differences and seek to maintain peace.

France was returned to the diplomatic fold at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (September–November 1818); at **Aix-la-Chapelle** the powers discussed affairs connected with the occupation and rehabilitation of France; at **Troppau**, in October–December 1820, the revolution in Spain, which had begun as an army revolt in January, occupied the chief concerns of the delegates, together with the crisis arising out of the Neapolitan revolt. Significantly, the three autocratic powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia maintained their right to military intervention in the name of the alliance in the event that revolution threatened the stability of other states. At **Laibach**, January–May 1821, the powers considered the constitution of Naples and the mandate given to Austria to march troops into Italy; and at Verona, October–December 1822, the Russians and Austrians sought to support a French expeditionary force dispatched to Spain to put down a revolt there. Russia also argued for intervention in the Greek revolt against Turkish rule. The British, represented by the Duke of Wellington, opposed this policy and withdrew from the conference before it concluded its business.

For France, the various congresses permitted her to reestablish her reputation as a stable nation dedicated to the balance of power and international cooperation against radicalism. As early as the Congress of Troppau, Britain attended with the status of little more than that of an observer, wishing to distant herself from the other powers' wish to interfere in the internal affairs of states whose autocratic governments stood at risk from revolution. So little did the Congress System appear to benefit her interests that Britain abandoned it after Verona. Austria, Russia, and Prussia met for a final congress at St. Petersburg in 1825, although when major differences arose between the first two, no further congresses were held. International conferences later met at Berlin in 1878 and, of

course, in 1919 at Versailles, where the delegates established a permanent system of conferences in the form of the League of Nations, the forerunner of the United Nations created in 1945. *See also* Balance of Power; Quadruple Alliance; Vienna, Congress of.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Conrad, Joseph (1857–1924)

Born Teodor Józef Konrad Korzeniowski, Polish-born British novelist Joseph Conrad used his experiences of more than 16 years in the British merchant marine and as a steamboat captain on the Congo River to give him the material for such novels as *An Outcast of the Islands* (1896), *The Nigger of the Narcissus* (1897), *Heart of Darkness* (1899), and *Lord Jim* (1900). Today widely considered one of the greatest modern writers in the English language, Conrad was one of an increasing number of serious writers who, in the late nineteenth century, made themselves intermediaries of the collision between the European world and the overseas indigenous cultures into which it encroached. In Conrad's work this involved immensely disturbing accounts of the brutalities committed in the pursuit of commerce or in the name of advancing civilization. The Congo Free State he characterized as "the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience." It served equally as the setting for Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* as it did for Roger Casement's report on abuses in the Upper Congo River rubber trade. *See also* Belgian Congo; Stanley, Henry Morton.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Conrad von Hötendorf, Franz (1852–1925)

A military leader of the late **Habsburg Empire** bearing significant responsibility for Vienna's policy in the crisis of July 1914. Conrad was born in November 1852 in Penzing in Lower Austria. Like his father, he joined the Austrian officer corps. In 1878–1879 and in 1882, he took part in military operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia, gaining battlefield experience. A general staff officer and teacher at the War Academy in Vienna, Conrad became known for his publications on battlefield tactics. As commander of an infantry brigade in Trieste and of an infantry division in the Tyrol, he became interested in war preparations against Italy. In 1906, on the behest of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, Conrad was chosen to succeed Friedrich von Beck-Rzikowsky as chief of the general staff of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces.

He launched a rigorous reform of the general staff and the system of maneuvers and training. War planning became more professional and war preparations were taken more seriously than before. With Italy and Romania being unreliable allies, and with Russia, Serbia, and Montenegro as probable enemies in a future war, the

strategic situation looked bleak to Conrad. A social Darwinist afraid of the dismemberment of the multiethnic Habsburg Empire in an age of nationalism, Conrad propagated preventive war as the only viable solution to Austria-Hungary's security problems. In 1911, he provoked a clash with the Foreign Office and lost his position by calling for a preventive war against Italy. After the First Balkan War, Conrad was reinstalled as Chief of the general staff in 1912, but the heir to the throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, was pondering a replacement when the assassination plot in Sarajevo changed the political landscape.

In 1914, Conrad did not have to persuade foreign minister Berchtold or the Emperor to risk a Great Power war. Relying on his agreement with the German general staff, Conrad ordered an offensive against Russia's armies. Russian victories brought the Austro-Hungarian army close to a complete collapse in 1914–1915 and again in 1916, but with German, and partly Bulgarian, support Habsburg armies scored victories over Russian, Serbian, and Romanian armies in 1915–1916. The Italian offensive, on the other hand, could be contained but not beaten. Conrad's leadership was shaped by overambitious operational plans and a striking disregard of the numbers and the morale of his troops. He lost his post again in 1917, served as commander of an army, and was sent into early retirement in 1918. After the war, Conrad started publishing his memoirs. He died in Bad Mergentheim in Germany in August 1925. *See also* July Crisis.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Conscription

Compulsory military service, in principle for all adult males, was increasingly the practice of all serious Great Powers in the late nineteenth century. With the exception of Britain and the United States, who were both secure against sudden invasion by land, all major powers accepted the notion that the triumph of Prussian armies over Austria in 1866 and France in 1871 pointed to the prudence of universal military training. The maintenance of large numbers of reservists capable of supplementing the strength of the professional army on short notice became the norm. The movement toward larger armies had been inaugurated by the French Revolutionary concept of the *levée en masse* and Napoleon's successful use of large conscript forces, but the prospect of general war in Europe retreated over the next half century to reemerge with united Germany's challenge to the continental balance of power after 1871.

Conscription's appeal to national governments thereafter gathered further strength from the intensification of Great Power competition within Europe. The popular appeal of European nationalist movements, along with the increasing commonness of men in uniform, meanwhile contributed to acceptance of the idea that service to the nation and experience of war was the rite of passage to manhood. Militarization of European society was thereby nurtured. Even socialist movements often used military symbols and values to further youth recruitment. Conscription among the rival powers also ratcheted up the prospective scale and cost of a European war, although after 1914 the reality was far worse than anyone had anticipated. *See also* Railways.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Conservative Party

A political party of the United Kingdom that introduced the term *conservative* in its current meaning into the English language. The party was not commonly known by that name until the 1830s. It traces its roots through the antirevolutionary politics of William Pitt the Younger to the eighteenth-century oppositional or “country” Tory party, and thence to the Anglican and royalist successors to the cavaliers of the English Civil War. By the 1820s, however, egalitarian political reform was gaining wide support, even among some Tories, and those generally opposed to reform and supportive of Anglican and aristocratic privilege came to describe themselves as “conservatives.” With the fracturing of Lord Grey’s Whig administration after the 1832 Reform Act, the Tories of Sir Robert Peel were able to attract a wider body of supporters by styling themselves Conservatives rather than Tories.

By the late nineteenth century, the Conservative Party, as it came to be known, was associated with imperialism, but it had not always been so. In the middle years of the century, self-assertive foreign policies were more commonly associated with Lord Palmerston, and plans for imperial expansion were often put forward by radicals. The Liberals, however, were also partisans of colonial self-government and were accused by Conservative leader Benjamin Disraeli of plotting “the disintegration of the empire of England.” Given at times to florid imperial rhetoric, Disraeli’s administration of 1874–1880 managed to become embroiled in a series of wars in Afghanistan and South Africa, which opponents linked to what was beginning to be called “imperialism.” Disraeli’s successor, Lord Salisbury, was able to use imperial feeling—and the parallel and far from unintended implication that the Liberals were lacking in imperial patriotism—to cement a broad-based “Conservative and Unionist” party. Imperialism, in the sense of support for the Empire, remained a key part of Conservative ideology through the 1950s, when the Suez crisis served to emphasize the extent of its costs and the paucity of its rewards.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Continental System

A policy of economic strangulation intended by Napoleon I (see **Bonaparte, Napoleon**) to cause fatal disruption to British commercial activity and concomitant advantage to French trade and agriculture. Unable to defeat Britain by direct invasion, Napoleon set out this grandiose objective through the Berlin Decree of November 21, 1806, which declared the ports of continental Europe closed to British trade. The Continental System was partly a response to British Orders in Council of January 1807 and others thereafter, which applied sanctions on maritime trade

with France. In reply, all British goods found in territories under French or French allied control were confiscated. After the Treaty of Tilsit with Russia in July 1807, Napoleon applied the system to Russian ports, from which considerable trade was carried on with Britain. In this respect the system began to have its intended effect. Napoleon issued the Fontainebleau Decree on October 13, 1807, followed by the First Milan Decree on November 23 to reinforce the Berlin Decrees. Harsher measures still came into force with a Second Milan Decree of December 1807, which authorized seizure of neutral vessels unless they could produce on demand a certificate indicating place of origin. If evidence showed that at any point in their journey they had docked at a British port, they were to be seized along with their entire cargo. Napoleon's Second Milan Decree stated that any neutral vessel that allowed British warships to stop and search it for contraband articles thereby lost its neutral status and could be confiscated as if it were British. Thus no vessel was free from the restrictions and depredations of either combatant; all nations, including the United States, found its maritime trade severely curtailed.

The system was effective in its early stages, but when it became clear that Spain and Portugal were evading its stipulations, Napoleon invaded the Iberian Peninsula, extending his conquests to an area over which he was never able to establish effective control and opening a theater of operations for the British. From 1810, moreover, Tsar Alexander began to flout the regulations, a course of action that ultimately led Napoleon to invade Russia two years later. The Continental System suffered from numerous flaws, not least that it was impossible for the French to monitor every continental port. The system proved unpopular with those over whom French rule extended, depressing economies and causing great resentment, especially in the Low Countries and the northern port towns along the Baltic. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Nelson, Horatio; Peninsular War; Russian Empire.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field

See Geneva Convention

Convention of 1818

See Anglo-American Treaty

Copenhagen, First Battle of (1801)

An early naval engagement of the Napoleonic Wars. Great Britain claimed the right to search neutral ships for what she considered inappropriate goods and even to confiscate them. This led Russian Tsar Paul I to get Denmark, Prussia,

Russia, and Sweden to form the League of **Armed Neutrality** of the North, a unity easier to obtain after the defeat of the Second Coalition. This move was a direct threat to Britain's attempted economic blockade of France and she was determined to act.

Of the League members, Denmark had the only significant naval force. Britain sent a force under Admiral Hyde-Parker of 26 ships-of-the-line, supported by a number of frigates and other smaller ships. Hyde-Parker was not particularly aggressive, but his second in command was Admiral Horatio Nelson, who was determined to destroy the Danish fleet. That fleet was anchored in an inner harbor and was well protected by coastal batteries and warships. While Hyde-Parker led an essentially diversionary move against the western front, Nelson took 12 ships-of-the-line and the support vessels against the main part of the Danish fleet. The battle raged all day, as Nelson pounded the center of the Danish line. Several ships ran aground and Hyde-Parker's effort to come in support of the attack was unsuccessful. The Danish flagship, *Dannebrog*, exploded, and one by one the Danish ships were silenced, if not boarded. Nelson's northern attack faltered, however, and to Hyde-Parker, who was watching from afar, it seemed that Nelson was losing. He signaled Nelson to withdraw, but Nelson was having none of it. He famously held his spyglass to his blind eye to "see" any signal, and the fighting continued. By late afternoon the British were winning, but both sides accepted a truce. Each side lost approximately 1,000 men. Denmark left the Armed Neutrality League, which in any event collapsed with the assassination of Tsar Paul on March 24, 1801. *See also* Copenhagen, Second Battle of.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Copenhagen, Second Battle of (1807)

A naval engagement of the Napoleonic Wars that followed the defeat of the Fifth Coalition and that lasted from August 16 to September 5, 1807. Great Britain was harassing Danish ships and relations between the two nations were cool. Napoleonic France was courting an alliance with Denmark, and Great Britain, anticipating hostility, chose to strike preemptively against the Danish fleet. On September 2, Britain sent 25 ships-of-the-line and 29,000 soldiers against the Danish capital of Copenhagen. For two nights the city was attacked and bombarded. The largely wooden city was badly damaged and more than 2,000 of its citizens killed. Disheartened, the Danish government surrendered its 17-ship fleet and a large quantity of stores. Britain's military objectives were achieved, but they came at a high diplomatic and political cost. Most of Europe, as well as the United States, condemned her unilateral and illegal action and the opposition party at home was equally outraged. Napoleon took good advantage of this diplomatic disaster and gained both stature and adherents to his **Continental System**. *See also* Copenhagen, First Battle of; Tilsit, Treaty of.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Corn Laws (1804, 1815)

British statutes that controlled the import and export of grains, the word *corn* being commonly used to denote a variety of basic food grains. The effect of the tariff on imports was to raise the price of food, but the 1804 law did not raise prohibitive opposition because of Britain's struggle against the **Continental System**. The Corn Law of 1815, however, was passed after the final defeat of Napoleon **Bonaparte** and was widely viewed as a duty to restrict the import of grain to protect the economic interests of the large landowners who dominated Parliament. Because it guaranteed enormous profits to agriculture while raising the price of food to the wage laborers of an industrializing economy, agitation against the 1815 Corn Law linked industrial interests and workers in a campaign for free trade and greater democracy. With the creation of the **Anti-Corn Law League** in 1839, Liberal reformers such as Richard **Cobden** tied their attack on protectionism to demands for both economic and constitutional reforms in Britain itself and in Britain's trading relationship with its empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Corunna, Battle of (1809)

Otherwise known as La Coruña, an early battle of the **Peninsular War**. British troops under the command of Sir John Moore were evacuated from Spain through the port of Corruna on the northwest coast. The evacuation began on January 14, but on January 15, a French army of 24,000 and 36 guns appeared at a point in the operation when Moore had fewer than 15,000 men and 12 guns left on land. Moore was killed in the action to beat off a French attempt at envelopment, and his successor command, Sir John Hope, led a gallant defense that inflicted heavy casualties on the French army under Marshal Nicolas Soult. Although the British expeditionary force was returned to England, it had lost immense quantities of material and had been forced to destroy almost all its horses. At this point the campaign on the Iberian Peninsula seemed a disaster. Anglo-Spanish relations were damaged, and Foreign Secretary George **Canning**, who had led Britain into the Peninsular War, faced a personal and political crisis. *See also* Wellington, Duke of.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

CPR

See Canadian Pacific Railway

Crete

An island on the eastern Mediterranean under the control of the **Ottoman Empire** since 1669 and a major battleground for the expansion of the newly independent

Greek state. The Cretans, Orthodox, and Muslims, the latter numbering 30 percent of the population, had lived relatively harmoniously for centuries, but the introduction of modernity resulted in nationalism coming to determine the response of the Orthodox Cretans to Ottoman rule.

Cretan revolts against Ottoman rule subsequently occurred, notably during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829), but the Ottomans maintained control of the island until 1830. In that year, by agreement of the European powers, Crete was ceded to Egypt, which in 1840 returned control of the island to the Ottoman Empire. Thereafter, friction between the Orthodox and Muslim Cretans resulted in successive rebellions by the Christians. There was a revolt in 1858, but a more serious uprising occurred in 1866. Greece prepared for war and made an alliance with Serbia, but British pressure prevented Greek intervention and the revolt collapsed.

In October 1878, the Halepa Pact provided for an assembly with a Christian majority. But in the 1890s, insurrections led the Porte to strengthen Ottoman direct rule and suspend representative institutions. In 1896, a full-scale revolt was led by a Cretan Liberal, Eleutherios Venizelos, and the next year Greek forces intervened on behalf of the insurgents. The ensuing war between Greece and the Ottoman Empire was terminated in 1898 when British, Russian, Italian, and Austro-Hungarian battleships and marines arrived to force the Ottoman army out. Crete was granted autonomy within the Ottoman Empire and, under pressure from the European powers, Prince George of Greece was made high commissioner.

George was popular at first, but he became autocratic, and popular unrest, led by Venizelos, forced him to resign in 1906. Despite insistent Cretan demands for annexation to Greece and support for that from various European powers, namely France and Russia, the island remained an Ottoman possession under international protection until 1912. A Cretan uprising in March 1912 resulted in the establishment of an independent provisional government, with the delegates installed in the Greek parliament the following October. By the terms of the Treaty of London of 1913, which ended the First Balkan War between Greece—joined by Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Romania—and the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans formally ceded Crete to Greece. The Muslim minority initially remained on the island but was later relocated to Turkey under the general population exchange agreed to between Greece and Kemalist Turkey in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. *See also* Kemal Mustapha.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Crimean War (1853–1856)

A Great Power conflict occurring midway between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I; it pitted the **Ottoman Empire** and its allies Britain, France, and Sardinia against the **Russian Empire**. The war had many causes, among which were Russia's ambitions in the Balkans and its ostensible desire for Constantinople, Anglo-Russian tensions over central Asia and access to India, the British public's distaste for the tsar as a result of his role in repressing the revolutions of 1848, Louis Napoleon's desire to play a leading part in European power politics, and a series of

obscure disputes about the status of Christians and their holy places in Palestine, then a part of the Ottoman Empire.

The latter disputes were the official *casus belli*, which led Russia to invade the Ottoman Balkan provinces in 1853. In November 1853, the Russian Black Sea fleet destroyed the Turkish Fleet at Sinope, which provoked a British ultimatum demanding the return to port of the Russian fleet. The British and their French allies declared war on Russia in March 1854. Allied forces landed in the Crimea in September of that year and advanced on Sebastopol. The allied armies shortly ran into troubles with supplies, disease, and the weather, notwithstanding initial victories. The episode of the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava in response to botched orders, immortalized by Tennyson, came to symbolize the incompetence of the army staff. The new technology of the telegraph and the presence of war correspondents brought the sufferings of the army rapidly to popular attention. Motivated by the descriptions of William Russell of the *Times*, Florence Nightingale led a party of nurses who reformed the infamous hospital at Scutari in Turkey, and impressed on the military authorities the importance of sanitation. A motion was made in the House of Commons for an inquiry into the conduct of the war in January 1855, as a result of which the government of Lord Aberdeen fell.

A government of a similar political complexion was formed under Lord Palmerston, who became prime minister for the first time with a mandate to prosecute the war with greater energy. Sebastopol was at length taken by a French assault in September 1855, a year after the allied troops had landed. Negotiations among the three major combatants resulted in the Treaty of Paris of March 1856, which in many ways restored the *status quo ante* with the qualification that the Black Sea was closed to warships. The Russians denounced the latter codicil in 1870, which is to say at the first opportunity. The Treaty of Paris was followed by the Declaration of Paris, which outlawed privateering, possibly the only enduring legal result of the Crimean war. The Crimean War had little effect on the expansion of European empires outside Europe. It did, however, mark the increasing importance of public opinion on the methods and conditions under which wars were waged. *See also*: Balkan Wars; Eastern Question.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Croatia-Slavonia

A kingdom created in 1868 by merging the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia. It was part of the Greater Hungarian kingdom. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 strengthened Hungarian sovereignty, but Croatia-Slavonia retained a privileged position within the framework of the kingdom of Hungary. With a clear South Slav majority, Croatia-Slavonia's ethnic composition differed profoundly from Hungary proper. The strongest group were Catholic Croats, but there was a sizable Serbian community as well. The Nagodba (Compromise) of 1868 provided for cultural and limited political autonomy. Nevertheless, Hungarian efforts to undermine Croatian autonomy and a struggle between rival versions of Croatian and South-Slavic nationalism led to political instability in Croatia-Slavonia in the early twentieth century. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Pan-Slavism.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Cromer, Sir Evelyn Baring, First Earl of (1841–1917)

A British diplomat and longtime proconsul in Egypt, Evelyn Baring was a younger son of the Baring banking family. Baring was sent to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and then posted to the Mediterranean, where he focused on learning Greek and Italian. After passing out first from the Staff College in 1870, he went to the War Office where he worked for the abolition of commission purchase under his cousin Lord Northbrook, the Liberal peer and junior minister. When Northbrook went to India as Viceroy in 1872, Baring followed him as private secretary. Baring acquired a reputation for self-confidence to the point of arrogance—he was known in India as “over,” as in over-Baring—and financial skill that led to his appointment as the British member of a commission on the Egyptian debt.

After the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, Baring went to Cairo, formally as British Consul, but in reality as a proconsul with final say over the policies of the Khedive’s government. Baring—or Lord Cromer as he became in 1892—reconstructed the Egyptian army and civil service under the leadership of British officers and officials, worked with some success to put the country’s finances, ruined by Khedivial excess, in order. Notwithstanding that the temporary occupation intended in 1882, Cromer and British opinion generally came to favor an extended British hold over Egypt, perhaps formalized as a protectorate, and often justified by the same kind of philanthropic rhetoric that had come to characterize the Raj. Following the death of General Gordon in the Sudan, Cromer temporized over future Anglo-Egyptian policy there, on the one hand wanting to preserve the prestige of the Khedive’s government and restrain other European powers, while on the other fearing the expense and difficulty of a reconquest. After many hesitations, the British finally sent Horatio Kitchener all the way to Khartoum in 1898. Cromer designed the government of the “Anglo-Egyptian Sudan” so as to preserve the myth of Egyptian independence. Cromer’s 1907 retirement from a long career as the ultimate authority in Egypt was marred by the scandal surrounding the Dinshawai incident of 1906, in which a number of Egyptians were hanged after an altercation with a party of British officers. In 1908, Cromer published *Modern Egypt*, a defense of his conduct there, and in 1910, *Ancient and Modern Imperialism*, a comparative study of imperialism that anticipated the work of modern scholars, especially in its remarks on imperialism and racial prejudice. Cromer presided over the 1916 commission of inquiry into the Dardanelles expedition and died the next year.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Cuba

The largest island of the Greater Antilles is located at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Between 1511 and 1899, Cuba was part of Spain's overseas colonial empire. During the nineteenth century, Cubans repeatedly struggled for independence of their island from the increasingly oppressive imperial center. The resulting Ten Years' War (1868–1878) produced limited political reforms but caused widespread destruction and damage to foreign, in particular American investments. Beginning in the 1820s, the United States had become a powerful commercial and cultural presence on the island and replaced Spain by mid-century as Cuba's most important trading partner with powerful investments in sugar, coffee, tobacco, iron ore and copper, railroads, telegraphs, and public utilities. This bilateral relationship, described by President William McKinley as "ties of singular intimacy," held special significance for both sides: Americans were attracted to Cuba for geostrategic and commercial reasons. Many regarded the island as a "natural appendage" to the United States and several administrations since the presidency of James Madison made repeated unsuccessful attempts to purchase the island from Spain. Many Cubans were equally attracted to American political freedoms, economic power, and popular culture, whereas others feared domination by the United States. The annexationists hoped to defend their own social and political status through further integration with the United States; the interventionists worked for ultimate independence after a transitional period of U.S. control; the nationalists were repelled by North American contempt for Hispanic culture and wanted complete independence from Spain and the United States.

Cuban rejection of Spanish rule resulted in two wars. Whereas the Ten Year's War prompted tightened Spanish rule, the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898) culminated with the U.S. intervention of 1898, ended Spanish colonial rule in 1899, and enabled the creation of a semi-sovereign Cuban Republic in 1902. The reasons for American military intervention of 1898 that resulted in the **Spanish-American War**, dubbed "the splendid little war" by Ambassador John Hay, encompassed public outrage over the brutal oppression of the Cuban population, in particular the strategy of forced removals, *reconcentrado*, initiated by General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau; the fear of geostrategic instability in the Caribbean; the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor, blamed on Spanish sabotage; and the desire to protect American commercial investments.

As the Teller Amendment to the U.S. declaration of war prohibited annexation and limited military occupation to Cuba's pacification, Americans developed alternative strategies for continued effective control over the island. The military occupation ended in 1902 after American troops had disbanded the Cuban revolutionary army, worked on infrastructure improvements, and laid the foundations for health and educational reforms. Through the **Platt Amendment** of 1901, which became part of the Cuban constitution, and the U.S.-Cuban Treaty of 1903, the United States reserved intervention rights, control over Cuban foreign and economic affairs, and base rights at Guantánamo Bay. Between 1906 and 1909, Cuba, which had effectively become a U.S. **protectorate**, was again placed under American military occupation with additional military interventions in 1912 and 1917. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Roosevelt, Theodore; Spanish-American War.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Cuban Reciprocity Treaty (1902)

A treaty reducing tariff barriers between the **United States** and the newly independent Republic of Cuba by 20 percent or more and successfully binding the Cuban economy to the United States. Since as early as 1899, representatives of the United States military government in Cuba had called for trade reciprocity as a way to rebuild the agricultural sector of the Cuban economy destroyed by the Cuban Revolution. Initial efforts met with stiff resistance in the U.S. Congress where representatives of the American Beet Sugar Association successfully countered a massive lobbying campaign organized by Military Governor Leonard Wood, Cuban sugar interests, and the American Sugar Refining Company. Efforts to pass legislation to lower the tariff and to ratify the treaty failed in 1902. Intense pressure from President Theodore Roosevelt, changes in the world economic situation, and the buyout of many in the beet sugar industry by the American Sugar Refining Company, allowed the treaty to pass in 1903. The treaty succeeded in binding the Cuban economy, primarily depended on agricultural products like sugar, to the American manufacturing economy.

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JAMES PRUITT

Curzon, George Nathaniel, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859–1925)

Viceroy of **India** and British foreign secretary, Curzon was a younger son of an ancient Norman family, and always had a burning desire to add luster to his family's name by conspicuous political achievement. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he had numerous connections to England's political elite. Curzon, however, acquired an early fascination with Asia and used that interest as a basis for his political career. He spent a number of years traveling in central and eastern Asia, explored the sources of the River Oxus, and published a series of respected volumes on Persia, central Asia, and the Far East.

First elected to Parliament as a member of the **Conservative Party** in 1886, he briefly held office as undersecretary for India in 1891–1892, where he supervised the passage through the Commons of the India Councils Bill, a first halting step to representative government in that country. After serving from 1895 to 1898 as undersecretary to the Foreign Office under Lord Salisbury, also prime minister, in

1899 he was made viceroy of India. It was as viceroy that Curzon made his name as the epitome of the ostentatious imperial governor, at the same time justifying his position by the improvements, moral and material, conferred on the governed. But through his ham-handed attempt to partition **Bengal**, the power base of the emerging Indian National Congress, Curzon also acquired a reputation as the enemy of Indian self-government. Leaving India under a cloud created by a long-running bureaucratic battle with Lord Horatio **Kitchener**, commander of the Indian Army, Curzon's political career appeared over.

He returned to active politics, however, in the wartime coalition cabinet of 1915, and in 1916 joined David Lloyd George's war cabinet. In 1919, he became foreign secretary, in which post he negotiated the Dawes plan concerning postwar reparations, the withdrawal of the French from the Ruhr, and the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, one of the most enduring of the post-World War I treaties. Curzon expected to be asked to form a government on the 1923 resignation of Andrew Bonar Law, but he was passed over, in part because he sat in the House of Lords, in favor of Stanley Baldwin.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Custoza, Battles of (1849, 1866)

Two engagements in the Italian Wars of Independence that occurred at Custoza in eastern Lombardy, southwest of Verona and south of the Lake Garda (Lago di Garda). During the Revolution of 1848, Italian nationalists, striving to establish an Italian nation state, tried to get rid of Austrian rule over most of northern Italy. The kingdom of **Piedmont-Sardinia** took the lead in those efforts in 1849. In the First Battle of Custoza on July 24, 1849, the troops of Piedmont-Sardinia were defeated by the Austrians under Field Marshall Count Radetzky. As a result of this victory, the **Habsburg Empire** was able to reestablish control over Lombardy and northeastern Italy, but nationalist leanings and resentment against Austrian rule were common in northern Italy throughout the 1850s.

With French support, Sardinia defeated Austria in 1859 and formed an Italian nation-state at Austria's expense. In 1866, an alliance with Prussia was formed to complete the expulsion of Austria from Italy. On June 24, 1866, the Italian army under King **Victor Emmanuel II** was beaten by Austrian forces under Archduke Albrecht of Austria despite Italian superiority in numbers. Like the naval Battle of Lissa, the second Austrian victory at Custoza was of political insignificance because Austria had already agreed to hand over Venetia to Italy and had no choice but to honor this obligation after the crushing defeat against Italy's ally Prussia at the Battle of **Königgrätz**. *See also* Austro-Prussian War.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Cyprus

An island of 3,572 square miles off the coast of Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean. The British Conservative government of Benjamin Disraeli occupied Cyprus in 1878 by virtue of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, which aimed to protect the Ottoman Empire from further Russian attack after the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish War, but protecting the Ottoman Empire was incidental to the aim of safeguarding British financial and strategic interests in the Near East and India. Disraeli's government perceived that Cyprus, with its central location and special place in the imperial imagination as a strategic base for various Crusades and the Venetians, would become a British stronghold. But neither his nor Gladstone's Liberal government made any effort to make Cyprus into a military or naval station. Within months of occupying Cyprus, most of the 10,000 strong army of occupation was withdrawn after the troops contracted fever from the summer heat and insalubrity of the plains. The Liberals and numerous naval experts criticized the selection of Cyprus because the island lacked a harbor. The port of Famagusta on the east coast was clogged, needed a breakwater, and was unhealthy. The Conservative government postponed the work.

When the Liberals came to power in 1880, they set in motion the future course of Cyprus until 1915. The island was run on the cheap to divert the tribute due to the Porte to pay for the defaulted 1855 loan repayments guaranteed by London and Paris. Consequently, expenditure on public works was curbed. There was a change only after Joseph Chamberlain became colonial secretary in 1895 and embarked on an expensive program of improving sericulture, agriculture, and irrigation; constructing a railway; and improving the inner harbor at Famagusta. The success of the works was mixed and had no aim to alter the place of Cyprus in the strategic structure of the Empire. This position was fixed in 1888 when the Colonial Defence Committee established that Cyprus was not worth defending and was indeed a defense liability. It accordingly advocated the removal of the British garrison, which was subsequently reduced, first by a Conservative government in 1892 and then by the Liberal government in 1895. Subsequent efforts to remove all of it failed because the Colonial and Foreign Offices were concerned about the rise of Greek nationalism and the potential clashes that may result from calls within the island to unite Cyprus to Greece.

The population of Cyprus, which was 74 percent Orthodox Christian and 24.5 percent Muslim in 1881, was multicultural during Ottoman rule, but by 1912 British policy had allowed for the rise of Greek nationalism to divide the population into a multinational society. The Cypriots were integrated during Ottoman rule: the Cypriot hierarchy and governing councils comprised Orthodox and Muslims. The peasants shared economic hardships; a language based on a mixture of dialects, various Greek, Ottoman, Medieval French and Venetian; a folklore; and interacted socially, even intermarrying. Between 1850 and 1890, mixed villages increased by more than 100. The British, who rejected occupying Crete because of the threat of Greek nationalism there, failed to maintain the structures that had produced this multicultural society. They rejected coopting an Orthodox Church willing to work with them and desirous of preserving Orthodox-Muslim integration, because such a relationship conflicted with modern ideas of civil government. Cyprus, unlike most

other possessions where cooption had been practiced, was perceived as being on the European periphery. Hence, the island received a legislative council in 1882 that had a local majority, *Katharevousa*. An artificially created version of Greek adopted by the Greek state was accepted for government business, English was not introduced to schools, and the nationalist curricula of Greece were adopted. Furthermore, because early opposition was minor, the British did nothing to curb the rising agitation of a small but vociferous group of Greek nationals and local Cypriots imbued in the Hellenic ideal, which instilled fear in the Muslim community. In 1912, the Orthodox and Muslim Cypriots clashed in Nicosia and Limassol and the garrison and reinforcements from Egypt were called in.

By 1912, Cyprus had become unviable economically, politically, and strategically to the extent that the Liberal government of Herbert Asquith wanted to cede the island to Greece. Winston Churchill, then the first lord of the admiralty, along with David Lloyd George, made such a proposal to the prime minister of Greece, Eleutherios Venizelos, in 1912. The context was the protection of British interests in the eastern Mediterranean after much of the British naval presence was withdrawn to the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic to combat the rising German threat. Churchill wanted to give Cyprus to Greece in exchange for being allowed to establish a naval base at Argostoli Harbor on the island of Cephallonia in the Ionian Sea to block the Austro-Hungarian fleet. Talks were postponed because of the instability in the Balkans stemming from the Balkan Wars and the outbreak of World War I. *See also* British Empire; Eastern Question; Royal Navy.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

D

Dalhousie, George Ramsay, Ninth Earl of Dalhousie (1770–1838)

Governor-general of **Canada** from 1828 to 1838, Dalhousie served extensively in the Napoleonic wars, rising to the rank of lieutenant-general during the Peninsular campaign. In 1816, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, where his support for nonsectarian education led to the founding of the university that now bears his name, on the model of the University of Edinburgh. Appointed governor-general of Canada in 1819, he fell into quarrels with French-Canadian politicians about the prerogatives of the executive and control of finances. His aggressive intervention in a local election led Colonial Secretary William Huskisson to transfer Dalhousie to India, where he served as commander-in-chief of the army.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, First Marquess of Dalhousie (1812–1860)

Son of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie, James, first marquess of Dalhousie, was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford. He became a convinced Tory. Elected to Parliament in 1837, he joined the cabinet of Sir Robert Peel as president of the Board of Trade in 1845. After the fall of Peel, he refused an offer to join Russell's government. Russell appointed Dalhousie governor-general of **India**, where he served from 1848 to 1856. Dalhousie pursued a policy of internal economic modernization and external expansion within what were called the natural frontiers of India. He energetically pushed **railway** and **telegraph** building, within the limits of the **East India Company's** finances, and made it a matter of policy that the law should apply equally to all, regardless of religion. Externally, under Dalhousie, the Sikhs were defeated and the Punjab annexed, and the doctrine of "lapse," which stated that Indian states without a clear succession should

come under company rule, was enunciated. Dalhousie's annexation of Oudh, along with the rapid modernization he set in motion, has been blamed for the mutiny that followed shortly after his departure from the subcontinent. *See also* Burma; Indian Mutiny.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Danish West Indies

Also known as the Danish Virgin Islands, these islands in the northeastern Caribbean's Lesser Antilles accounted for all the Danish New World colonies. They consisted of settlements on the islands of Saint Thomas (28 square miles), Saint John (20 square miles), and Saint Croix (84 square miles). The Ciboney, an Arawak-speaking people, first inhabited the islands. Around 1300, the Caribs migrated to the islands of the Caribbean Sea from northeastern South America. Caribs had conquered the Lesser Antilles when Christopher Columbus and his crew became the first Europeans to visit the Caribbean.

During the seventeenth century, the Virgin Islands were divided between **Denmark** and Britain, although the British occupied the Danish islands from 1801–1802 and 1807–1815. Denmark's first settlement on Saint Thomas in 1655 failed. In 1670, Christian V ascended to the throne of Denmark and Norway. The next year, the new king chartered the West India Company in Copenhagen to resettle Saint Thomas. In May 1672, Governor Jorgen Iversen arrived with settlers, many of whom were indentured servants and convicts, and established the town of Charlotte Amalie, named in honor of the wife of King Christian V.

Company land grants attracted immigrants and a lucrative plantation economy emerged. Most were not Danes, but other Europeans, including Dutch, English, and French settlers. The planters' labor needs were met by importing African slaves, the first slave ship bringing 103 Africans in 1673. African slaves, who vastly outnumbered Europeans in the Danish West Indies, primarily produced sugar, along with cotton, indigo, and tobacco. In 1674, the company changed its name to the West India and Guinea Company, reflecting merged Danish interests in both West Indian and African colonies. The company claimed Saint John in 1684 but did not settle it with colonists and slaves from Saint Thomas until 1718.

Saint Thomas opened its harbor in 1724 to the flags of all nations and subsequently thrived as a free port trading center. Saint John also became a free port 40 years later. Slave-cultivated agricultural commodities remained the basis of the Danish West Indies' prosperity throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Dependence on slave labor was problematic and authorities brutally suppressed several slave revolts. Newly arrived slaves from the West African kingdom of Akwamu led the most infamous rebellion, which destroyed a quarter of Saint John's plantations in November 1733. That same year, Denmark purchased Saint Croix from France.

Convinced by private investors' arguments that the company monopoly was no longer necessary to colonize the West Indies and was impeding the nation's economic

progress, the Danish government bought out the shareholders and liquidated the company in 1754. The following year, the Danish Crown took over administration of the islands. Crown rule increased economic prosperity. Freed of the company's monopoly, planters could now sell their products at higher free-market prices. A Lutheran mission under the national church of Denmark was also created after the establishment of Crown rule.

Slavery in the Danish West Indies accounted for nearly 90 percent of the total population from the 1750s to the 1830s. The slave population peaked at 35,000 in 1802, the year before abolition of the slave trade restricted the slave supply, despite persistent illegal importation. An ordinance in June 1839 provided for free and compulsory education in the islands for both freepersons and slaves. Literacy became a distinctive feature of the Danish West Indies thanks to state support, the Lutheran Church, Moravian missionaries, and black educators.

Only those considered white could vote and hold office before April 1834, when a royal decree granted all "free people of color" the status of citizens, allowing them full legal and economic rights. In 1847, King Christian VIII issued a decree of free birth and declared the emancipation of all slaves in 12 years. Thousands of impatient slaves gathered in Frederiksted, Saint Croix in July 1848 to demand immediate freedom under the leadership of the slave Moses Gottlieb, also known as General Buddhoe. Consequently, the startled Governor-General Peter von Scholten issued an emancipation proclamation on July 3, 1848, which the Crown soon confirmed; however, financial qualifications continued to restrict the franchise to economically privileged men.

The Labor Act of 1849, which regulated and restrained the newly freed workers, established a system of yearly contract labor to replace slave labor. Opposition to the system erupted into violence on contract day in Frederiksted on October 1, 1878. Protesters pillaged and burned homes and shops in town, along with plantations and cane fields in the countryside. Mary Thomas, hailed as Queen Mary by her supporters, was one of the leaders of the rebellion, which led authorities to abolish the act and allow contract negotiation. The first labor union in the islands was organized by D. Hamilton Jackson in 1915.

Profits from plantations, commerce, and shipping dwindled in the Danish West Indies after the mid-nineteenth century. In 1850, Denmark ceded its properties in West Africa to Great Britain. Continuous budget deficits bolstered economic arguments in Denmark for selling the Danish West Indies to the United States, which first became interested in buying them during the American Civil War. Denmark desired to sell the islands for economic reasons, whereas the United States wished to purchase them for strategic purposes. The United States sought the islands as a naval base for controlling the sea lanes between the Panama Canal, which opened in 1914, and southern U.S. ports and Europe. Fearing that Germany would acquire control over the islands during World War I, the United States paid \$25 million for the Danish West Indies. Formal transfer of the islands, henceforth known as the United States Virgin Islands, took place in March 1917. The islands have the distinction of being the most expensive land acquisition in the history of the United States.

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DAVID M. CARLETTA

Danubian Principalities

Moldavia and Wallachia, located astride the mouth of the Danube River where it empties into the Black Sea, were known as the Danubian Principalities. They were provinces of the **Ottoman Empire** from the thirteenth century, were occupied by Russia during the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, but were recovered in the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji in 1774. The Porte nonetheless acknowledged Russia's right to intervene in the principalities on behalf of the Christian peoples living there. This Russian protectorate over Danubian Christians led to occupation from 1829 to 1834 and had the effect of making them autonomous. Russia intervened again in 1848 to put down a nationalist vote in Wallachia and in 1853 reoccupied them to apply pressure on the Ottoman Empire during the diplomatic dispute that ultimately led to the **Crimean War**.

From 1854 to 1857, the Principalities were occupied by Austria to keep peace on the Lower Danube between the Ottoman and **Russian Empires**. Russia sought to make the provinces formal protectorates, but in 1856 the Treaty of Paris gave a Great Power guarantee to their continuing autonomy. In 1858, they merged into Rumania yet remained within the Ottoman Empire until the Treaty of San Stefano concluding the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 made them fully independent. *See also* Eastern Question.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Dardanelles

A waterway connecting the Aegean Sea with the Sea of Marmara and separating Europe from the Asian mainland. In the eighteenth century, Russia emerged as the major antagonist of the Ottoman Empire, in part because of the desire to dominate the Black Sea and have access to the Mediterranean Sea. The question of the Dardanelle Straits thus became important strategically.

Control of passage through the Dardanelles was an Ottoman prerogative so long as the Black Sea remained its lake, but when Russia gained a foothold there in 1774, the rules governing passage became contested. As a consequence of the Ottoman Empire's defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829, St Petersburg forced the Porte to sign the Treaty of **Inkiar Skelessi** in 1833, which closed the straits to warships of countries other than those of Russia.

The treaty alarmed the other European governments, especially the British, who feared the consequences of Russian expansion in the Mediterranean. The British government saw its chance to overturn Russia's advantage and joined the Ottomans to defeat Muhammad Ali, the ruler of Egypt, whose armies threatened the disintegration of the **Ottoman Empire**. The successful military intervention of European powers resulted in the **London Straits Convention** in July 1841, where Russia agreed that only Ottoman warships could traverse the Dardanelles in peacetime. Consequently, the Ottoman government let the British and French fleets through the straits to attack the Crimea during the **Crimean War** in 1853. The Congress of Paris in 1856 reaffirmed the London Straits Convention, and it remained theoretically in force into the twentieth century, although it was broken numerous times, notably by the British in 1878.

During World War I the Entente Powers tried to seize the Dardanelles in an effort to knock the Ottoman Empire out of the conflict, but they failed. Winston **Churchill**, the First Lord of the Admiralty, strongly advocated the attack over the expedition on Alexandretta favored by War Secretary Lord **Kitchener**. The failure damaged Churchill's career. Sir Ian Hamilton's Mediterranean Expeditionary Force failed to capture the Gallipoli peninsula and a withdrawal was ordered in January 1916. *See also* Eastern Question; Russian Empire.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Darwin, Charles (1809–1882)

The immensely influential theorist of evolution, Charles Darwin was the grandson of the biologist Erasmus Darwin and was descended on his mother's side from the Wedgwood pottery family, which made him independently wealthy. After failing to do well in medicine, Darwin was educated in theology at Cambridge, being intended by his family for a clerical career. He had always been fascinated by botany and zoology, however, and was recommended by one of his Cambridge tutors as a naturalist on the proposed expedition of HMS *Beagle*. The *Beagle's* mission was hydrographic, and Darwin went along as a supernumerary, thus giving him considerable time during the five-year voyage from 1831 to 1836 to explore and to collect zoological, botanical, and geological specimens. Darwin published a significant number of scientific articles as a result of the voyage, along with a memoir.

Darwin's numerous writings made him famous in the scientific world, and he became a member of, among others, the Athenaeum, the Royal Society and the Linnean Society. Dating back to his voyage on the *Beagle*, Darwin had suspected that both continents and species changed over time, an idea shared by many contemporary naturalists and geologists. He found in Thomas Malthus's *Essay on Population* the theory of competition for resources that he needed to explain change in species. Darwin also supported his theorization with experiments on the breeding of plants and animals. Friends put him in touch with A. R. Wallace, who had contemporaneously come to similar conclusions about species change, and the two

wrote simultaneous papers for the Linnean Society in 1858. The next year, Darwin published his epochal *Origin of Species*. In 1871, Darwin published *The Descent of Man*, which applied his ideas to the evolution of humans, although he was by no means the first to do so.

For much of his life in frail health, Darwin was not a controversialist, and he left public polemics to supporters such as T. H. “Darwin’s bulldog” Huxley, himself taking refuge in botanical researches. Darwin was, from his earliest years, opposed to slavery and believed that all humans were essentially biologically the same; indeed he went so far in egalitarianism as to note the similarity of human and animal suffering. In religion he was basically a liberal Anglican, although his faith weakened later in life and his precise religious and political views have been controversial. He would not have recognized some of the more bellicose and dogmatic among the ideas that came to be called “Darwinism,” especially in its more extreme social Darwinist variants. *See also* Social Darwinism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

David, Jacques Louis (1748–1825)

One of the greatest of the French neoclassicist painters. Among his most famous works, the *Oath of the Horatii*, completed in 1784, idealized the classical virtues of stoicism and masculine patriotism and established a severe yet seductive aesthetic David applied to his support for the French Revolution, most effectively in his *Death of Marat* painted in 1793. A supporter of Maximilien Robespierre, who voted for the execution of Louis XVI, David was imprisoned by the Directory but saved by the intervention of his estranged wife. Less a committed revolutionary than an avid propagandist for the heroes of his age, David promptly transferred his loyalty to Napoleon Bonaparte after 1799 and produced, in works such as *Napoleon Crossing the Saint Bernard* and the *Sacre de Joséphine*, the opulent and romantic image for which the first military genius and tyrant of modern times is remembered. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that the subsequent idealized legacy of Bonapartism to French politics was in part the work of David’s brush.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Deák, Ferenc (1803–1876)

A Hungarian statesman, Ferenc Deák was born in Söjtör, Hungary, in October 1803. His father belonged to the landowning elite of Hungary. Ferenc Deák studied law, joined the civil service, and became a member of the Hungarian Diet for the first time in 1833. As a leader of the reform movement, Deák grew to political prominence. The Revolution of 1848 led to a new independent Hungarian ministry, and

Deák served in this government as minister of justice and was therefore responsible for drafting the “April Laws” of 1848, the legal basis for Hungarian independence under a Habsburg king. He left government in September 1848 and his political career suffered a severe setback in the aftermath of Hungarian defeat in the war against Austria in 1849.

In the following decade of neoabsolutist rule, Deák was the leader of the opposition in Hungary and played a decisive role in the negotiations with the Viennese authorities that finally led to the *Ausgleich* of 1867. The reestablishment of Hungarian independence within the framework of the Dual monarchy was the major achievement of Deák and his supporters. He died in Budapest in January 1876. *See also* Austria-Hungary; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Decembrists (1825)

A group of Russian nobles who staged a failed coup d'état. During the first half of Alexander I's reign, Russia's educated elite, encouraged by the tsar's liberal tendencies, had high hopes for the possibility of reform. These intellectuals, many of them military officers, had been educated in the ideas of the Enlightenment. After Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of 1812, many had experienced life in the West during Russia's subsequent invasion of France and became aware that Russia's political system and social structure were exceedingly conservative and repressive. When Alexander became more conservative after 1812, they formed secret societies that eventually discussed overthrowing the monarchy. When Alexander died in December 1825, confusion over succession to the throne gave the Decembrists the perfect opportunity to stage their coup. The new tsar, Nicholas I, hesitated but finally used force and crushed the rebellion. Many of the participants were exiled and five were hanged. *See also* Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Delcassé, Théophile (1852–1923)

A French journalist and statesman, Théophile Delcassé may be regarded as the founder of the Third Republic's strategic diplomacy. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1889, he held various cabinet posts throughout his distinguished career in government. Delcassé was a staunch supporter of France's colonial ambitions, and as minister of colonies authorized Marchand's expedition to Fashoda. He is also known for his diplomatic efforts to cordon off the German Reich through a system of alliances.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1898 and 1905, he labored to tighten the Franco-Russian alliance and was instrumental to the signing of the Anglo-French **Entente Cordiale** in 1904. He was criticized by his opponents for his uncompromising and allegedly bellicose anti-German policy and was forced to resign on June 6, 1905, in the midst of the **Moroccan Crisis** and its attending rumors of war. As naval minister from 1911 to 1913, Delcassé worked to strengthen Anglo-French naval cooperation, particularly in the Mediterranean, in anticipation of war. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; French Empire.

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SERGE RICARD

Delhi, Battle of (1803)

A key battle of the Second **Maratha War** in **India**. When war broke out between the Marathas and the British **East India Company** in August 1803, General Louis Bourquein took command of the French-trained Maratha infantry in north India. Bourquein decided for a battle near Delhi on the bank of the Hindun River, a tributary of the Jamuna. He deployed 100 guns for support of the infantry. To prevent any outflanking move by the company's cavalry, the two flanks of the Maratha line rested on marshes. When, on September 11, 1803, General Gerald Lake, commander of the company's force in north India, discovered the Maratha position on the bank of Hindun, his infantry was still half a mile in the rear. Lake needed to buy some time to allow his infantry to come up. So he ordered his cavalry to charge the Maratha line. When the Maratha artillery opened fire, Lake's cavalry turned back.

The Marathas believed that the company's troops were retiring in confusion and left their entrenchments to come out in pursuit. Lake immediately ordered his cavalry to turn back and charge the Maratha infantry. The Maratha infantry, in their eagerness to attack, had broken ranks. Now they were disordered as a result of the sudden counterattack of Lake's cavalry. At that juncture, the company's infantry arrived. As they advanced, Maratha artillery opened up with grape and chain shot. When the infantry advanced within 100 yards of the Maratha artillery line, they brought their muskets at their shoulder level and fired a volley. After firing, they charged with their bayonets at the Marathas who broke and ran. Lake's army suffered 485 casualties and the Marathas lost more than 1,500 men. The Marathas vacated the fort of Delhi, and on September 15, Lake occupied it without opposition.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Delhi, Siege of (1857)

A grinding and bloody engagement of the **Indian Mutiny**. On May 11, 1857, the Third Cavalry rebelled at Meerut and started for Delhi. The next morning the

troopers entered Delhi, cut down the British garrison, and proclaimed Bahadur Shah as Emperor. General Henry William Barnard the commander-in-chief of India cobbled up a force and, on June 5, reached Alipur, 10 miles from Delhi. On June 7, Brigadier Archdale Wilson's Meerut Brigade crossed the Jamuna River and joined Barnard's force. Then they took up position before Delhi.

The commander of the rebel army at Delhi was Bakht Khan, an ex-subedar, a rank equivalent of sergeant in the Indian army, of the British East India Company's artillery. The city of Delhi situated on the right bank of the Jamuna was surrounded on the north, west, and southern sides by a stone wall that was five and half miles long. The wall on the eastern side of Delhi was two miles long and ran parallel to the river. The wall was 24 feet high and around it ran a dry ditch 25 feet wide and 25 feet deep. The rebel guns of Delhi bombarded the British batteries constructed by the Punjabi sappers. The rebels repeatedly launched infantry attacks for capturing the British outposts, but they were turned back by grape shot.

With the arrival of the siege train in front of Delhi on September 7 1857, the company's troops numbered 12,588. On September 14, 1857, after intense bombardment by 18 and 24 pounder guns, the company's soldiers organized in four columns and assaulted Delhi, held by 30,000 rebels. Inside Delhi, the fighting was furious. The narrow streets were barricaded and swept by guns. The rebels took positions behind the windows and on the roofs of the houses and shot at the British soldiers. On the first day of the assault, the company's troops were able to capture only one-sixth of the town and suffered 1,166 casualties. Six days of street fighting finally secured the city for the British forces at the cost of some 4,000 casualties. Rebel losses are unknown. *See also* Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun Ramsay, First Marquess of Dalhousie; Lucknow, Siege of.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Denmark

In 1800, the Scandinavian country of Denmark was an absolutist monarchy with overseas colonies; by 1914, it was a parliamentary democracy. The possession of the **Danish West Indies** in the Caribbean—St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John—made Denmark an imperial power, albeit on a minor scale. Sugar production was quite profitable until the abolition of slavery in 1848. Danes were also heavily engaged in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Danish islands were sold for \$25 million to the United States in 1917 and became part of the Virgin Islands. From 1620 to 1845, Denmark also held the island of Trankebar (present-day Tarangambadi), southeast of India. From 1750 to 1848, attempts were also made to colonize the nearby Nicobar Islands but failed.

Denmark gained control of the North Atlantic islands of Greenland, Iceland, and the Faeroe Islands by dynastic tradeoffs in 1380. On Iceland, a series of disasters—ranging from volcanic eruptions to epidemics—led to serious considerations of evacuating the whole population to Denmark, but after the mid-eighteenth century the situation improved, and by the nineteenth century cottage industry and

fisheries flourished. Political upheaval in Europe and change in Denmark also led to reforms demands in Iceland. The Althing, the medieval Icelandic parliament, was resurrected in 1843 and a constitution promulgated in 1874. From 1854, Iceland also had status of a free trade area. Iceland became autonomous in 1918 and fully independent from 1944. The Faeroe Islands had a parliament of medieval origin until 1816 that was reestablished as a provincial council after the Danish constitution came into force in 1849, but a growing awareness of local cultural identity lead to a forceful movement of national revival that has lasted into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Denmark was initially a member of the League of **Armed Neutrality** and then joined the Napoleonic Wars war on France's side in 1799, a move that heralded disaster. In 1801, the capital of Copenhagen was shelled by the Royal Navy, and in 1807, the British captured or destroyed the entire Danish navy. The 1814 peace treaty of Kiel forced Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden and Helgoland to the British. The West Indies was occupied by Britain but was returned after the war. German unification threatened Schleswig and Holstein, which the Danish king ruled as duchies, and in 1864, Austria and Prussia conquered the two duchies and parts of remaining Jutland. The latter territory was returned to Denmark in 1920 after the German defeat in World War I, in which Denmark remained neutral. The Napoleonic Wars also led to an economic crisis that lasted until the establishment of a central bank in 1818 and also a crisis in the agricultural sector that lingered until 1828 as a result of low grain prices. The already efficient Danish farming sector improved its output, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Falling grain prices again in the 1870s stimulated the emergence of export-oriented dairy farming and a mechanization of production. Agricultural produce such as eggs, bacon, and butter accounted for 85–90 percent of Danish exports, Great Britain being the major market. From the 1880s, cooperatives owned by the farmers themselves did most of the food processing, thus creating a market-oriented rural class.

Economic problems fed growing demands for political reform around the mid-nineteenth century, and a constitutional monarchy was established in 1849, the year after the great upheavals of 1848 all over Europe. Civil liberties were guaranteed and a bicameral legislature, the lower-house Folketinget and the upper-house Landting, was introduced, while the King retained partial legislative powers. As a consequence of the defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864, Denmark was forced to surrender its claim on Schleswig-Holstein and thereafter was vulnerable to German power. Conservative, wealthy landowners controlled a reformed upper house; but after 1864, modern political parties emerged, the conservative *Højre* and liberal *Venstre* being the dominant factions. The emerging urban working class became politically more active from the 1870s, and the Social Democrat Party was established in 1880. Organized labor followed a confrontational line until 1899, when disputes between employers and employees became institutionalized and subject to negotiations and general agreements. The Social Democratic party was voted into the Folketing in 1884. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Denmark saw a process of further democratization of the constitution and introduction of parliamentarianism in 1901, giving the Folketing a dominant position over the Landting and the King. *See also* Copenhagen, Battles of; Napoleonic Wars; Schleswig-Holstein Conflict.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Derby, Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, Fourteenth Earl of (1799–1869)

Three times Conservative minority prime minister of the United Kingdom, Derby came from an old Whig family and served as a young man in the reforming administrations of **Lord Grey**, in which, in 1833, he oversaw the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire. In the mid-1830s, disenchanted with Lord Melbourne's government, he moved toward the Conservative Party of Sir Robert Peel. His devotion to stability led him to break with Peel over **Corn Law** repeal, and he became a leading member of the Tory rump. Divisions among the Whig, Peelite, and Radical supporters of the governments of Russell and Palmerston allowed Tory minorities to hold office briefly in 1852, again in 1858–1859, and most significantly from 1866–1868.

The latter ministry passed the Second Reform Act, with significant Liberal support, effectively doubling the size of the electorate. In imperial affairs, it oversaw Lord Robert Napier's successful but expensive punitive expedition of 1867–1868 against Emperor Theodore of **Abyssinia**, who had kidnapped British personnel in reaction to an imagined diplomatic slight. Derby resigned the premiership in February 1868 and was succeeded by Benjamin **Disraeli**.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Derby, Edward Henry Stanley, Fifteenth Earl of (1826–1893)

British Foreign Secretary under Benjamin **Disraeli** and Colonial Secretary under William Gladstone. The son of the 14th Earl of Derby, he served in his father's 1858 cabinet as the first secretary of state for **India** after the abolition of **East India Company** rule. When the Tories came back into office with Disraeli's large majority of 1874, Derby became foreign secretary, as he had been under his father in 1866–1868. He became alarmed at the risks of war that Disraeli was taking in his confrontation with Russia during the eastern crisis of 1876–1878, and resigned from the Cabinet.

Reversing his father's path, he moved back to the Liberals and served as colonial secretary under Gladstone from 1882–1885, in which capacity he must bear some responsibility for negotiating the London Convention of 1884 with the Afrikaner republics, leaving their precise status a topic of later contention and eventually war in 1899. When Liberals split over **Home Rule**, Derby followed the Unionists, and was Liberal Unionist leader in the House of Lords until 1891. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Boer Wars; Eastern Question; Ireland.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Dernburg Reforms (1909–1910)

Reforms that overhauled the German colonial system following public outrage over colonial corruption scandals and the bloody suppression of the Herero and Maji Maji revolts. Under the guidance of former businessman Bernhard von Dernburg (1865–1937), the German government ended the influence of special interest groups by abolishing an advisory body known as the *Kolonialrat* and transferred control over colonial matters from a subdivision of the Foreign Office to a newly created Colonial Ministry. As colonial minister, Dernburg sought to reduce corruption and professionalize colonial service by ensuring that those serving overseas received the same salaries, pensions, and opportunities for promotion as their counterparts at home in Germany. Starting in 1908 with the creation of the Hamburg-based *Koloninstitut*, which provided formal training in colonial administration as well as classes in the languages and culture of colonized peoples, Dernburg made a concerted effort to staff his ministry with experts in the hopes of creating more rational, productive, and humane colonial policies.

As a staunch supporter of economic development, he used his business connections to attract new investment in the colonies, leading to an expansion of mining, agriculture, and railroad construction projects throughout the German colonial empire. At the same time, Dernburg also advocated better treatment of the indigenous peoples, arguing that they were crucial to the long-term development of the colonies both as a labor force and as the primary suppliers of raw materials. Consequently, his reforms also abolished corporal punishment, the use of forced labor, and the expropriation of native lands. Although the outbreak of World War I ended Germany's colonial experiment, the effect of the Dernburg reforms was a significant liberalization of German colonial administration during the final years of the Empire. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Bülow, Bernhard von; German Empire; Trotha, General Lothar von.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

De Valera, Eamon (1882–1975)

An Irish Nationalist and later prime minister and president of the Irish Republic, De Valera was born in 1882 in New York City of an Irish mother and a Spanish-Cuban father. At the age of two, he and his mother moved to Ireland. In the 1900s, he obtained degrees from several Irish universities and was appointed a professor

of mathematics at an Irish Teachers' College. During this period, he became enamored of the revival of the Gaelic language of the early 1900s, and this attraction led him to the Irish independence movement.

De Valera became a member of the Irish Volunteers, an Irish Nationalist Army, and by 1913, rose to the rank of captain. He was subsequently initiated into the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood, the shadowy leadership group of the Irish Volunteers. He was one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rebellion and avoided execution by the British only because of his American citizenship. He went on to be both the political and symbolic leader of the Irish nation for most of the mid-century.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

Díaz, Porfirio (1830–1915)

Porfirio Díaz was the Mexican president and dictator from 1877 to 1880 and 1884 to 1911. Educated for the Church, Díaz entered politics in the mid-1850s and in the 1860s served as a military commander in support of the republican leader Benito Juárez against the French and Emperor Maximilian. Díaz later broke with Juárez and in 1876 seized power in a coup, arranged elections, and thereafter established a brutal dictatorship that lasted for 34 years. He governed ruthlessly yet often efficiently, in close cooperation with Mexico's landed oligarchy, and packed both the civil service and the judiciary with his personal supporters.

He cultivated generally positive relations with all the Great Powers, but in particular with the United States, and offered attractive terms for foreign investors. Although the country experienced a significant improvement in its standard of living, its benefits were narrowly distributed among the wealthy. Díaz's liberal land reforms, moreover, alienated Mexico's Indians by breaking up communal property and putting it on the market. Although he put down an Indian rebellion in the 1880s, he was overthrown by the Mexican Revolution of 1911 and died in French exile.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Dilke, Sir Charles (1843–1911)

A fervent Liberal imperialist, Charles Dilke was born into the bosom of the British Liberal establishment. His father was given a baronetcy for his work with Prince Albert on the Great Exhibition of 1851, which Dilke inherited in 1869. As a boy he was introduced to most of the great figures of the age, from Victoria herself to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston. Dilke was educated at Cambridge, and after graduation he embarked on a then unusual grand tour around the world. The result was a two-volume memoir, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking*

Countries during 1866 and 1867. The work was an instant success, going through many editions, and propelling Dilke into Parliament.

Greater Britain tells the tale of an observant but highly opinionated young man traveling westward across the United States, with a brief excursion to Canada, then across the Pacific to New Zealand and Australia, and thence to India, returning to England by the Suez Canal. Although often remembered today as a celebration of imperialism, Dilke's vision was that of a free-trading radical, and his volumes were not uncritical of the British Empire. In India, for instance, he labeled the Anglo-Indian government "a mere imperialism, where one man rules and the rest are slaves," and saw with some prescience that "by means of centralization and railroads, we have created an India which we cannot fight."

For Dilke, the term *Greater Britain* meant the countries that had been influenced by British emigration and culture or by British rule. It was the United States in which he was most interested, and which was for him Britain's exemplary colony. For Dilke, as for many Victorians, the term *colony* had classical associations and did not necessarily imply political subordination. In his preface, Dilke wrote, "In America, the peoples of the world are being fused together, but they are run into an English mould . . . through America, England is speaking to the world . . . If two small islands are by courtesy styled 'Great,' America, Australia, India must form a 'Greater Britain.'"

It was a combination of ethnic and cultural pride in his country that was rather more self-confident, and less inclined to focus purely on political ties, than the avowed imperialism of later decades. Nevertheless, the primary impact of Dilke's volumes, aside from giving an initial boost to his own political career, was to raise the profile of Britain's overseas possessions in the minds of the book-buying public, and to suggest that colonies might be a source not merely of expense and danger, but also of pride and strength to Britain. In that way, he played some role in preparing the ground for the more aggressive imperialism of subsequent decades.

Dilke began his political career as a radical, going so far to the left as to dally with republicanism in the early 1870s. He served as the representative of William Gladstone's 1880–1885 government during the unsuccessful attempt to renew the Cobden-Chevalier Free Trade treaty of 1860, and represented the Admiralty in the House of Commons during the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. He was seen as a man of great ability and a potential future Prime Minister, but his political career was destroyed by a divorce scandal in 1886. He became in his later years a respected and cautiously imperialist commentator on imperial and military affairs, publishing *Problems of Greater Britain* in 1890, and in 1899, a volume of essays entitled *The British Empire*. See also *Liberal Imperialism*; *Liberal Party*.

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MARK PROUDMAN

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804–1881)

A politician, statesman, and Conservative prime minister, Benjamin Disraeli was a commanding figure of British imperialism. The term *imperialism* was invented in its

modern sense to describe—indeed to condemn—his foreign and imperial policies. Disraeli was born into an assimilated Jewish family and was baptized an Anglican in 1817. His father was a bookseller and antiquarian, and Disraeli grew up in literary circles. He initially attempted a literary career, publishing witty autobiographical novels and historical romances now remembered largely for their biographical significance. Although his novels made some money, Disraeli lived a fast life, dressed extravagantly, traveled extensively, and ran up large debts in financial speculations. He first ran for Parliament in 1832, as a radical. In 1835, he joined the Tory party, arguing that Tories shared with radicals a concern for the people as against the Whig oligarchy. That the Whigs were a self-interested ruling class hiding behind spurious appeals to liberty was an argument he made repeatedly, and most notably in his 1835 *Vindication of the English Constitution*.

Disraeli was finally elected to Parliament in 1837. In 1839, he married the widow of another Tory member of Parliament, whose independent income, along with his own prodigious novel-writing, helped to salvage his parlous finances. In the 1840s, Disraeli became known as a member of the “Young England” group of socially conscious Tory members of Parliament. He continued to write novels in which Whig oligarchs and utilitarian politicians were the villains, and enlightened noblemen the heroes: his most famous, *Sybil* of 1845, proclaimed that England consisted of two nations, the rich and the poor, and offered a kind of enlightened *noblesse oblige* as the solution. Another of Disraeli’s so-called “Young England” trilogy, *Tancred, or the New Crusade*, has been famously accused by the theorist of Orientalism, Edward Said, of creating the model for future imperialism in the Middle East, although the novel in fact says little about the empire. The great political crisis of the 1840s was the rupture of the governing Tory party over Sir Robert Peel’s 1846 repeal of the **Corn Laws**, in the name of free trade. The Whigs and radicals had been clamoring for repeal; in response to Peel’s conversion to their cause, Disraeli famously denounced him as “a burglar of others’ intellect.”

Disraeli took the leadership of the protectionist Tories, whose defection pushed Peel out of office in December 1846. As Peel was able to carry most of his cabinet with him, Disraeli became one of the fewer remaining effective parliamentary speakers on the Tory front bench. As a consequence of the death of the initial protectionist leader Lord George Bentinck, he became almost by default the Tory leader in the House of Commons, notwithstanding the lingering anti-Semitism of some backbenchers. Disraeli became chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons in the 1852 minority Tory government of Lord **Derby**, during which time he led the Tories to accept that a return to protection was politically impossible. The Tories were out of power until 1858, when, owing to Lord Palmerston’s missteps, they once again formed a minority government with Disraeli as chancellor. The minority government lasted until June 1859, when the Liberals came back into power, and the Tories went once more into opposition for an extended period. The failure of **Russell’s** 1866 Reform bill, however, presented an opportunity. Disraeli, once again chancellor and leader in the House of Commons under the minority premiership of Derby, was able to fashion with great tactical skill a working if unstable majority of Tories and radicals, which put through the Second Reform Act of 1867.

On the resignation of Derby, Disraeli became prime minister, for the first time in February 1868. His minority administration, its major achievement the Reform

Bill behind it, lasted only until the end of the year; it was nevertheless a great and improbable achievement for an assimilated middle class Jew, a man-about-town, and a sometime novelist to have, in Disraeli's own words, reached "the top of the greasy pole." In imperial affairs, Disraeli's administration was notable for the successful completion of the Abyssinian expedition, which demonstrated the long reach of British power. The election of 1868, held under the new franchise, resulted in a great Liberal victory, the Liberals now being under William Gladstone. It did not appear that Disraeli would ever again be prime minister, and it seemed that the Tories' minority status had once again been confirmed. But Gladstone shortly ran into difficulties with his own supporters over ecclesiastical and subsequently educational issues. The perceived indifference to the empire of the Liberals—many of whom, given the orthodoxies of free trade, did in fact regard the empire as an albatross—also offered Disraeli an opportunity. In 1872, he made a speech at the Crystal Palace in which he denounced in stirring tones, "the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England."

Although Disraeli himself had once likened the colonies to "millstones round our necks," there was enough truth to the charge of Liberal indifference that it stuck, and Disraeli was able to reappropriate to the Tory party the mantle of popular nationalism that had for a generation belonged to the party of Palmerston: Disraeli, like Lord Palmerston, saw himself as the inheritor of a tradition of national greatness going back to the two Pitts. The appeal, in combination with Liberal divisions, was successful in producing, with the election of 1874, the first outright Tory majority since the days of Peel. In government, however, Disraeli had little in the way of a clear domestic agenda, his entire career, spent largely in opportunist opposition to a liberal consensus, having spared him the need for such a thing. Like many Tories, he regarded programmatic state activity with suspicion, although at the same time was less bound by the more dogmatic aspects of classical *laissez-faire* political economy than were many Liberals. Disraeli was open to opportunistic and piecemeal social reforms, his government putting through such measures as slum clearance, sanitary legislation, and labor laws. But Disraeli himself was primarily interested in foreign and imperial affairs—"politics worth managing"—which appealed to his sense of national greatness. In 1876, Disraeli, by then feeling his age and not being up to managing the House of Commons, moved to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield. In the same year, he put through the Royal Titles Act, at Victoria's request, making the Queen Empress of India.

Like much of Disraeli's legacy, the imperial title was symbolic without being purely symbolic: it demonstrated a concerted effort to associate national greatness with England and not coincidentally with conservatism. The outcome of the Franco-Prussian war and the preeminence of Bismarck called into question what had come to appear Britain's almost effortless prominence in earlier years. In 1876, Disraeli masterminded the purchase of the Egyptian Khedive's Suez Canal shares, thus reasserting Britain's imperial status; it was a move that led unintentionally to Gladstone's later occupation of Egypt. The Eastern question and the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876, in which Balkan nationalist risings encouraged by Russia were put down with ferocity by the Turks, gave Disraeli his opportunity to assert British power by opposing Russian expansion and defending Turkey, a traditional British ally. But the Liberals, led by Gladstone, were outraged that Britain should go to the brink of war

in support of an Islamic despotism guilty of atrocities against Christian populations. The Liberals became the party of international morality and cooperation, tarring Disraeli and Tories with immoral cynicism.

The 1878 Berlin Conference, in which Disraeli played an equal part with Bismarck, secured Britain's objectives and temporarily settled the Balkan question. Along the way, Britain had taken **Cyprus**, a move denounced as superfluous and arrogant expansionism by many Liberals. It was during these crises that the term *jingoism* ("we don't want to fight/but by Jingo if we do/we've got the ships/we've got the men/we've got the money too") became associated with Tory imperialism. In 1877, Britain annexed the Transvaal, largely as a result of the initiative by the "man on the spot," Sir Theophilus Shepstone. This led rapidly to difficulties with both the Transvaal Boers and the Zulus, the traditional enemies of the Boers. In 1879, war broke out in Zululand. The Zulu War began with the catastrophic defeat of Isandhlwana, but concluded successfully, if bloodily and expensively, with the collapse of Zulu power in the wake of Lord Chelmsford's victory at Ulundi. In 1878, war had also broken out in Afghanistan, prompted by Britain's objections to a Russian ambassador at Kabul. Abandoning the traditional Liberal policy of "masterly inactivity" on the Northwest frontier, Disraeli's Viceroy Lord Lytton issued an ultimatum that led to a declaration of war. Initially successful at marching to Kabul and installing a British candidate on the Afghan throne, Britain shortly found itself embroiled in a guerilla war that dragged on through the election of 1880, until Gladstone ordered a withdrawal in 1881.

The term *imperialism*, initially used to compare Disraeli's Royal Titles Act to the tinsel regime of Napoleon III (see **Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon**), came to be applied to forward imperial policies in general, and in particular with the numerous wars and threats of war associated with Beaconsfield's government. Gladstone, in his Midlothian speeches of 1879, called for Britain to respect the rights of other nations and to avoid unnecessary wars. It was, however, to the partisan uses of imperial jingoism that Gladstone primarily objected. The latter's convincing victory in the election of 1880 was in part a verdict on Beaconsfield's imperialism, although rising taxes and the state of the economy, which in the 1870s had entered what until 1929 was called the "great depression," also played a large part in Disraeli's defeat. Disraeli, by then infirm, resigned the premiership on April 21, 1880. He died a year later, on April 19, 1881. Disraeli's legacy has been extensively fought over. He was at once the original "imperialist" and something of a progressive reformer; he spoke in edifying, not to say magniloquent, terms of imperial greatness, but could also be cynical and manipulative; he split the Tory party over the Corn Laws, but then weaned the party away from protection and did much to get it through its long subsequent period of exclusion from more than minority office; an opponent of Liberalism and a defender of an aristocracy to which he did not belong, his Reform Act made Britain effectively a democracy; he was always an English nationalist, although at times indifferent to the colonies; a consistent opponent of Palmerston, he was yet able to appropriate the forces of popular nationalism and to make them seem synonymous with Toryism. The Earl of Beaconsfield was above all an imitable personality—a self-made man. *See also* Afghan Wars; Berlin, Congress of; British Empire; Cape Colony; Eastern Question; Ottoman Empire; San Stefano, Treaty of; Straits Question; Transvaal; Zulu Wars.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Dogger Bank Incident (1904)

An Anglo-Russian crisis occurring during the **Russo-Japanese War**. On October 21, 1904, the Russian battle fleet, proceeding from their Baltic Sea ports via the North Sea to the Far East for service in the Russo-Japanese War, mistook a British fishing fleet on the Dogger Bank for Japanese torpedo boats and opened fire, killing two men, wounding half a dozen, and sinking a trawler. The incident briefly brought Britain and Russia to the edge of war, but a rapid apology from the tsar and the appointment of an international investigative commission defused the situation. The commission placed blame on the Russian commander, Admiral Rozhdestvenski, who went on to be defeated by the Japanese navy at the battle of the Straits of Tsushima on May 27, 1905. *See also* *Dreadnought*; *Tsushima, Battle of*.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Dominion

From the latin *dominus* (“lord”), the term *dominion* means an area of rule or domination. The word was used in this sense to name the seventeenth-century Dominion of New England and the “Old Dominion” of Virginia, both so named under the Stuarts. In 1867, the term was adopted by the new Canadian Confederation as an attractively vague alternative to “Kingdom,” which, it was feared, might offend the republican sensibilities of the United States. In 1901, the perceived importance of the empire was recognized by the addition of the phrase “and of the British dominions beyond the seas” to the royal style, the term *dominion*—in lower case—again being sufficiently imprecise as to encompass all manner of dependent territories along with the self-governing colonies, without offending anyone’s sensibilities.

Although the federal **Australia** created by the Australian Colonies Act of 1901 called itself a Commonwealth, the term dominion came to designate the status of a self-governing member of the **British Empire or Commonwealth**, thus acquiring in the twentieth century a connotation opposite to its etymological meaning. In the first half of the twentieth century, it was common to refer to the self-governing emigrant members of the commonwealth as British dominions, and indeed the British government maintained a dominions secretary to deal with them. Although the Dominion of Canada, as originally constituted, had in most respects complete autonomy, it assumed control over foreign policy only in the twentieth century and

did not enjoy full international sovereignty until the 1931 Statute of Westminster, so even in its later, more attenuated sense, the precise meaning of dominion status was not entirely fixed. In discussions about the future of India, South Africa, and other territories such as Southern Rhodesia, reference to dominion status referred to full local self-government and sovereignty under the British crown, on the Canadian model. *See also* Canada; Durham, John George Lambton, First Earl of; New Zealand.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Dost Muhammad Khan (1793–1863)

A nineteenth-century Afghan leader who established the Barakzai Dynasty and attempted to add to his realm or defend it, as circumstance dictated, by making alliances with the **British Empire** and the **Russian Empire**. He fought against British attempts to put Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk on the Afghan throne and managed in 1824 to put himself in power in Kabul. In 1834, Dost Muhammad defeated Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, in battle at Kandahar but was unable to stop Ranjit's annexation of Peshawar. He miscalculated in approaching the Russians for assistance when the installation of a Russian representative in Kabul prompted the British to invade. In July 1839, British forces captured Kabul and promptly placed Shah Shuja on the throne.

After being imprisoned in India for two years, Dost Muhammad was freed and returned to power in Afghanistan to maintain order in the country. In 1846, he turned against the British again, this time in alliance with Sikhs of the Punjab, but in 1849 was again defeated in the Battle of Gujarat. He thereafter worked to consolidate his position back in Afghanistan and by 1854 had established his personal authority over the tribes in the south of the country. In recognition of his position, the British sought and secured an alliance with Dost Muhammad, which paid off. Although he remained neutral during the Indian Mutiny, he aided Britain in its wars with Persia and, in 1863, was responsible for the capture of the city of Herat. *See also* Afghan Wars, Great Game, Sikh Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Dreadnought

Built in 1905–1906, the British battleship *H.M.S. Dreadnought*, literally “Fear Nothing,” revolutionized the world's navies because of its powerful turbine-driven propulsion and heavy armament and thereby gave its name to a whole class of battleships. The launching of *H.M.S. Dreadnought* sparked a new phase in the naval arms race between Britain and the German Reich, which was a major factor in

pre-World War I Anglo-German antagonism. The first of a series of dreadnoughts displaced a total of 18,000 tons, was 527 feet long, and carried a crew of about 800 men. Because it was equipped with modern steam turbines instead of traditional steam pistons, the *Dreadnought* was as fast as 21 knots. Its mighty armament of ten 12-inch guns and torpedo tubes was designed to fight enemy ships from considerably long distances. The name “Dreadnought” quickly became synonymous for a new type of battleship, because when it was launched in 1906, it made all preceding warships obsolete.

The launching of the *Dreadnought* can be considered as the British response to the challenge posed by the increasing output of German battleships under what later came to be called the Tirpitz Plan. Germany’s apparent strategy to outstrip or at least neutralize the Royal Navy’s impressive superiority fueled a costly arms race between the Reich and the United Kingdom. Although the parliaments in both countries repeatedly showed reluctance to finance the escalating costs of navy expenditure, they were unable to stop the arms race. Most important, German efforts to keep up with British dreadnought-style production both in terms of quality and quantity increasingly poisoned Anglo-German relations. By the beginning of World War I, the original *Dreadnought* became obsolete, but it was soon succeeded by faster and still heavier armed “superdreadnoughts.” These new battleships continued to dominate the navies of the world until around 1940. *See also* Fisher, Sir John; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism, Tirpitz Plan.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Dreikaiserbund (1873–1887)

The *Dreikaiserbund*, or Three Emperors’ League, was an informal system of cooperation involving **Austria-Hungary**, Germany, and Russia in regard to their interactions with the **Ottoman Empire** in the Balkans. From the German perspective, the league was also a means of blocking an alliance of France and Russia against the newly formed **German Empire**. German chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** appreciated that the emergence of Germany as a new Great Power in Central Europe as a consequence of the **Franco-Prussian War** could make Russia a natural ally of France in any project to undermine or weaken Germany. Yet he also grasped that tsarist Russia—troubled by anarchist, nihilist, and socialist subversion—had much more in common politically with Germany than with republican France. Tsar **Alexander II** also sought German support for Russian interests in the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire and in Central Asia against the British Empire. Bismarck therefore arranged a meeting of Wilhelm I, Tsar Alexander II, and Emperor Franz Joseph at Berlin in September 1872, and the three thereafter held frequent conferences between 1872 and 1876. The system nonetheless

collapsed in the 1880s over Austro-Russian differences in the Balkans. *See also* Central Powers; Entente Cordiale; Holy Alliance; Reinsurance Treaty; Triple Alliance.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Dresden, Battle of (1813)

Fought on August 26–27, 1813, the Battle of Dresden was Napoleon Bonaparte's only major victory over Allied forces in the 1813 War of Liberation. After Austria joined the Allies on August 11, its Army of Bohemia, under Feldmarschall Karl Fürst zu Schwarzenberg and reinforced with Prussian and Russian troops to 80,000 men, marched to the vital city of Dresden in Saxony on August 25, while Napoleon's army was thought to be in Silesia. Marshal Gouvion St-Cyr held the city with 20,000 men, but Allied planning delays allowed Napoleon to arrive with 90,000 troops on August 26. Uninformed of the French reinforcements, Schwarzenberg's orders permitted him to mount only five half-hearted demonstrations against the city. The attack columns had marched to within cannon shot range of the city at midday, but at 5 P.M., as they prepared to assault the city, Napoleon unleashed his reinforcements and by midnight, the Allies were back in their starting positions. In the pouring rain of the next morning, further reinforced to 140,000 men, Napoleon launched a double flank attack, with a reinforced center holding its positions to force the expanded Allied army of 170,000 to withdraw.

Although the French left under Marshal Mortier became bogged down against General Wittgenstein's 35,000 Russians, Marshal Murat had overwhelmed the Allied left flank under Austrian Feldzugmeister Ignaz Gyulai by 3 P.M., just as an additional French corps under Marshal Vandamme seized Pirna 16 miles to the southeast to threaten the Allied rear. An hour later, Schwarzenberg issued orders for a withdrawal of Bohemia, leaving 12,000 prisoners behind. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906)

A pivotal political crisis of turn-of-the century France that broadly pitted the forces of left and right against each other. The episode involved the fate of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish French army officer who was wrongly court-martialed for treason, degraded, and sentenced to the Devil's Island penal colony in French Guyana in 1894. George Picquart, a colonel of intelligence, and Dreyfus's brother subsequently revealed evidence showing that the real guilty party was a Catholic, Major

Walsin Esterhazy. Dreyfus had been the victim not only of incompetence but also of the anti-German xenophobia rampant in French society, as well as of widespread anti-Semitism inside the army. When Esterhazy was tried and acquitted, the French Radical and Socialist Parties were aroused to fight for Dreyfus with the argument that the army general staff was a club of royalist and clericalist anti-Semites guilty of prejudiced error, a reactionary threat to the Third Republic, and an institution ripe for purge.

The novelist Emile Zola leveled the same charge at the army in his famous letter *J'accuse*, and prominent politicians such as Georges Clemenceau and Jean Jaurès also took up Dreyfus's case. It was revealed that the evidence against Dreyfus had been forged. He was pardoned, but the Dreyfusards demanded nothing less than acquittal and secured it with quashing of the verdict in 1906. At its height "The Affair" utterly dominated French political life; it occasioned impassioned debate and occasionally violence. The test of strength between intellectuals, Radicals, and Socialists on the one hand and the Church and army on the other reawakened hatreds dating back to 1789 and polarized French politics for the remainder of the Third Republic. The Dreyfus Affair exposed ugly sentiments below the surface of the otherwise opulent optimism of the *belle époque*. See also Action Française.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Dual Alliance

A term commonly applied alternatively to the Austro-German alliance dating to 1879, which, with the later addition of Italy, became the **Triple Alliance**, or to the Franco-Russian alliance of 1890. The first was a secret alliance, a centerpiece of Bismarck's system, in which Austria and Germany pledged military aid and cooperation if either were attacked by Russia. The second was its mirror image insofar as it was a Franco-German pact against the very Central European powers of that formed the anti-Russian coalition of 1879. In 1893, France and Russia signed a secret military convention in which Russia promised to commit all its forces against Germany if it should be attacked either by Germany or by Italy with German support. For its part, France committed to attack Germany if Russia were attacked either by Germany or by **Austria-Hungary** backed by Germany.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Durbar

Persian for "prince's court," the durbar in British India was a grand court ceremonial used to commemorate special occasions involving the monarchy. Three durbars were held in India by the British. They took the form of receptions, balls, parties, and a grand military parade. The first of the Durbars was held to

commemorate the bestowing of the title “Queen Empress of India” on Queen Victoria by Parliament at the behest of British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. It took place on January 1, 1877, in Delhi and was designed to rally the princes of India to British rule. The second durbar was also held in Delhi when Victoria’s son, Edward VII, was proclaimed “King-Emperor” on January 1, 1903. The third and last of the durbars took place to commemorate the accession of King George V to the throne of the United Kingdom upon the death of his father in 1910. It was marked in India by the durbar held at Delhi in the presence of King George and his wife on December 12, 1911.

To ensure maximum publicity of the occasion, the rulers of states were excused the payment of succession duties; military and lower-ranked civil servants received bonuses; grants were provided for schools; and, for the first time, officers, men, and reservists of the Indian Army became eligible for the Victoria Cross. Most important, the king himself announced the well-kept secret that the capital of India would be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi and the partition of Bengal of 1905 would be reversed, a new province of Bihar and Orissa would be created, and Assam would once again be under a chief commissioner. The durbar became controversial because these costly administrative moves were announced without consulting Parliament, but the changes were the most important, as they had far-reaching consequences. *See also* Raj.

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ROGER D. LONG

Durham, John George Lambton, First Earl of (1792–1840)

A reforming governor-in-chief of British North America, Lord Durham (as Lambton became in 1829) was a wealthy land and coal owner. He entered politics as a fierce and often intemperate radical and proponent of parliamentary reform. He served in the reforming government of his father-in-law, Earl Grey, helping to draft the great reform bill. From 1835 to 1837, he was ambassador to Russia. Although he initially refused the governorship of Canada, he accepted the post after the arrival of news of the rebellion of 1838. Returning to England after only five months in Canada because of the cabinet’s disallowance of an order sending rebel leaders into exile, Durham and his entourage set about producing his famous report.

Durham’s report was probably written in large part by his secretary, Charles Buller, and was inspired in many respects by the colonization theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, also on his staff. It was leaked to the *Times* in February 1839, likely by Wakefield. The report recommended the Anglicization and assimilation of the French Canadians through a union of Upper and Lower Canada. It also, more successfully, urged significant grants of self-government to the colony, although tariff and land policy was reserved to the imperial government, the latter in accordance with Wakefield’s theories. Durham was long remembered, with some element of exaggeration, as the father of responsible government in the colonies, although his report did not use that term. He died, likely of tuberculosis, in 1840. *See also* British North America Act; Commonwealth; Dominion.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Dutch East Indies

The name given to the island colonies founded by the Dutch East India Company, mostly in present-day Indonesia, starting in the seventeenth century. As the Netherlands became part of France when Napoleon **Bonaparte** invaded in 1795 and was annexed outright in 1811, British hostility toward France was extended to the Netherlands and all Dutch possessions. Britain therefore assumed colonial authority in the East Indies in 1811, yet in 1814 England was obliged by the Treaty of Vienna to return the territory. This was only imperfectly implemented, and disputes arising from continuing British interest in the Indies produced the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1823, which divided the islands between British control in Singapore and Malacca and Dutch control of Sumatra along with the islands between Malacca and Sumatra. Principal Dutch interest focused on the island of Java, but a rebellious population made it difficult to reestablish control. The Java Uprising of 1825–1829—also referred to as the Great Java War and also the Dipipa Negara War—cost the Dutch colonial garrison 15,000 soldiers.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Dvořák, Antonín (1841–1904)

Czech composer of romantic music whose work is usually categorized as a “national” by virtue of its incorporation of folk material—Slavonic dance and song rhythm—into symphonies, symphonic poems, and even chamber music. Dvořák was born in Nelahozeves, Bohemia, and was an apprentice butcher in his father's shop when his musical gifts diverted him toward formal training in Prague and an early career as a viola player. From 1873 onward, he produced a steady flow of new compositions, won a succession of prizes, and came to the attention of Johannes Brahms, who helped him get his scores published in Berlin. From opera, symphonies, and choral pieces to incidental music and string quartets, Dvořák's output was impressive. It reveals an authentic genius for the use of strings in any format, unexpected and refreshing harmonies, and an unforced capacity to absorb and adapt the themes of Central European folk traditions.

In the mid-1990s, Dvořák taught, performed, and composed in the United States and is possibly best known for his Symphony No.9 “From the New World,” which was influenced by his exposure to American spiritual music. A subject of the Habsburg Empire loyal to his Czech nationality and to the notion of national school of music, Dvořák was nonetheless refreshingly comfortable with the local, the national, and the cosmopolitan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

E

Eastern Question

A long-term problem in European diplomatic affairs, the Eastern Question involved three sets of interrelated issues having to do with the fate of the **Ottoman Empire**. The first issue was an international one. Could the Ottomans fend off the territorial and strategic desires of the European Great Powers for pieces of Ottoman territory, and if not then how should the competing Great Powers partition the Ottoman Empire? The resolution of the Eastern Question through a solution of partition became tightly bound up with the maintenance of the European **balance of power**, because Ottoman losses might not be equitably divided among the European rivals. As a result of Great Power jealousies, the Turks could usually find at least one European power among France, Britain, Russia, Austria, or Germany (after 1871) that would choose to support the territorial integrity and status quo for fear that the demise of the Ottoman Empire would benefit its rivals more than itself. The second issue concerned the continued viability of the Ottoman Empire. Could the Porte reform the Ottoman system sufficiently to reverse its decline, ensure its internal order, and stave off rebellions? The third issue, closely tied up with the second, grew from the challenges posed by nationalisms of the subject Christian peoples in the **Balkans**. Should these peoples have their own independent national states, or could they be accommodated within the multinational Muslim Ottoman Empire?

The origins of the Eastern Question can be traced to Russian military advances against the Ottomans during the eighteenth century. Seeking a position on the lands around the Black Sea coast, Russia, usually in cooperation with Austria, waged a series of wars against the Turks. Eventually, the Russians advanced to the Pruth River, and the Austrians reached the Danube-Sava River line. As a consequence of their defeat at the hands of the Russians in 1774, the Ottomans signed the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji, which ended centuries of Ottoman dominance on the Black Sea and gave Russia the right to speak for the Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule, including Romanians, Greeks, Serbs, and Montenegrins. The Ottoman government promised to protect Orthodox Christians and their churches and allowed the Russian government to construct its own church in Constantinople that would be

under the protection of Russian officials. Russia would subsequently use these treaty provisions as the basis to intervene in Ottoman affairs in the name of protecting the Orthodox Christian subjects of the sultan. In contrast, France served as a supporter of the Ottomans in this period, and Britain did not yet play much of a role.

Austrian attitudes changed after the **Napoleonic Wars**. After gaining the Dalmatian coast in 1815, Austria already had difficulties maintaining its hold over the multinational population in its empire and no longer desired to incorporate any more Balkan peoples. Not wanting to expand any further into the Balkans, the Austrians grew wary of further Russian advances against the Ottomans because such Russian gains would give Russia dominance in the Balkan Peninsula and pose problems for Austrian defenses by creating Russian borders to the south and east. As a result Austria had come to support the status quo in the Eastern Question through the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Austria did annex the Ottoman territory of **Bosnia-Herzegovina** in 1908, after having exercised administrative authority there since 1878.

At the same time that Austrian interests were weakening, British interests in the region were strengthening. As British holdings in India grew, the British government became increasingly preoccupied with protecting the lines of communication to its most lucrative colonial and trading colony, and those routes ran across Ottoman lands. The expanding British concern for its Indian possessions generated a corresponding heightened fear of Russian encroachment. The British feared that a powerful Russian army could deal a mortal blow to the Ottomans and then seize the Turkish straits at the **Bosporus** and **Dardanelles** as a prelude to Russian expansion beyond the Black Sea into the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus as part of its Indian defenses, the British generally tried to prop up Ottoman power. Britain encouraged Turkish administrative reform as the means to alleviate grounds for discontent and restiveness on the part of the sultan's Christian subjects so that the Russians would have no excuse to intervene in Turkish affairs as a prelude to the final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, the British actively encouraged the **Tanzimat Reforms** (1839–1876), which were intended to promote the equality of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of religion, and strengthen the efficiency and administrative power of the central government. On the other hand, Russia worried that a British naval squadron could force the straits, enter the Black Sea, and threaten the entire Russian southern coast or even the Caucasus. This scenario actually came to pass during the **Crimean War** (1853–1856), when British troops landed on the Crimean Peninsula.

As the nineteenth century wore on, it became clear that the Balkan Christian peoples considered national independence preferable to potential equality within a reformed Ottoman system. In their armed struggles, the Balkan peoples received the greatest aid from Russia. The first to rebel against Ottoman rule were the Serbs, from 1804 to 1815, who managed to achieve an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire under Russian protection. The Serbian prince still recognized the Ottoman sultan as his sovereign, but the prince exercised control over local affairs. With the help of the Great Powers, the Greek Revolution of 1821–1833 led to the first successful Balkan independence movement. Britain, France, and Russia oversaw the establishment of a Greek kingdom independent of the Ottoman Empire in the wake of the **Russo-Turkish War** (1828–1829). In the aftermath of that war, Russia also gained administrative control over the principalities of Wallachia and

Moldavia, the core of the future Romanian national state. Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro received recognition as national kingdoms after the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878). Also, at this time Bulgaria was granted autonomous status within the Ottoman Empire. Independence did not bring an end to the nationalist struggles, however, because the borders of these new states did not include all the national lands based on historical or population claims. For example, Serbia desired Bosnia and Greece wanted Crete.

The conflicting irredentist claims of Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria on remaining Ottoman lands in Macedonia brought intense competition among the Balkan governments for control over that region. In response to the potentially destabilizing set of rivalries among the Balkan states, Russia and Austria found common interest in preserving the status quo in the peninsula. The two Great Powers signed the Austro-Russian Balkan Agreement of 1897 and reiterated their cooperation in the Murzsteg Agreement of 1903. Under these agreements, Austria and Russia agreed to put the Balkans “on ice,” meaning that they would not countenance any territorial changes in the region and they would impose Ottoman administrative reforms in Macedonia to quell the revolutionary potential.

In 1908, a revolution did break out in Macedonia, but it was a Turkish one. The Ottoman Third Army Corps, stationed in Macedonia, spearheaded the **Young Turk Revolution** by marching on Constantinople and forcing Sultan Abdul Hamid II to restore the constitution in June–July 1908. The Young Turks held out the prospect that the Ottoman Empire would at last be thoroughly reformed, and they promised that all Ottoman citizens would receive equal constitutional rights and participation in a parliamentary democracy. Therefore, the Young Turk government wanted to reclaim administrative control over Bosnia from Austria on the grounds that Turkish constitutional reforms obviated the need for Austrian administration. The promise of reform meant also that the autonomous Bulgarian principality would find its road to independence blocked. Austria therefore coordinated with Bulgaria to secure their territories against Turkish control. In 1908, Austria declared its annexation of Bosnia while simultaneously Bulgaria declared its national independence from the Ottoman Empire. Serbian officials expressed outrage that Austria had taken Bosnia, and Belgrade appealed to the Russians to force Austria to renounce its annexation. Stymied in their expansion to the east, the Serbs refocused their attention on expansion southward towards the Kosovo region of Macedonia.

Meanwhile, the Russians encouraged all the Christian Balkan states to come together in an alliance to serve as a check on any further Austrian expansion into southeastern Europe, and these efforts resulted in the formation of the Balkan League in 1912. Having facilitated the military coordination of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro as a defensive bloc against Austria, the Russians watched helplessly as the countries of the **Balkan League** redirected their energies into an offensive alliance against the Turks. In concert, the Balkan League attacked the Ottoman Empire in the **First Balkan War** (October 1912–May 1913) with the goal of driving the Turks from Europe once and for all. Although the Balkan allies were spectacularly successful in pushing the Turks back, the conflicting claims on Macedonia soon divided them against one another. These divisions led to the **Second Balkan War** (June–August 1913), in which Bulgaria launched an attack against its former allies Serbia and Greece to gain most of the territory of north-central Macedonia. The Romanians and the Ottomans quickly entered the war against Bulgaria too. Beaten

back on all sides, the Bulgarians were forced to capitulate. After World War I, the emergence of the Turkish Republic in 1923 brought the Eastern Question to a close. *See also* Berlin, Congress of; British Empire; Habsburg Empire; Russian Empire; Pan-Slavism; Paris, Treaty of; San Stefano, Treaty of.

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JONATHAN GRANT

East India Companies

English, French, and Dutch chartered trading companies, in each case dating to the seventeenth century. In the case of the Netherlands, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) was chartered in 1602 to govern and extend Dutch colonial holdings in India, Java, and Sumatra, and by 1650 its wealth and naval reach made the Netherlands a world power and the world's foremost trading nation. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, however, were devastating to the Netherlands as well as to Dutch overseas possessions, so that by 1815 many of the VOC's holdings had been lost and the company was nationalized and reemerged as the Dutch Colonial Office.

The French Compagnie des Indes Orientales was established in 1664. It was active in India, as well as in Mauritius and Bourbon in the Indian Ocean until French defeats in the War of Austrian Succession, 1740–1748, and the Seven Years' War, 1756–1763.

The English East India Company, by far the most durable and successful of the three, was chartered by Elizabeth I in 1600. Initially in competition with Portuguese, Dutch, and French ventures, the company nonetheless secured a foothold on the Indian subcontinent in 1619 and never let go. In 1657, it was reconstituted as a joint stock company and developed a capacity for surviving intact the violent changes of English politics in the eighteenth century. Between 1740 and 1793, it also vied with its French rival for advantage in India until the wars of the late eighteenth century shunted circumstance decidedly in its favor. The company then profited again during the Napoleonic Wars by the virtual elimination of its Dutch rival and the acquisition of formerly Dutch possessions.

Nicknamed the John Company, the British East India company often operated as a state unto itself—raising troops, fighting wars, and bribing local officials—until by mid-nineteenth century, the company controlled roughly two-thirds of India. Its considerable independence made it a routine item of political controversy in Britain, so that successive acts of Parliament and charter renewals were used to limit its financial and administrative autonomy until the Indian Mutiny of 1857 prompted the British government to terminate the company. The passage of the India Act in 1858 brought India under the direct control of the British Crown. *See also* British Empire; Hudson's Bay Company; Free Trade.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Eckmühl, Battle of (1809)

Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s victory in Bavaria over the Austrian army under Archduke **Charles**. After the battle of **Abensberg**, Marshal Davout's French Third Corps engaged a reinforced 17,000 strong Austrian IV Korps around the Laiching villages, just west of Eckmühl, eight miles south of Regensburg, on April 21. Napoleon had taken the main French army 18 miles south to Landshut, but turned his troops north. As Davout's 20,000 men renewed their attack from the west around 2 P.M. on April 22, Napoleon arrived with another 60,000 Franco-German troops. While Davout pinned the Austrian right wing, Napoleon's troops seized Eckmühl village, crossed the Grosse Laaber River and shattered the Austrian center on the Bettelberg hill. Left unsupported, Rosenberg retreated northwards up the Regensburg road at about 4 P.M.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Edward VII, King of Great Britain (1841–1910)

King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India from 1901 to 1910, Edward VII was the eldest son of Queen **Victoria**. Owing to his mother's longevity he did not ascend the throne until late middle age. He had in the meantime acquired a justified reputation as a *bon vivant*, although he always took his royal duties seriously, becoming as Prince of Wales something of a model for the future role of royals as roving public ambassadors. As king, he played an active and at times independent role in foreign affairs, being perhaps the last monarch to do so. In pre-1914 Europe, with most of the continent still under monarchical rule, he had close personal connections to most countries, including Germany, although there was no love lost between Edward and his nephew Kaiser **Wilhelm II**, whose naval building program was in some measure motivated by imagined slights from his uncle. Edward was a Francophile, and his visit to Paris in 1903 foreshadowed the Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale* of the following year.

Edward also played a role in reconciling Britain and Russia, long divided over the Balkans, Central Asia, and Persia, with his 1908 visit. He was opposed to the overuse of the Lords' veto against the reforming measures of Herbert **Asquith**'s Liberals, but he was also hostile to a threatened mass creation of peers to overcome the problem, going so far as to contemplate abdication. Edward died on May 6, 1910 before he had to confront the issue. He is remembered for his post-Victorian geniality, his large lifestyle, and his diplomatic skills. He was the last monarch to give his name to an era; the Edwardian era, in fact bedeviled by international crises and social tensions, is often seen through spectacles given an anachronistic rose tint by the disasters of the next decade.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Egypt

Although in fact largely independent from much of the period, Egypt was formally a tributary province of the **Ottoman Empire** from 1800 to 1914. Napoleon **Bonaparte**, hoping to enhance his own prestige and to threaten India, invaded in 1898, but his forces were shortly evicted by the British. Power in Egypt fell to **Mehmet Ali**, an Albanian janissary in the Turkish service, who rapidly established himself as Viceroy in Egypt, killing many of the former Mameluke upper classes in the process and defeating British troops in 1807. Mehmet Ali became the forebear of the Egyptian dynasty that reigned until it was overthrown by Gamal Abdel Nasser's "Free Officers" movement in 1952. In theory subject to the Sultan, Mehmet Ali supported his ostensible master during the Greek civil war, losing his fleet at the battle of Navarino (1827) in consequence. In 1838, Mehmet Ali declared his intention of becoming independent of Turkey, which provoked a war that went badly for the Turks, the Egyptians invading Anatolia and threatening Constantinople. Lord **Palmerston**, as foreign secretary, saw Mehmet Ali as a French client and in 1840, he sent forces to Egypt to force his withdrawal. Mehmet Ali died in 1849.

By the 1850s, the introduction of steamships having made the Red Sea navigable all year round, an increasing quantity of British trade to India went through Egypt. Napoleon III proposed to Palmerston that England should occupy Egypt and France Morocco; the latter demurred on the grounds—justified by later events—that such an occupation would lead to innumerable diplomatic complications. The introduction of cotton cultivation further attracted Europeans and European capital, and the cotton famine caused by the U.S. Civil War resulted in a windfall for Egypt's rulers. Borrowing for investment and for vice, Egypt descended into debt as regal spending boomed and the American war ended. Various schemes for the construction of a canal through the Isthmus of Suez had been proposed over the decades. In 1859, against Palmerston's objections, construction started on a canal, the effort being led by Ferdinand de Lesseps; the Egyptian viceroy held a minority stake. The **Suez Canal** was complete in 1869, vastly increasing the strategic value of Egypt.

In the 1870s, Egypt's finances fell into complete disarray, and the Khedive was forced to both sell his shares in the canal—snapped up by Benjamin **Disraeli**'s government to keep them out of French hands—and to accept foreign financial oversight in the form of a "dual control" staffed by French and British representatives. In 1879, Khedive Ismail attempted to free himself from foreign control and for his pains was replaced by his son Tewfik on the orders of the Porte, the latter acting at Anglo-French prompting. A nationalist movement under Colonel Ahmed Arabi began to gather force in Egypt, objecting to both Turkish overlordship and European control and also to the military cuts insisted on by European comptrollers. An Anglo-French note of January 1882 offered support to Tewfik, but it had only the effect of making him appear a foreign puppet. The growing power of Arabi, and anti-European riots in Alexandria in June 1882, prompted the arrival of an Anglo-French fleet. But the French government then fell, and the French fleet was ordered to sail. The British admiral on the spot considered that the arming of

Alexandria's forts by Arabi constituted a danger to his force, and on July 11, 1882, he bombarded the city. An expeditionary force under Sir Garnet Wolseley defeated Arabi's army at Tel el-Kebir in the Canal Zone on September 13, 1882.

While out of power, William Gladstone had urged strongly against intervention in Egypt, famously arguing that a British foothold there would become "the certain egg of a North African empire"; he found, in 1882, that, driven by force of circumstance, he had acquired just such an egg. Britain was soon drawn into the Sudan, and thence into Uganda and East Africa. As Gladstone had feared, dreamers like Cecil Rhodes spoke of a "Cape to Cairo" empire. From 1882 until Nasser's coup, Egypt was effectively a British client, although it remained through 1914 formally an Ottoman province. In 1883, the British installed Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer, as consul-general and effective mayor of the palace to the Khedive. Cromer later proclaimed that "we do not govern Egypt; we only govern the governors of Egypt." He set about rationalizing Egypt's finances, and he did a creditable job of paying creditors, reigning in corruption, increasing exports, restoring a healthy balance of payments, and incurring the enduring hostility of Egyptian nationalists. Cromer was skeptical of the Sudanese interventions of 1884–1885 and 1896–1898 as too expensive, although others saw them as essential to Egypt or Britain's prestige. In 1914, Britain, on going to war with Turkey, proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt, although that had in practice been the case since 1882. *See also* Aboukir Bay, Battle of; Africa, Scramble for; Napoleonic Wars.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Elgar, Edward (1857–1934)

A significant contributor to late romantic European music and possibly the greatest English composer of his generation, Edward Elgar is best known for his major works, which include *The Dream of Gerontius* and *Variations on an Original Theme "Enigma."* His less substantial *Pomp & Circumstance Marches*, however, became standards of popular national sentiment. Most notably, A. C. Benson's *Land of Hope & Glory*, set to Elgar's *Pomp & Circumstance March No. 1*, is to this day sung at the last night of the Prom Concerts, its words evoking the patriotism of power.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Elgin, James Bruce, Eighth Earl of (1811–1863)

Governor-in-chief of British North America, Elgin inherited his earldom and a heavily encumbered estate in 1841. In 1842, he accepted appointment as governor of Jamaica and spent the rest of his career in imperial employment. In Jamaica, he

was unable to resolve conflicts between planters and former slaves—now “apprentices”—caused by the abolition of slavery in the previous decade.

In 1846, he went to **Canada**, where he oversaw the adoption of **responsible government**. In Canada, he outraged Tory opinion by speaking French in the legislature and by assenting to the Rebellion Losses bill, which in the Tory view rewarded disloyalty. He also oversaw the negotiation of the 1854 reciprocity treaty with the United States. Refusing a cabinet post in Lord **Palmerston**’s government, in 1857, Elgin was made plenipotentiary to **China** and **Japan**, responsible for opening up trade with those nations with the aid of a large expeditionary force that sailed with him. He was successful in both countries.

In 1859, however, Chinese forts fired on a British emissary—who happened to be Elgin’s brother—and Palmerston sent Elgin back to China with a combined Anglo-French force which in 1860 sacked the Chinese emperor’s summer palace and entered Peking in triumph. In 1862, he was made Viceroy of **India**, where he died the following year.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Elgin, Victor Alexander Bruce, Ninth Earl of (1849–1917)

Victor Bruce, ninth earl of Elgin was viceroy of **India**. The son of the eighth earl of **Elgin**, Victor was born in **Canada** but educated at Eton and Balliol, Oxford. Appointed Viceroy of India by the Liberal Prime Minister Lord Rosebery in 1894, he served through 1899. In India, he was a moderate reformer, overseeing the operation of the Tories’ Indian Councils Act of 1892, which introduced a small degree of representative government in India, and he also worked energetically on famine relief. His viceroyalty, however, has tended to be overshadowed by the more programmatic tenure of his successor, Lord **Curzon**.

Elgin served as colonial secretary in the ministry of Henry **Campbell-Bannerman**, where he oversaw the grant of self-government to the conquered Boer republics. He is best remembered, however, for controlling his bumptious young parliamentary secretary, Winston **Churchill**. Churchill began his tenure of office by sending Elgin a long memorandum describing the Empire’s problems and ending with the words “these are my views.” Elgin returned the paper with the annotation, “but not mine.”

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Ems Telegram (1870)

Document that instigated the **Franco-Prussian War**. The Ems Telegram was a message from the Prussian King, **Wilhelm I**, to Prime Minister **Otto von Bismarck**. On July 13, 1870, the telegram was sent from Bad Ems where Wilhelm spent his holidays. It reported an encounter between Wilhelm and the French ambassador, in which the king politely refused to promise that no member of his family would seek

the Spanish throne. Bismarck changed the wording of the telegram. By abridgement, Bismarck made it look like outright provocation on the part of France, and he had it published in the newspapers. Bismarck's intention was to start a war with France. The French considered the doctored telegram a provocation. On July 19, France declared war on the North German Confederation. *See also* Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon; German Empire.

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MARTIN MOLL

Engels, Friedrich (1820–1895)

A philosopher and political economist, Friedrich Engels is best known as Karl Marx's lifetime friend and ally. Engels was born in Barmen, present-day Wuppertal, Germany on November 28, 1820, the eldest son of a successful textile manufacturer. The works of the radical German poet Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) and the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) greatly influenced Engels. The German Socialist Moses Hess (1812–1875) converted Engels to Communist beliefs. While passing through Paris in 1844, Engels met Marx, and their lifelong association began.

In Manchester, England, Engels came into contact with chartism, the movement for extension of suffrage to workers. He contributed to the *Northern Star* and other publications and made a study of political economy. His experience and studies convinced him that politics and history could be explained only in terms of the economic development of society. He firmly believed that the social evils of the time were the inevitable result of the age-old institution of private property. These conclusions were embodied in a historical study, *Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844), a creditable piece of factual research that was highly praised by Karl Marx and established Engels's reputation as a revolutionary political economist.

In 1844, Engels visited Marx in Paris. Marx had published works sympathetic to **communism**. The two men found that they had arrived independently at identical views on capitalism. Engels wrote that there was virtually "complete agreement in all theoretical fields." Their many-sided collaboration, which continued until the death of Marx in 1883, had two principal aspects: systematic development of the principles of communism, later known as Marxism; and the organization of an international Communist movement. Lesser aspects of their collaboration included journalistic writing for the *New York Tribune* and other publications.

In elaborating Communist ideas and principles, the two men delved into the field of philosophy but subsequently turned to other fields. Marx dealt particularly with political thought, political economy, and economic history; Engels's interests included the physical sciences, mathematics, anthropology, military science, and languages. *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), written by Marx, partly on the basis of a draft prepared by Engels, influenced all subsequent Communist literature and is regarded as a classic articulation of modern Communist views.

After the death of Marx in 1883, Engels, in his own words, had to play the first fiddle for the first time. He did it through his writings that suggested the “orthodox” ways of interpreting Marx and through advising numerous newly emerging Marxist groups in various countries. Sometimes Engels tried to serve as a moderating influence, raising his voice against extreme emphasis on “revolutionary violence.” He could not, however, prevent Leninist-Stalinist orthodoxy from shaping some of the most oppressive totalitarian regimes of the time. Engels died in London on August 5, 1895, long before it all happened; but his name, just as the name of Marx, cannot be dissociated from the most traumatic experiment of the twentieth century. Engels was also a military critic, and he held out the hope that the universal conscription common in his time might become the vehicle of social revolution—a hope not wholly unfounded. *See also* Lenin, Vladimir.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Entente Cordiale (1904)

A “friendly understanding,” the Entente Cordiale was an agreement signed on April 8, 1904, between France and Britain resolving longstanding colonial grievances. The agreement initiated a policy of Anglo-French cooperation and served as the embryo for the Triple Entente between Britain, France, and Russia during World War I.

Before the entente, Britain focused on maintaining a policy of “splendid isolation” from continental European affairs, and France became increasingly preoccupied with the preservation of its security after its 1871 defeat by Prussia, which subsequently unified a German state. A temporary shift in German policy, emphasizing relations with Britain, prompted Russia to fear isolation. France, seeking an ally against Germany, sought an 1891 Russian entente and eventually signed a military pact in 1894 that became a cornerstone of foreign policy for both countries.

Recent developments in Egypt had strained France’s relations with Britain. The khedive declared bankruptcy in 1876, and a system of Anglo-French control, using an international financial commission, worked to eliminate Egypt’s debt. But in 1882, an uprising prompted Britain to secure the Suez Canal. When France refused to assist, Britain occupied Egypt unilaterally and dissolved dual control. A humiliated France used its creditor position to complicate British attempts to reform international financial control. French foreign minister Théophile Delessé believed that Britain would negotiate over Egypt if pressured at a vital location. He chose Fashoda on the upper Nile River, but the venture led to another humiliation in the **Fashoda Incident** of 1898. After Fashoda, France altered its Egyptian policy from confrontation to compensation and focused on Morocco to complete its North African empire and to improve its Mediterranean position.

Fear of German naval expansion and tension with Russia, meanwhile, made France attractive to Britain. In 1903, King Edward VII of Britain and French President Émile Loubet made reciprocal state visits to mend Anglo-French relations. Negotiations between Paul Cambon, French ambassador, and Lord Lansdowne, British foreign secretary, then ran from July 1903 to April 1904. The talks involved Madagascar, the New Hebrides, Newfoundland fishing rights, Siam, and West Africa. At the center of negotiations, however, was the future of Egypt and Morocco. Britain jettisoned its Moroccan ambitions in return for promises of free trade lasting 30 years. France agreed to give Britain a free hand in Egypt and to refrain from Mediterranean coastal fortifications that could menace Gibraltar. To prevent a German alliance, Britain also argued Spain's Moroccan interests needed consideration. Subsequent German behavior in the Moroccan Crisis of 1905 served to deepen Anglo-French collaboration and led to the military conversations of 1906–1914.

An Anglo-Russian entente followed in 1907, establishing a spheres-of-influence understanding in Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet, but also paving the path toward formation of the Triple Entente and ultimately an alliance that confronted Germany with a two-front war in August 1914. *See also:* Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Balance of Power; Triple Alliance.

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ERIC MARTONE

Eritrea

Eritrea was an Italian colony on the Red Sea coast of east Africa. In 1869, the Rubattino Steamship Company had purchased the port of Assab to use as a trading station on the Red Sea. When the port proved less than successful, Italian investors acquired Massawa in 1885 with the connivance of the British. This angered Ethiopia, which believed that Italy had infringed on its rights to the city. To avoid a conflict, the Italians agreed to halt further expansion. The Ethiopian Emperor Yohannes IV, however, believed that the Italians violated this promise and attacked an Italian military column at Dogali in 1887, before advancing toward Massawa. There were only a small number of Italian forces in East Africa, and Italy was unwilling to send metropolitan troops. So colonial officials reached an understanding with Menelik, king of Shoa, against Johannes, thereby embroiling Italy in Ethiopian politics.

Menelik gave Asmara and Keren to the Italians, who also gained further territory from warring Moslem tribes. The informal colonial administration, which until 1882 was a mixed private-public company, proved inadequate. Rome appointed military governors, but imperial enthusiasts went further and argued that a single colony in East Africa would better aid the spread of Italian influence. In 1890, the Italian government therefore merged the scattered holdings along the Red Sea into Eritrea. Yet the hopes to use Eritrea as a base for colonial expansion ended with Italy's defeat at the Battle of Adowa in 1896. With its territorial ambitions shattered, Italy transferred control of Eritrea to civilian authority and moved the capital to Asmara. Otherwise, Italy neglected the colony, hoping it would absorb the nation's

excess population and become self-sufficient. Eritrea exported a limited variety of agricultural products—coffee, gum, and hides—but lacked other natural resources and was ill-suited for large-scale farming. It required constant subsidization. The only benefit the colony provided was in the large number of Eritreans who fought during the Italo-Ottoman War of 1911–1912. *See also* Africa, Scramble for.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLLO

Ethiopia

The reunification of Ethiopia, an ancient east African kingdom also known as **Abyssinia**, was begun in the nineteenth century by Lij Kasa, who conquered Amhara, Gojjam, Tigray, and Shoa, and in 1855 had himself crowned emperor as Tewodros II. He began to modernize and centralize the legal and administrative systems, despite the opposition of local governors. Tensions developed with Great Britain, and Tewodros imprisoned several Britons in 1867, including the British consul. A British military expedition under Robert Napier, later Lord Napier, was sent out and easily defeated the emperor's forces near Magdala in 1868. To avoid capture, Tewodros committed suicide.

A brief civil war followed, and in 1872, a chieftain of Tigray became emperor as Yohannes IV. Yohannes's attempts to further centralize the government led to revolts by local leaders. In addition, his regime was threatened during the years 1875–1876 by Egyptian incursions and, after 1881, by raids of followers of the **Mahdi** in **Sudan**. The opening of the **Suez Canal** in 1869 increased the strategic importance of Ethiopia, and several European powers—particularly Italy, France, and Great Britain—vied for influence in the area. **Italy** focused its attention on Ethiopia, seizing Aseb in 1872 and Massawa in 1885. In 1889, Yohannes was killed fighting the Mahdists. After a brief succession crisis, the king of Shoa, who had Italian support, was crowned Emperor **Menelik II**.

Menelik signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Italy at Wuchale in 1889. In response to a dispute over the meaning of the treaty—Rome claimed it had been given a protectorate over Ethiopia, which Menelik denied—Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1895 but was decisively defeated by Menelik's forces at **Adowa** on March 1, 1896. By the subsequent Treaty of Addis Ababa, signed in October 1896, the Treaty of Wuchale was annulled, and Italy recognized the independence of Ethiopia while retaining its Eritrean colonial base. During his reign, Menelik greatly expanded the size of Ethiopia, adding the provinces of Harar, Sidamo, and Kaffa. In addition, he further modernized both the military and government and made Addis Ababa the capital of the country in 1889, developed the economy, and promoted the building of the country's first railroad.

Thus Ethiopia was the only independent sub-Saharan African state at the end of the nineteenth century. In October 1935, Italy invaded the country. Addis Ababa fell to the invaders, and in May 1936, Mussolini proclaimed Italy's King Victor Emmanuel III Emperor of Ethiopia. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Egypt; Eritrea.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Extraterritoriality

Extraterritoriality refers to immunity from the jurisdiction of one's territory of residence, arising in large part from the demands of Europeans resident in non-Christian states. It is usually reserved for the official representatives of states and international organizations, but European powers obtained extraterritorial privileges for their citizens in all the independent states of the "East" in the middle of the nineteenth century. The origins of this form of extraterritoriality can be traced back to the southern Mediterranean, where rulers since the Middle Ages dealt with communities of Western traders by allowing them to govern themselves in the so-called "capitulations." Rulers in the Far East may likewise have perceived extraterritoriality as a means of dealing with isolated communities of alien coastal traders. But where it formed part of "unequal treaties," such as those extracted from China in 1842, Japan in 1854, and Siam in 1855, it became a tool in the arsenal of informal imperialism and a humiliating sign that the states forced to grant extraterritorial privileges to foreigners were regarded as inferior and incapable of "civilized" government.

Extraterritorial jurisdiction was exercised by foreign consuls and therefore entailed the establishment of consular outposts wherever foreigners were allowed to reside. It was claimed to imply freedom from taxation for Western nationals and businesses and was not always exercised without partiality toward Western defendants. As it applied also to subjects of the European powers' colonies, groups like citizens of Hong Kong in mainland China or Burmese and Laotians in Siam were effectively beyond the reach of the local administration.

One of the main political aims of Asia's modernizing nations was to free themselves of the infringement on sovereignty that extraterritoriality implied. The only way to do so was to establish a Western-style legal system with an independent judiciary and published laws. Japan obtained the renunciation of extraterritoriality in this manner in 1899, and Britain renounced extraterritoriality in Siam in 1909, though on condition that justice be administered by a Western judge when the defendant was British. Therefore extraterritoriality and the struggle to remove it were a powerful agent of institutional westernization.

Germany lost all of her extraterritorial privileges in the Versailles peace settlement of 1919. In China, Britain and the United States held on to extraterritoriality until 1943, when China became their military ally. *See also* Ottoman Empire; Qing Dynasty.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Eylau, Battle of (1807)

A bloody yet indecisive battle of the **Napoleonic Wars** between Russian Field Marshal Levin Bennigsen's 67,000 men and Napoleon **Bonaparte's** 45,000. On

February 7, in bitter cold, the French took possession of the town of Eylau, southeast of Königsberg in East Prussia. The next day, Bennigsen attacked in the midst of a sudden blizzard. Napoleon's flanks were under heavy pressure and Marshal Pierre Augereau's moves against the Russian center were ineffective, as in the confusion of the blizzard they swerved off course into the fire of the Russian guns. The Russians even threatened Napoleon's headquarters, but the Imperial Guard prevented disaster. Seeking the initiative, Marshal Joachim Murat led more than 10,000 cavalry in a dramatic attack, overrunning the Russian guns and center before returning to safety. With reinforcements arriving on both sides, the battle continued under awful conditions until 11 P.M. that evening, after which Bennigsen withdrew. Tired and numbed by the weather and slaughter, both sides withdrew to their winter quarters to await a spring campaign. The battle is commemorated by the painting *Napoleon at Eylau* by Antoine-Jean Gros in the Musée du Louvre. *See also* Tilsit, Treaty of.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

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Falkenhayn, Erich von (1861–1922)

A Prussian general and chief of the German general staff from 1914 to 1916, Erich von Falkenhayn was born into a Prussian **Junker** family. His military career began at the age of 10 with his entry in a military school. He interrupted his successful military career and became a military adviser in China in 1896. Falkenhayn came to the attention of the kaiser while working as a general staff officer in the East Asian Expeditionary Corps. The peak of his prewar career was the appointment to Prussian minister of war in July 1913. Following Helmuth von Moltke's dismissal after the Battle of the Marne in September 1914, Falkenhayn replaced him as the chief of the general staff. He initially attempted to achieve a victory by continuing the campaign on the Western Front but failed in the Battle of Ypres.

He aimed at a negotiated peace, but was unable to convince the chancellor or other influential military leaders, above all Paul von Hindenburg and Erich von Ludendorff, of his strategy. Their attempts to achieve his dismissal in early 1915 failed, and Falkenhayn continued in his post until August 1916, when Rumania declared war on Germany and he lost the kaiser's support, which had thus far protected him from his critics. He was replaced by Hindenburg and Ludendorff. His name is closely linked with the disastrous Verdun campaign and with a **strategy** of attrition aimed at a negotiated peace. After his dismissal he commanded the Ninth Army in Rumania, followed by stints in Turkey and Russia. In 1920, Falkenhayn published his memoirs; he died in 1922 from kidney failure. *See also* German Empire; Schlieffen Plan.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Far East

Usually referred to today as East and Southeast Asia, the Far East encompasses the region of Asia that reaches geographically from the Malay Peninsula in the southwest to **Korea** and **Japan** in the northeast. Politically, a large part of the region belonged to the old Chinese world at the beginning of the Age of Imperialism, bound to the Manchu court in Peking by cultural ties and tributary relationships. Europeans had only a tenuous foothold there at that time: the Philippines were part of the Spanish Empire, and the Portuguese held **Macao** and, in present-day Indonesia, had accepted various forms of subservience to the Dutch. Western traders were allowed limited intercourse with Chinese merchants in the southern port city of Canton, but China had twice, in 1793–95 and 1816, rejected Britain's demand for more regular diplomatic and commercial relations. Japan finally refused commercial or political intercourse with the outside world.

Imperialism, understood in a cultural sense, includes the development of a system of meanings in which the Far East was “far away” from a West that began to perceive itself as the sole and undisputed center of civilization. Notions like the Chinese view according to which China was the center of the world and countries beyond East Asia did not count for much were swept away by the superior force of Western industry, arms, and organization. And although eighteenth-century Europeans were ready to admire China and Japan as ancient civilizations with important cultural achievements to their credit, this attitude gave way, around 1830, to the picture of a stagnant, decadent East to be uplifted and civilized by the more advanced West. Confidence in the superiority of the West remained predominant for the rest of the Age of Imperialism and was rattled only by the experience of Europe's near self-destruction in World War I. Imperialism was not primarily a cultural process, however, and it was power in its various forms that determined that the Far East was “far away,” China was no longer “central,” not even for the Chinese, and Japan was no longer able to maintain her self-imposed isolation.

The geopolitical situation after the defeat of France in 1815 was marked by the predominant position of the **British Empire**. In the Far East, British policy was shaped by her rule over India and by her trading interests, especially in the highly profitable exchange of Chinese tea and silver against Indian opium. By mid-century, the increasing superiority of British—and later, more generally Western—industry, technology, arms, and organization had markedly increased the cost-benefit ratio of overseas expansion; and additional incentives for expansion were provided by the search for new markets, whether demanded by industrialists and traders or preemptively pursued by politicians, the desire for national greatness, competition between the imperialist powers, and the revival of the Christian missionary enterprise.

Britain took **Singapore**, controlling the Malacca Straits, which link the Indian Ocean with the South China Sea, in 1819. In three wars in 1824–26, 1852–53 and 1885, India's neighbor **Burma**, which was unwilling to accept commercial relations and a subservient position vis-à-vis **India**, was also conquered. But otherwise the British were reluctant to expand territorially and kept in check Indian officials and local adventurers who sought to extend British possessions. In 1816, they returned the Dutch colonies seized during the Napoleonic Wars, and they continued to respect the domains of Spain and the Netherlands because these smaller powers kept out stronger rivals and ensured a minimum of order and commercial openness.

Therefore throughout Southeast Asia, Western direct administration remained limited to the pre-1815 colonies for much of the century, and expansion took the form of private adventurism or of contractual relationships with local rulers.

Indeed, in the most important instances, imperialism in the Far East led to “informal empire” rather than to outright colonial rule. **China, Siam,** and Japan all escaped colonialism—the latter even acquiring colonies of her own—but they did not escape other forms of institutionalized Western privilege and predominance. The **First Opium War, 1839–1842**, was the starting point of this form of expansionism: China, concerned about the economic and social dislocation caused by the opium trade, outlawed the importation of the drug and ordered the destruction of stocks accumulated in Canton. Britain retaliated and quickly defeated China. The policy of Britain’s foreign minister, Lord **Palmerston**, is a perfect illustration of the “imperialism of free trade.” Palmerston did not want to conquer China, but to make her accept **free trade**—notably, but not exclusively, in opium—and diplomatic relations following the forms developed among Western nations. Consequently, the peace settlement, the **Treaty of Nanking of 1842**, did not mention opium except in connection with compensation for unlawfully destroyed property. Instead, it forced China to open five **treaty ports** to foreign trade and residence, to limit her import duties to 5 percent, to grant foreigners **extraterritoriality**, and to accept official relations with foreign consuls. Further provisions included the cession of **Hong Kong** and a war indemnity. In 1856–1860, Britain, joined by France, again went to war against China, imposing a revised treaty, the **Treaty of Tientsin**, that provided for diplomatic representation at Peking, the creation of a Chinese foreign ministry, the **Tsungli yamen**, the opening of ports on the Yangtze River, freedom of movement for Christian missionaries, and an end to the Chinese practice of referring to Westerners as “barbarians” in official communication.

Elsewhere, the fate of China did not go unnoticed. Japan signed treaties modeled on the **Treaty of Nanking** in 1854 and 1858 under the threat of naval action from the **United States**, while Siam’s leadership correctly figured a slightly less onerous settlement might be possible when entered into voluntarily, which happened in 1855. Korea accepted treaty relations with Japan and with Western powers in 1876. Informal empire thus rested on a series of “unequal treaties” between Western and Asian powers—“unequal,” because the privileges conferred on the Western side were not reciprocal. Asian states retained their independent statehood, but lost part of their sovereignty and were constantly exposed to political or military interference. An important element of the treaty regime was the most-favored-nation clause, which automatically granted each “treaty power” all the privileges acquired by any one of them. This clause guaranteed the cosmopolitan character of Western dominance in the Far East, embodying the spirit of “a fair field and no favours” in which Britain, confident in her industrial, financial, and commercial superiority, led the opening up of the world for free trade and civil international relations—voluntarily if possible and by force if necessary.

Informal empire presupposed a measure of stability and efficiency on the part of Asian states, and restraint on the part of the West. However, the new character and urgency of Asian-Western relations was an important factor of destabilization throughout the Far East, although often in conjunction with internal factors such as ethnic and religious tensions and economic difficulties. In many parts of the Far East, the mid-nineteenth century therefore was a time of turbulence and

rapid change. In China, the decline of the state's institutions and limits to economic growth—even as the population increased from 150 million to 430 million between 1700 and 1850—became apparent at the end of the eighteenth century. Conditions were aggravated by opium imports, corruption, and the political and military pressure of the West. Rebellions occurred with increasing frequency, the largest of which, the **Taiping Rebellion** cost 20 million lives between 1850 and 1864 and severely weakened the power and finances of the Chinese state.

Still following the lead of Britain, the powers pursued the “co-operative policy” of seeking to keep in power the Qing Dynasty during the years from 1860 to 1895. Having accepted the Treaties of Tientsin, the Qing upheld the treaty regime, as the Western powers gently prodded them in the direction of reforms. Western soldiers under Charles Gordon fought against the Taiping, and the Imperial Maritime Customs was created, an administrative branch of the Chinese state organized on Western lines and staffed by Westerners, mostly Britons, under the leadership of Sir Robert Hart (1835–1911), which collected China's maritime duties and thereby provided the central government with its most important and most reliable source of income. The leading role in defeating the Taiping and introducing economic and military reforms, however, was played neither by Westerners nor by the imperial administration, but by local elites and provincial governors such as Tseng Kuo-fan (1811–1872) and Li Hung-chang (1823–1901). While the central government remained skeptical of modern technology and refused to authorize the construction of railways, provincial governors established China's first modern shipyards, arsenals, iron, and textile plants. The principles on which these enterprises were organized, “official supervision and merchant management” and “Chinese essence-Western application”, however, implied that reforms stopped short of institutional change and in the end failed.

Meanwhile, Western penetration of the Chinese interior remained limited. Commerce did not develop in the proportions expected by those who had enthused about the “market with 400 million customers,” and the activity of Western trading houses, although profitable, mostly remained confined to the treaty ports. As a result of quickly expanding Chinese emigration, there quickly were more East Asians in America than Westerners in East Asia. The only Westerners to penetrate deeply into the Chinese interior were Christian **missionaries**. The success they encountered in their endeavors was, like that of traders, disappointing. Nevertheless, missionary activity was the cause of severe and permanent conflict with local elites and populations and of frequent disturbances, sometimes involving the loss of life and always leading to demands for compensation supported by foreign consuls and, occasionally, gunboats.

A stark contrast to developments in China is presented by Japan. Like China, Japan experienced economic and social problems in the early nineteenth century and was pushed into internal conflict over how to deal with the threat from the West and the enforced opening to foreign commerce. There was violent opposition against the **Tokugawa shōgunate** that for many Japanese seemed too accommodating toward the Western powers, and in response to antifoiegn rebellions, Western gunboats shelled Japanese cities in 1863–64. The Shogunate lost support and was abolished in 1868, power passing back into the hands of the *tenno*, the emperor. The **Meiji Restoration** was restorative only insofar as it reestablished the power of the

tenno; otherwise, it started one of the most remarkable, comprehensive, and swift social transformations in human history. Guidance for the changes was provided by the slogan “rich country-strong army.” The old class system of samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants was abolished and a Western-style administration replaced the old feudal system. A new centralized tax system provided the state with the means to put itself at the forefront of change. Compulsory education and military service were introduced. Modern industrial enterprises were set up by the state, some of them becoming competitive exporters after their privatization in the 1880s. High-ranking statesmen were sent on study missions abroad and foreign experts brought to Japan.

Japan passed through a phase of enthusiasm for things Western in the 1870s and experienced a conservative backlash in the 1880s, all the while developing her own version of modernity. Under the influence of conservative statesmen with firsthand experience of the West like Iwakura Tomomi (1825–83) and Hirobumi Ito (1841–1909), a concept for Japan’s future political institutions took shape. Partly to fend off demands for parliamentary democracy, the *tenno* in 1881 promised a constitution and a national assembly. In 1889, Japan adopted a constitution influenced by that of imperial Germany, with an elected legislature and a government responsible only to the emperor. Legal and constitutional reform allowed Japan to negotiate an end to the “unequal treaties” by 1899. Thus within two decades after the Meiji restoration, Japan was a constitutional centralized state with a modern army and modern industry, Western-style legal institutions, and a modern education system. Within two more decades, she would become a great power with colonies of her own, and a cultural hub from which Western knowledge and methods were diffused, in adapted form, throughout the Far East.

On the fringes of the Far East, European territorial expansion accelerated when France and, later, Germany, the United States, and Japan became more active, and also because the opening of the **Suez Canal** in 1869 greatly improved communication with Europe. The nature of colonial rule, however, did not change much until the turn of the century. In 1859, France occupied Saigon in response to the murder of Christian missionaries, and in 1862, she acquired the surrounding territory of Cochinchina from Annam. **Cambodia**, feeling threatened by her neighbor Siam, accepted a French protectorate in 1863. France then concentrated on the search for an access to the China market via the Mekong and the Red River in **Tonkin**. These advances, not always authorized from Paris, provoked the British move against Burma in 1885, and a war with China that defended France’s traditional hegemony over Annam, 1883–85. The war cost Premier Jules Ferry his job, but nevertheless resulted in the acquisition of Annam and Tonkin. The French possessions in Indochina were unified in the “Union Indochinoise” in 1887, and rounded off in 1893, after France had sent gunboats to Bangkok and forced Siam to surrender the Western part of **Laos**.

The Dutch were confronted with armed uprisings in their empire, especially the Java war, of 1825–30, and with the need to cover the costs of colonial administration. For the latter purpose the exploitative “cultivation system” was created, under which peasants were required to produce crops for export instead of being taxed. From the 1870s, state influence and monopolies were reduced and a free trade regime set up, and trade greatly expanded. In the Spanish Philippines, restrictions on foreign

trade were lifted already in 1834, and British and American merchants quickly acquired a dominant position in the commercial life of the colony, which developed a strong export agriculture. Spanish rule, however, was increasingly resented as nationalist and liberal sentiment strengthened. When conflict over Cuba led to the **Spanish-American War** in 1898, the government of the United States was negotiating with the Philippine rebels, but the rebels quickly changed their attitude when they saw that the Spanish were prepared to surrender and hand the colony over to the Americans. Thus the United States, long an unlikely colonial power, acquired an empire of its own. To the north, finally, Russia occupied Siberia in 1858, and by the end of the century, the rivalry between Russia and Britain stretched all along Asia, from the **Bosporus** to **Manchuria**.

The intensified imperialist competition resulting from new challenges to Britain's geopolitical hegemony apparent from the late 1870s reached China after the **Sino-Japanese War** of 1894–95 and the “Triple Intervention” of Russia, France and Germany against Japan's territorial demands. Military defeat exposed China's weakness, and she became the focus of great power rivalry. The Far East took center stage in world politics for the next decade, drawing Japan and the United States into a regional balance of power that was no longer purely European. An intense rivalry developed under the close scrutiny of millions of jingoistic armchair strategists in living rooms, universities, parliaments, and editorial offices. When Germany, disappointed in her demands for “compensation” for the 1895 intervention, seized the port of **Kiaochow** in 1897, the “scramble for concessions” was on: China was forced by the other powers to grant them advantages comparable to those extracted by Germany, such as the 99-year lease of Kiaochow plus mining and railway concessions in the surrounding province of Shantung. Thus Russia acquired **Port Arthur** and the right to build a railway across Manchuria, France obtained **Kwang-chow Wan** and permission to build a railway from Tonkin into Yunnan, Britain got **Weihaiwei**, the enlargement of **Hong Kong**, and contracts to build several large railway lines for the Chinese government. Governments and public opinion in Europe began to debate the future of China—Could she remain independent? Should she be divided into semi-independent “spheres of influence” allotted to the great powers? Or would she collapse and have to be partitioned? In the end, the United States, fearing exclusion from China, proposed a joint declaration to guarantee an “open door,” to the trade and investment of third powers and preclude any exclusive spheres of influence, which was unenthusiastically accepted by all the powers except Russia.

The surge of imperialist aggression triggered varied responses in China. A movement demanding much more radical change than the “self-strengtheners” appeared and their leaders, K'ang Yu-wei (1858–1927) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873–1929) gained the ear of emperor Kuang-hsü (1875–1908) during the “Hundred days” of reforms in 1898, but the reformers were removed from power—and some of them executed—when ex-regent Ts'u Hsi placed the emperor under house arrest and reasserted her leadership. At the same time, the Boxer movement opposed to anything Western was gaining ground in Northern China, strengthened by indignation at expansionism in the region, especially by Germany, ecological and economic problems, as well as constant conflict with Christian missionaries. When the movement became too strong to control, Ts'u Hsi decided to give it official sanction and to allow the siege of the diplomatic quarter in Peking by the Boxers in summer

1900. In the face of this situation, the unity underlying the rivalry between the powers quickly asserted itself, and all powers with interests in China jointly intervened. China was defeated and had to accept yet another indemnity, as well as the stationing of foreign troops in Peking.

The **Boxer Insurrection** and the expensive occupation of parts of North China convinced most of the powers that colonizing China was too costly to contemplate. Most of them also sought to avoid a major international crisis in the Far East. The only clash between imperialist powers involved Russia and Japan, for whom the Far East was geographically *not* far away. Russia had systematically strengthened her position in the Far East through the construction of the **Trans-Siberian Railway** between 1891 and 1905 and by stationing troops in Northern China during the Boxer Insurrection. Japan, concerned about her position in Manchuria and in neighboring Korea, demanded Russia's withdrawal, and attacked Port Arthur when Russia refused. The **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904/05 was won decisively by Japan, after resource-intensive combat foreshadowing World War I. It was the last major international crisis concerning the Far East before the Great War, and it is seen as a major turning point in diplomatic, military, and indeed world history.

In international relations generally, the decade witnessed significant realignments. Britain, feeling threatened by Germany and Russia, concluded the **Anglo-Japanese Alliance** in 1902 and resolved her difficulties with France in the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904. Japan's victory permitted the completion of this diplomatic realignment with the "Far Eastern Agreements," a series of separate bilateral treaties that removed the remaining tensions between defeated Russia, financially exhausted Japan, Britain, and France. Germany was left out and started complaining about being "encircled," forgetting that the rash methods of German *Weltpolitik* had provided the spur for the others to liquidate their differences in the first place. For some, the year 1905 marked the beginning of a global challenge against the West. Fears of a "Yellow Peril," initially drummed up in Europe to help justify the Triple Intervention, now gripped the United States, where Japan was seen as a new rival in the Pacific. The challenge, however, was an ambivalent one. As contemporary observers noted, Japan's victory was not only that of an Asian over a European power, but also of a constitutional, rapidly industrializing state over an autocratic peasant empire. It gave an important boost and a new direction to anti-imperialist sentiment throughout the Far East and beyond, and it convinced Asian nationalists that the way to emancipation was to follow the model of Japan by concentrating on the creation of an industrial economy, a constitutional political system and a modern army. Chinese students went to Japan in ever greater numbers, some joining revolutionary Kuomintang, and returned to staff the modern army and government departments that were being created after the Boxer fiasco.

In China, Britain and the United States, now supported by France and Germany, sought to defend informal empire by pitting Western financial power against the weakened military-backed expansionism of Russia and Japan. Most of China's railways were constructed with Western capital in the short period between 1903 and 1914. Large investments in China's railways and government loans made the powers interested in propping up the Qing and the conservative reformers around Chang Chi-tung (1837–1909) and Yuan Shih-k'ai (1859–1916) who wished to centralize power in Peking with the help of Western money and technology. But China's

increasingly nationalist reform movement demanded railway construction under Chinese control. Nationalists turned against both the powers and a dynasty that nationalists accused of being both alien, “Manchu,” and weak in foreign policy. Both grievances combined in the revolution of October 1911, which led to the downfall of the Qing and the establishment of a republic. Revolutionary troubles further weakened China politically and financially and left her without defenses against Japan when the European powers started fighting each other in 1914.

Japanese nationalism remained intense after the war against Russia, and Japan committed strongly to colonization in Korea—a Japanese protectorate since 1905 and a colony since 1910—and to the exploitation of the Japanese sphere of influence in Manchuria. Economic growth continued after 1900, in part fuelled by government subsidies paid out of the Chinese war indemnity of 1895. In politics, government based on parties and parliamentary majorities slowly became the rule; however, military and colonial expenditure and domestic investments caused financial strains and political crises.

The process of carving up the region was completed by 1910. Korea was absorbed by Japan, Siam’s existence had been guaranteed in Anglo-French agreements in 1896 and 1904, and her borders with the neighboring colonial territories were finally settled in 1907–09. In the Philippines, the United States had to impose direct rule in a costly war against the liberation movement it had initially supported when the islands were Spanish, but then succeeded in coopting the nationalist elites by setting up an elected legislature and promising eventual independence. The Dutch fought a long war from the 1870s to the early 1900s to impose rule on Sumatra. In all colonial territories, the creation of an administrative and economic infrastructure accelerated after the turn of the century. Direct administration through Western-style institutions now replaced earlier forms of rule by local vassals of a dominant—either colonial or domestic—government. Railway construction was the most important aspect of infrastructure improvement in most territories, and the development of natural resources—plantation crops, tin, rice—for export on the world markets was the focus of economic policies.

By 1914, the process of imperial expansion in the Far East seemed to have brought about a new equilibrium. Colonial frontiers were now neatly drawn and largely undisputed; China and Siam were seeking to play the role of independent nation states; Japan was already integrated into the great power system. Yet there were strains, such as Japanese expansionism, China’s fragility, and the beginnings of modern anticolonial resistance everywhere. Events in the Far East since the turn of the century began to foreshadow those of the post-1914 world: the end of European hegemony, the rise of the United States and of Japan, economic nationalism, and the destructive character of industrialized mass warfare. *See also* Balance of Power; Japanese Empire; *Mission Civilisatrice*; Russian Empire.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Fashoda Incident (1898)

An Anglo-French confrontation that determined the spheres of influence of the French and the British in sub-Saharan Africa and averted the French spread into Sudan and East Africa. Fashoda was a village in the southern **Sudan** on the White Nile. Its modern name is Kodok. In 1898, a French expedition led by Major Jean-Baptiste Marchand occupied Fashoda, laying claim to the upper Nile for France. An international crisis followed when Anglo-Egyptian forces under H. H. **Kitchener** reached Fashoda, where he met Marchand and had long discussions with him to settle the matter peacefully. The outcome of the discussions was that the French and Egyptian flags would be flown, and the decision over the Upper Nile would be settled in discussions conducted by the French and British governments. Ultimately, French claims were withdrawn and the area became part of the Anglo-Egyptian **Sudan**. The incident left a legacy of anti-British bitterness in France that was not overcome until the **Entente Cordiale** of 1904. *See also* Africa, Scramble for.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Fenian Brotherhood

The modern derivation of the ancient *Feonin Erin*, pre-Christian Irish militants, the Fenian Brotherhood was a secret, oath-bound Irish nationalist society dedicated to ending English imperial rule in **Ireland** through physical force, political agitation, or economic pressure. Formally known as the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, in 1858 radical nationalists organized into small units, known as circles, with branches throughout the United Kingdom, Continental Europe, North America, and **Australia** to provide funding, material resources, and logistical support for a nationalist revolution.

In an effort to exacerbate Anglo-American tensions, American Fenians attempted several unsuccessful invasions of **Canada**. Fenian violence peaked in 1867, with an insurrection on March 5–6, followed in December by a terrorist bombing of Clerkenwell Prison in London. Although nominally existent through the early 1880s, ultraviolent factions supplanted the Fenian organization, but the name continued in usage among Anglophiles for decades as a pejorative label for Irish nationalists.

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JONATHAN GANTT

Ferozeshah, Battle of (1845)

A sequel engagement to **Mudki** in the **First Sikh War**. Less than two days after the battle at Mudki, the British army and the Sikh army met again, at Ferozeshah on December 21, 1845. About 13,000 Sikh troops under the command of Lal Singh were entrenched there, and General Sir Hugh Gough began the march toward the enemy at 4 A.M. Seven hours later, at 11 A.M., Gough wanted to attack but was overruled by his second-in-command, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Hardinge, in his capacity as governor-general of India. Gough did not have all available troops with him, and Lord Hardinge made the decision to wait for the rest to arrive. Once they arrived, the attack commenced late in the afternoon. With the addition of Sir John Littler's men, the British had about 18,000 troops. The attack began with an artillery duel. Then Littler's infantry charged, but was repulsed.

As at Mudki, nighttime came and confusion reigned. The British forces had taken the field, though, and camped in the former Sikh position. On the second day of the battle, December 22, a new Sikh army, led by Tej Singh, arrived. Gough ordered a cavalry charge, which was successful, but then the cavalry rode off, as ordered by their commander. This surprised many on both sides, and, fearing a trick, Singh withdrew and led his army back across the Sutlej into Sikh territory. It was a costly victory for the British: 700 killed out of a total of 2,415 casualties. The Sikhs had an estimated 3,000 casualties. *See also* Afghan Wars; India.

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DAVID TURPIE

Ferry, Jules François Camille (1832–1893)

French politician and colonial theorist who, during his two terms as prime minister, initiated major educational reforms and oversaw a significant expansion of the French overseas empire. After brief stints as a lawyer and a liberal Republican journalist known for his critiques of the Second Empire, Ferry entered politics and was elected to the French National Assembly in 1869. Following the French defeat in the **Franco-Prussian War**, he became head of the Republican Left and from 1879–85 held a variety of ministerial posts in the new Third Republic. Although initially more interested in domestic policy, in the wake of the Battle of **Sedan** Ferry became convinced that France needed to obtain colonies to maintain her status as a great power and compete effectively in the growing international economy. In exchange for new markets and guaranteed sources of raw materials, Ferry argued that France in turn had a moral obligation, dubbed the *mission civilisatrice*, to uplift the indigenous peoples of colonized areas by exposing them to French culture, education, industry, and a Western work ethic. These principles became the cornerstone of French colonial policy until the end of World War II.

During his first term as prime minister from September 1880 to November 1881, Ferry supported Pierre Savorgnan de **Brazza**'s efforts to establish a protectorate in the French Congo and authorized the French acquisition of **Tunisia** as a preemptive measure to forestall its annexation by Italy. This measure and its associated expenses proved unpopular and led to the downfall of his first government. In his second term as prime minister, running from February 1883 to March 1885, Ferry served simultaneously as foreign minister and became increasingly involved in colonial policymaking. In 1884, increasing international tensions provoked by German, Belgian and French colonial expansion in Africa led Ferry to join forces with Otto von **Bismarck** in arranging the Conference of **Berlin**, which set ground rules for the acquisition of additional colonies, thereby unleashing the Scramble for Africa. Early the next year, Ferry expanded the existing French protectorate in **Madagascar** at the behest of colonial interest groups. In addition to authorizing colonial expansion in Africa, Ferry also oversaw the growth of French holdings in **Indochina**. Eager to undo the damage caused to French prestige by two earlier failed ventures in the region, in 1883 Ferry dispatched a military expedition to create protectorates over **Annam** and **Tonkin**. Confused reports over temporary military setbacks in Tonkin became a lightning rod for anticolonial sentiment and toppled his second government in 1885. Despite this political setback, Ferry was elected to the Senate in 1891 and became its president less than a month before his 1893 assassination by a religious fanatic. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Belgian Congo; French Empire; French Equatorial Africa; German Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762–1814)

Johann Fichte, a German nationalist philosopher, was born in the duchy of Saxony on May 19, 1762. In 1780, Fichte entered the University of Jena as a theology student. In 1791 he traveled to Königsberg to Immanuel Kant's lectures. While there, Fichte's *Critique of All Revelation* was published; however, the printer accidentally identified it as Kant's work. As a consequence it gained a wide readership and made Fichte's reputation when the mistake was corrected. It also led to a professorship at the University of Jena in 1793.

While at Jena, Fichte began to discuss the French Revolution with private student groups who favored French political ideas. Fichte's admiration for the French Revolution led him to defend it in "Contributions to the Rectification of Public Opinion Concerning the French Revolution," despite its excesses. Between 1796 and 1798, Fichte published his legal and ethical ideas in *Basis of Natural Right* and *System of Ethics*. He claimed that monarchy would soon disappear and be replaced by democratic government. His "Jacobinism" and his atheistic reputation led to his dismissal from his teaching position in 1799. In the spring of that year, Fichte moved to Berlin

where he began to change from an enthusiast of French revolutionary ideas into a German patriot. That same year he published the *Vocation of Man*; the next year he published *The Closed Commercial State*, which engages the idea of an economic autarchy.

Fichte left Berlin for Königsberg after Prussia was defeated by Napoleon in the 1806–07 campaign; however, he returned to a French-occupied Berlin to deliver his “Addresses to the German Nation.” They mark the beginning of German nationalism. In them he urged the creation of a national educational system that would teach patriotism. From 1810 until 1814, he taught at the University of Berlin as a professor of philosophy. He died on January 27, 1814, from typhus contracted while serving as a volunteer in a hospital during a local epidemic.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

Filibuster

A term derived from Dutch (*vrijbouter*) and Spanish (*filibustero*) expressions for “free booty.” It was commonly applied during the nineteenth century to the activities of American entrepreneur-adventurers who undertook small-scale military operations and insurrectionist activities against the governments of Latin American countries, often with the goal of drawing the United States into the conflict to thereby secure their own personal political or commercial interests.

Among the more notorious filibusterers was William Walker (1824–1860), who, after leading a failed filibustering expedition to California in 1853, in 1855 exploited the outbreak of a civil war in Nicaragua to divide the country and establish himself as dictator. Walker, a Southerner, promptly issued a decree opening Nicaragua to slavery. A coalition of neighboring republics ousted him in 1857, but he immediately organized a new expedition. By this time he had become an embarrassment to U.S. foreign policy, specifically regarding the sensitive and strategically important question of the construction and control of a future interoceanic canal across the Central American isthmus. His expedition was therefore apprehended by the U.S. Navy. An expedition to Honduras in the 1860s finally saw him captured, convicted, and executed. Despite the common usage of the term in the United States, filibustering was hardly a uniquely American activity. In terms of its ambition and consequences, the **Jameson Raid** against the government of the Transvaal in 1896 is among the more spectacular examples. *See also* Manifest Destiny, Monroe Doctrine, Panama Canal.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Finland

Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden from the twelfth century until Tsar Alexander I launched the **Russo-Swedish War** of 1808–09, after which it became a

grand duchy of the **Russian Empire**. Finland was guaranteed constitutional government, and its autonomy was generally respected until 1898, when a Pan-Slavist policy of Russification decreed by Tsar **Nicholas II** made Russian the state language of Finland and prompted native Finns and Swedes to make common cause in resistance. This climaxed in 1904 with the assassination of Nikolai Bobrikov, the Russian governor-general.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Japan sought to support a Finnish uprising with a shipment of rifles, but the plan was abandoned when the supply ship was wrecked off the Finnish coast. Russification was suspended in any event with the onset of the 1905 revolution in Russia. In 1906, Finland regained its autonomy and was also permitted to elect a diet by universal suffrage. A period of repression returned in 1910, but the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 afforded Finns an opportunity to declare their independence. The next year Finnish “Whites” led by Carl Mannerheim and supported by Germany fought off the Red Army, and Finland’s independence was recognized by Russia in December 1918. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Pan-Slavism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Fisher, John Arbuthnot, Lord Fisher (1841–1920)

An influential British naval officer, and first sea lord before and again during World War I. Fisher was nominated a cadet in the **Royal Navy** at the age of 13 and served without seeing action in the **Crimean War**. He then served as a midshipman in the China War of 1857. Academically excellent and extremely ambitious, he rose rapidly through the officer ranks. Promoted captain in 1874, he held numerous sea-going commands and also increasing senior posts with the fleet gunnery school, HMS *Excellent*. In 1882, he commanded HMS *Inflexible*, the most powerful ship in the navy, during the bombardment of Alexandria, and went on to command the naval brigade that held the city until the arrival of the army’s expeditionary force. Fisher caught dysentery in **Egypt**, but nevertheless went back to England to take command of *Excellent*, going on to become director of ordnance at the Admiralty.

In 1899, Fisher became commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, at the time the most important command in the navy. He became second sea lord, responsible for naval personnel, in 1902. In 1904, he succeeded, as had been expected, to the post of first sea lord, the senior officer of the navy—not to be confused with first lord of the admiralty, the cabinet minister for the navy. In an era dominated by a growing German threat on the one hand and financial pressures on the other, Fisher introduced reforms to the reserve system, recalled from far-flung stations and retired numerous obsolete ships to save money for first-class ones, consolidated the Channel and Home fleets, and introduced torpedo-firing destroyers. His most important innovation, however, was the turbine-powered, all-big-gun *Dreadnought* class of battleships, which all made all previous ships obsolete. Fisher, however, really wished to move to a class of battle cruisers fast and powerful enough to replace battleships entirely, an ambition never realized.

In retirement after 1910, Fisher pined for recall. He advised the admiralty on the use of oil in place of coal, and correctly foresaw the importance of the submarine.

Shortly after the outbreak of war in 1914, Winston Churchill, then first lord of the admiralty, and an admirer of Fisher's dynamism, recalled him as first sea lord. After the abortive attacks on the Dardanelles in April and May 1915, however, Fisher resigned in protest against what he took to be Churchill's obsession with that campaign. For the remainder of the war, Fisher advised on technical innovations, playing a part in the development of ASDIC, an early form of sonar named after the Anti-Submarine Detection Investigation Committee, the antisubmarine technology that was essential to victory in World War II. Fisher is remembered for his focus on technology and gunnery over brass-polishing and painting, but most of all for his immense if sometimes controversial reforming energy. *See also* Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Tirpitz Plan.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Florida Purchase Treaty

See Adams-Onís Treaty

Foch, Ferdinand (1851–1929)

Marshal of France and commander of Entente forces in 1918, Ferdinand Foch joined the French army in 1871. With the onset of World War I, Foch commanded the Ninth Army. During the Battle of the Marne he launched the counterattack. He subsequently led the Northern Army since October 1914 until the Battle of the Somme in the summer of 1916 for which he was sacrificed as a scapegoat. In 1917, Foch was recalled as chief of the general staff. He was given overall command of the Entente forces in March 1918. Foch managed to stop the German advance during spring 1918, mounting the counterattack that turned the tide of the war. Foch accepted the German surrender in November 1918 and played a major advisory role at the Paris Peace Conference.

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MARTIN MOLL

Fontane, Theodor (1819–1898)

A German novelist and poet, Theodor Fontane is usually noted for his comparatively gentle criticisms of the Prussian class system, its social conventions, and of the spirit of German politics after the 1871 establishment of the Second Reich. Fontane worked for the conservative *Kreuzzeitung*, but in 1870, he became the drama critic of the comparatively liberal *Vossische Zeitung*. He wrote about Prussia's War with Denmark in 1864 and with Austria in 1866, before tackling the **Franco-Prussian War** and being held in French captivity for three months. For all three wars he published his

personal observations. Not until the age of 57 did Fontane begin to work on the novels for which he is best remembered. The most noteworthy are *Vor dem Sturm* (1878), *Irrungen, Wirrungen* (1888), *Frau Jenny Treibel* (1892), *Effi Briest* (1896), and *Der Stechlin* (1899).

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Foraker Amendment (1899)

An amendment to an army appropriations bill adopted by the U.S. Congress prohibiting the granting of “property franchises, or concessions of any kind whatsoever” in Cuba during the American occupation following the **Spanish-American War**. Senator Joseph Foraker of Ohio, an opponent of President William McKinley’s policies in Cuba, introduced the measure in response to efforts by the War Department to grant public franchises during the American military governance of Cuba. Foraker feared that American economic penetration of Cuba would commit the United States to remain in the island indefinitely. Despite opposition from supporters of the McKinley administration, the Senate passed the amendment by a vote of 47 to 11. Although the measure hindered large-scale economic penetration of the island, it had the unintended consequence of hindering efforts by the military government to harness foreign investments to rebuild the Cuban infrastructure. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Teller Amendment.

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JAMES PRUITT

Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)

One of the most prominent British statesmen of the era of the American and French Revolutions. Fox led the Whigs in arguing against Britain’s attempt at maintaining the American colonies within the **British Empire** through force of arms, and later opposed British military intervention on the Continent against revolutionary France. He was an expert on economic and constitutional issues and spoke eloquently in Parliament from 1768 until his death in 1806. He served as foreign secretary under Lord Rockingham’s government in 1782 and later became a close personal friend and political ally of the prince regent, later King George IV.

A staunch political opponent of William Pitt, Fox opposed the prime minister’s determined prosecution of the war against revolutionary and Napoleonic France that had begun in 1793. Greatly disliked by King George III, who for many years refused to contemplate him holding a prominent government position, Fox did not become a cabinet minister again until 1806, when, on the death of Pitt, he became foreign secretary in Lord Grenville’s government. Only months before his death, Fox sought an abortive peace with France and moved a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de (1766–1840)

Dictator of Paraguay and key figure in Paraguay's struggle for independence from Spain in 1810. Born in Asunción, Francia received training in theology and law before serving on the town council between 1807 and 1809. When Paraguay declared its independence from Spain, he took command of the ruling junta. He pushed Paraguay to break from Spain and to resist any effort by the independence forces in Buenos Aires to assert authority over his new country. His supporters granted him the title of "perpetual dictator" in 1816. He ruled in an idiosyncratic fashion until his death. He closed Paraguay's borders and used his army and river patrols to prevent foreigners from entering the country. He stripped Spanish residents of most political and economic rights. He also promoted state-owned rural industries to generate revenue from a rigidly controlled export trading system.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

Francis Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria (1863–1914)

Heir to the Austrian throne, whose assassination in Sarajevo in July 1914 triggered the diplomatic crisis leading to World War I. Archduke Francis (Franz) Ferdinand of Austria-Este was born in December 1863 in Graz, the capital of the Austrian crownland Styria. After the suicide of Archduke Rudolph, Emperor Francis Joseph's only son in 1889, and the death of his father, Archduke Charles Louis in 1896, Francis Ferdinand became the heir apparent and served as the Emperor's deputy in military affairs since 1898. In 1913, he was appointed inspector-general of all Austro-Hungarian forces. After 1906, Francis Ferdinand used his military chancellorship as the institutional basis for his efforts to reinvigorate the position of the crown in Austro-Hungarian politics.

The focus of his political maneuvers was on the role of Hungary within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. Francis Ferdinand resented nationalist groups and politicians in general because he perceived nationalism as a deadly challenge to the multiethnic realm of his dynasty. The Magyar political elite, who had revolted against Habsburg rule in 1848–49 and had taken control of Hungary since the *Ausgleich* of 1867, looked like the most dangerous of those groups to him. He sabotaged his uncle's policy of accommodating the Magyars and toppled several ministers and high-ranking officials because they seemed to be too lenient in dealing with Magyar politicians. His chancellery in the Belvedere palace in Vienna became the rallying point of conservatives who wanted to strengthen the authority of the crown and the Catholic Church in the Habsburg monarchy. Some of them called for a strong

political role for Austria-Hungary's south Slav population or a higher degree of autonomy for the Habsburg crownlands. Francis Ferdinand's interest in these projects was limited to their tactical value as tools to undermine Hungary's privileged position. Embittered by the emperor's resistance against his marriage with Sophie Chotek in 1900, he felt a strong dislike for his uncle's advisors and the court.

In the final years before World War I, Francis Ferdinand played the role of leader of the opposition to the governments installed by the emperor. While he destabilized domestic politics, he usually was an advocate of a cautious foreign policy. He warned against a military confrontation with Russia and acted as the leading "dove" within the decision-making circles in Vienna in 1913. His assassination by a Bosnian terrorist group supported by Serbian ultranationalists in Sarajevo July 28, 1914 gave the war party in Austria-Hungary the upper hand and opened the way to wage war on Serbia. *See also* Bosnia-Herzegovina; Habsburg Empire; Pan-Slavism.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria (1830–1916)

Last of the major Habsburg rulers, Archduke Francis Joseph of Austria was born in Schloss Schönbrunn near Vienna in August 1830. In the revolution of 1848, he replaced his uncle, Ferdinand I, as emperor of Austria. Ferdinand was persuaded to resign by the dynasty and the political advisors of the crown because a more energetic monarch seemed to be necessary for the Habsburg monarchy's survival. The victory of counter-revolution the next year marked the beginning of neoabsolutist rule, characterized by a rigorous suppression of nationalist and liberal groups.

As a result of Austria's diplomacy during the **Crimean War**, the Habsburg monarchy was rather isolated when it had to face the alliance of Napoleon III (see **Bonapart, Louis Napoleon**) and Piedmont-Sardinia in the late 1850s. Francis Joseph commanded his troops in the Battle of **Solferino** in 1859, and the disastrous defeat forced him to accept the loss of Lombardy. In the following years, the Habsburg monarchy not only lost other territories to the newly created kingdom of Italy but after the Austrian defeat in the Battle of **Königgrätz** in 1866, Prussia could build a German nation state and diminish decisively Austria's position in central Europe. Ultimate responsibility for these setbacks rested with Francis Joseph who had the final say in all matters of diplomacy and warfare and who had chosen the top officials and commanders.

The series of defeats forced the Emperor to offer constitutional reforms in all Habsburg territories and to offer a high degree of Hungarian autonomy. The **Ausgleich** of 1867 with the Magyar elite restricted Francis Joseph's power, but he accepted Austria-Hungary's new constitutional framework and used a divide-and-rule strategy, playing the antagonistic nationalist groups against each other. By picking the prime ministers in Vienna and Budapest, the common ministers and all

the highest ranking officers and civil servants, Francis Joseph could still shape domestic politics and foreign affairs. Austria-Hungary's position as a Great Power was secured by the occupation of **Bosnia-Herzegovina** in 1878–79 and an alliance system based on the cooperation with Germany. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 led to an international crisis and the growing isolation of Austria-Hungary. In 1914, Francis Joseph gave his approval to a war against **Serbia**, knowing that this would probably lead to a Great Power war. During World War I, the octogenarian monarch lost more and more control to military leaders and politicians. He died in Schloss Schönbrunn in November 1916, two years before the Habsburg monarchy's collapse. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Franco-Italian Convention (1902)

The completion of an entente began in 1900. Since the period of “Risorgimento” in the 1830s, Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian nationalist politician, had claimed North Africa for the nation of Italy. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the fate of Tripoli was discussed. Britain encouraged Italy to consider acquiring Tripoli as a colony and France ideally to occupy Tunis. This arrangement was considered favorable to ensure that the status quo in the Mediterranean be maintained. But Italian imperial ambitions grew after Britain and France expanded their respective empires in North Africa. France began to rule Tunis as a protectorate in 1881, and Britain occupied Egypt in 1882. Italy became increasingly worried about French expansion in North Africa and saw the acquisition of Tripoli as a necessity to provide safety and defense. Suspicions of French colonial ambitions persisted. An entente was agreed on with France in 1900, although the terms were ratified only in 1902. France was allowed to gain predominance in Morocco without Italy's intervention, and Italy was granted a similar guarantee by France in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Italy began a series of “peaceful penetrations” soon after. In 1902, France and Italy then agreed that each would maintain neutrality, not only in the event of direct or indirect aggression by a third party but also if one or the other of them “as a result of direct provocation, should find itself compelled, in defense of its honor or security, to take the initiative of a declaration of war.”

In Africa, Italy faced strong opposition from Turkey with regard to Tripoli, yet invaded it in 1911, and finally possessed it by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1912. In Europe the 1902 agreement, which remained officially secret until 1918, made Italy's membership in the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary altogether worthless. *See also* Dual Alliance; Entente Cordiale.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)

The final and most significant of the wars of German unification, the Franco-Prussian War lasted from July 19, 1870, to May 10, 1871. It pitted France against Prussia and its allies, which included the states of the North German Confederation, as well as the south German states of Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. Presented to the peoples of all belligerent lands as a test of national honor, its deeper causes were Prussia's ambition to bring about the national unification of the German states of Central Europe under its aegis and France's attempt to buttress its flagging geopolitical position, especially against the surging power of Prussia. The war was a decisive victory for the Prussian monarchy. The French Second Empire collapsed in military debacle and Prussia unified Central Europe largely on its own terms. The war was therefore a diplomatic revolution in Europe and a grave portent of the violent national conflicts to come in the twentieth century.

The war resulted from such pan-European developments as the technological creativity of industrial economies, the growth of bureaucratic states, and the explosive power of popular nationalism; but its immediate causes were the deliberate actions of Count Otto von **Bismarck**, the chief minister of the Kingdom of Prussia, and Louis-Napoleon **Bonaparte** (Napoleon III), emperor of France. Bismarck's primary strategic objective was the unification of the quasi-independent territories of Central Europe into a national polity. To reach this objective, in the 1860s he provoked a series of international crises, including wars with Denmark in 1864 and the Austrian Empire in 1866, to marginalize Austria in Central European affairs and to encourage the smaller German lands in the north and south to accept national unification under Prussian control. The confessional affinities of a common Protestantism coaxed the northern lands into the Prussia-dominated **North German Confederation** in 1867, but the southern Catholic lands of Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria resisted Prussian claims to national leadership. Bismarck hoped that by goading France to attack Prussia, these lands would fly to the flag of a victimized Germany and accede to Prussian supremacy in a unified **Second Reich**.

Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoleon I (see **Bonaparte**, **Napoleon**) and ruler of the French Second Empire, played into Bismarck's scheme. By the 1860s, his empire suffered from chronic political rancor and widespread institutional corruption, as well as from a series of foreign policy fiascos, whose fallout put the lie to his boast that he would restore the greatness of France in the international arena. Living off the legend of his uncle, and alarmed at Prussia's audacity and military competence, he was determined to check Prussian ambitions for the control of Central Europe. Victory in war against a hated national enemy promised to restore public confidence in his unstable regime and achieve political integration by appeals to patriotic unity.

Bismarck exploited Louis-Napoleon's saber rattling to provoke a conflict in which France would be seen as the aggressor. The *casus belli* concerned the succession to the Spanish throne. Spain offered its throne to Prince Leopold von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the nephew of Wilhelm I, the Prussian king. France opposed the

move and in a needless provocation, insisted that Wilhelm renounce for all time any Prussian designs on the Spanish crown. Wilhelm registered his resistance to this demand in a telegram he dispatched from the spa at Ems to his foreign ministry in Berlin. When the **Ems Telegram** arrived, Bismarck edited it to make it look like Wilhelm and the French ambassador, Count Vincent Benedetti, had insulted one another. Then he released the doctored version to the diplomatic corps and the press. Feeling rebuffed, and keen to capitalize on the anger of a humiliated French public, Louis-Napoleon ordered mobilization against Prussia and declared war on July 19, 1870.

France expected to enjoy the early advantage in the conflict, but this optimism rested on serious miscalculations. The French took courage in the Chassepot rifle, whose long range and stopping power would reverse any Prussian invasion, and the *mitrailleuse*, a precursor to the machine gun, whose shock effect would deter infantry assault. They also banked on their smaller force of long-term service professionals, whose experience and veteran resolve would break the attacks of less formidably armed German conscripts. The Prussian army, however, led by Helmuth von Moltke, the hero of the 1866 Battle of Königgrätz against Austria, was matchless in Europe. When the army was arrayed to inflict concentrated and cross fire, the poundage, accuracy, and range of its artillery could shatter any defensive position. Its soldiery, although conscripted, were fit, disciplined, and skilled in small-unit tactics that promoted initiative and aggressive maneuver. These tactics ensured high casualties when applied to well-secured defenses, but Prussian expertise in mobilizing reserves by use of the civilian railway system furnished a constant supply of reinforcements. The French generals expected the Prussians to take seven weeks to arrive at the front. Within 18 days, Moltke had more than 300,000 of his best troops deployed on the forward edge of the battle area with tens of thousands of replacements filing into line behind them. Huddled into defensive positions and suffering from insufficient logistical supply and flaccid morale, the French army was vulnerable to Moltke's ferocious strategy of encirclement and pocket annihilation.

The war between these unbalanced forces began on August 2 with a French probing action into the German border town of Saarbrücken. Over the next four days, massive counterstrokes at Wissembourg, Spicheren, and Froeschwiller by Prussian forces and the armies of their allies overwhelmed this half-hearted assault. The Prussians exploited these victories by attacking French supply lines, cutting communications, and pursuing retreating French formations. The French command at the front, led by the vacillating Marshal François Achille Bazaine, gathered 200,000 French troops at Metz, where Moltke trapped them. On August 16–18, Moltke attacked outlying French positions northwest of Metz at Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte, severing the besieged French garrison from the hinterland and blocking any escape attempts to the West. Hoping to relieve the pressure on Metz, Louis-Napoleon and Marshal Patrice MacMahon led a new French army northwest of Metz to the old fortress town of Sedan, intending from there to attack Moltke and rescue Bazaine. Moltke took advantage of this clumsy move and, on August 30, encircled the French in and around the fortress. On September 1, he opened a withering assault of massed artillery barrage and converging infantry attack from all sides, which decimated French initiatives to break out. By the end of the day, Louis-Napoleon canceled resistance as futile, and on September 2, he surrendered his army to Moltke and Bismarck, who had arrived to witness the capitulation of his adversary.

Louis-Napoleon's fatigued regime was altogether too fragile to withstand the shock of national disaster on the battlefield. The Paris crowd, astonished by the precipitous collapse of the French army, proclaimed the end of the empire on September 4 and established a Government of National Defense to continue the struggle against Prussia. Although Bismarck hoped for a quick peace, the revolution evolved a regime, led by the radical republican **Léon Gambetta**, hardened against surrender to an enemy with annexationist aims, so the war continued inconclusively. On October 29, however, Marshal Bazaine, his troops starving and succumbing to epidemic dysentery, surrendered the garrison at Metz. Paris had been encircled as well, despite the harassment fire of irregular *franc-tireurs* against Prussian targets, and famine and disease loomed as winter approached. On January 28, 1871 the city capitulated and French leaders sought an armistice. The new French National Assembly, led by its provisional executive Adolphe **Thiers**, then accepted Bismarck's humiliating terms in the Treaty of **Frankfurt**, which was signed on May 10: cession of the fortresses of Metz and Strasbourg, as well as the province of Alsace, loss of one-third of the province of Lorraine, including its rich coal and iron-ore deposits, the payment of a five-billion franc indemnity for starting the war, and payment of all German occupation costs.

The arresting outcomes of the war were evident to all observers. The war was a devastating blow to French patriotic culture. Disputes over the assignment of blame for the catastrophe poisoned French politics for decades and stoked a furious *revanchism*, which insisted that the confiscated territories of **Alsace-Lorraine** be restored to a rehabilitated France. More alarming still was the emergence of a unified German Empire led by militaristic Prussia, a development long feared by European strategists. Industrially strong and culturally provocative yet lacking in domestic concord owing to inherent constitutional inequalities, imperial Germany represented a new and potentially disruptive force in world affairs. These developments encouraged national chauvinists on both sides, whose shrill discourses of friend and foe threatened European stability in an era of growing international competition.

The human costs of the war were evident as well. In just six months of combat, France suffered 150,000 killed and wounded. Prussia and her allies lost 117,000. The unprecedented lethality of modern weapons, especially concentrated large-bore artillery and overlapping machine gun fire, wiped out whole formations of men, inflicting massive wounds, mutilating the human body, and leaving hundreds dead in infantry assaults to be shoveled into mass graves. The brutalizing effects of this experience, which left long-lasting psychological damage on many of its veterans, led to frightful wartime atrocities. These included the summary execution of *franc-tireurs*, retaliation burnings of entire villages, the murder and neglect of prisoners of war, and the subjection of cities to starvation and disease to break civilian resistance. Such incidents as these suggested the "total wars" of the twentieth century, which would engulf soldiers and civilians alike. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; Balance of Power; German Empire.

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JEFFREY T. ZALAR

Franco-Russian Alliance (1891)

See Dual Alliance

Franco-Spanish Agreement (1904)

Signed on October 3, 1904, between the French and Spanish governments, the Franco-Spanish Agreement supplemented the **Entente Cordiale** established between Britain and France only six months earlier. It clarified the respective spheres of influence of the two countries in Morocco by publicly reaffirming the independence and integrity of Morocco yet secretly providing for the partition of the North African territory. Spain was to have the Mediterranean coast of Morocco and a portion of its hinterland. Spain pledged to erect no fortifications and to take no actions without the consent of France. Considering the 1904 agreement together with the Anglo-French Entente and **Franco-Italian Convention** of 1902, Germany felt threatened by provisions governing access to North Africa in which Berlin was no so much as consulted. Rightly guessing that such provisions were in part crafted to contain German ambition, Berlin resolved to test their durability, starting with the First Morocco Crisis in 1905. *See also* Algerciras Congress.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Frankfurt Parliament (1848–1849)

A *Vorparlament*, or provisional parliament, established as the German National Assembly during the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, the Frankfurt Parliament convened in the rotunda of Paulskirche in Frankfurt am Main and authorized the organization of elections by direct male suffrage throughout Germany and Austria. The parliament was a hastily improvised response of liberal reformers to the decision by Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV to consent to a combined Prussian diet to discuss German unification.

The parliament was chiefly concerned with preparation of a constitution for all the German lands. The parliament was briefly the heartbeat of German national aspirations, but it came to grief because of a lack of unanimity specifically over the construction of a national government. It offended **Austria-Hungary** with a resolution to exclude from the German Empire all non-German lands. The parliament then offered the title of hereditary emperor to Friedrich Wilhelm, who was both loath to accept a throne offered by social inferiors and fearful of provoking Austria or Russia. Having stood partly on the principle of divine right, he weakly put it aside and asked for the consent of the various German states. When Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Württemberg objected and Austria disapproved, he refused the crown. Its plan defeated, the assembly melted away, and the day of German unity was postponed until 1870. Meaningful liberal reform was postponed much longer. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; German Empire; North German Confederation.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Frankfurt, Treaty of (1871)

The diplomatic settlement concluding the **Franco-Prussian War**. The war was effectively over after the German victory at Sedan in September 1870. With the fall of the empire, however, Napoleon III (see **Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon**) left the Germans with no recognized government with which to negotiate terms of surrender. It took the protracted siege of Paris to convince the provisional government that the cause was lost and to agree to an armistice in late January 1871. Elections held across France in early February led to a victory of the pro-peace factions. Louis Adolfe Thiers was chosen to head the new government and to serve as chief negotiator. The preliminary negotiations were held in Versailles, February 21–26, with the final treaty signed at Frankfurt on May 10.

The chief goal of the German Chancellor, Otto von **Bismarck**, was to leave France too weakened to wage a war of revenge in the foreseeable future. He pursued two means to achieve this: territory from France to be annexed to the newly created German Empire and a financial indemnity of 5 billion francs to keep the French treasury from financing rearmament. Bismarck demanded all of the province of Alsace and most of Lorraine, including the fortress of Metz. Much of this territory contained a mixture of French and German peoples, but the area around Metz was French. For that reason Bismarck wanted to exclude it from the German Empire, but both the kaiser and general staff insisted that Metz and its fortress become German territory in order to secure the frontier and to deprive France's border of a key component of its defenses. Furthermore, the German public believed that the peace should punish France. Faced with the combined determination of king, military, and public, Bismarck gave way and made Metz a condition of the settlement.

Thiers had little leverage. With significant portions of France already occupied, it would have required little effort from the Germans to take compensation from the occupied territory. As well, Bismarck could threaten to let the armistice lapse and permit the resumption of hostilities against a French government, army, and people no longer capable or willing to fight. As a result, Thiers accepted Bismarck's demands and the provisional government ratified them.

The treaty has been blamed as a source of the heightening tensions in Europe ultimately leading to World War I. In particular, the desire to restore the "lost provinces" of Alsace and Lorraine served as a rallying point for French nationalists keen on another war with Germany. The indemnity was paid in full in three years and thus failed to scupper French rearmament. In 1919, finally, the punitive nature of the treaty served as model for diplomats who sought to impose a similar peace of Germany after World War I, featuring both territorial losses and reparations. *See also* Alsace-Lorraine; Clemenceau, Georges; German Empire.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Fredericksburg, Battle of (1862)

A disastrous defeat of Union forces in the American Civil War. Although the Army of the Potomac had checked Robert E. Lee's advance into the North at **Antietam** in Maryland in September, President Abraham Lincoln cashiered George McClellan for having allowed the Confederate army to reach the safety of Virginia. Ambrose Burnside assumed command of Union forces and marched to outflank Lee at Fredericksburg, hoping to force Lee out into the open for a battle that would favor the superior numbers in the Union Army. Burnside was delayed crossing the Rappahannock River awaiting pontoon bridges. The delay allowed Lee the time to set up a powerful defense on high ground south and west of Fredericksburg. On the morning of December 13, 1862, Burnside launched a series of fruitless frontal assaults against well-defended Confederate positions under James Longstreet and Stonewall Jackson. Only the early darkness halted the massacre of Union troops.

Burnside planned to renew the frontal attacks the next day, but was talked out of it by his subordinates. After Burnside ordered new movements against Lee in January, mockingly called the "mud marches" by the Union troops, Lincoln removed him from army command in favor of Joseph Hooker.

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THOMAS D. VEVE

Freemasonry

Initially a secret fraternity that developed a system of allegory and symbolism based on the temple of King Solomon and medieval stonemasonry, Freemasonry experienced its most tumultuous episodes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and its lodges and their most prominent members were directly involved in the social-political transformations of those times.

The speculations on the origins of Freemasonry are numerous, but the most circulated hypothesis is that it started in 1356, with the formation of the London Masons Company, a guild of stonemasons and builders, *cementarii* in Latin. The earliest known mention of the term *Freemason* dates from 1376, and it is considered to be derived from "freestone," a soft limestone commonly used then by builders in the South of England. In 1425, King Henry VI of England banned the yearly congregation of the Masons. The first Masonic Grand Lodge of England was publicly formed in London in 1717. Thereafter, Freemasonry spread rapidly throughout Europe and beyond. The first lodge on the American continent, in what was to become the United States, was opened in 1733.

The theories on the purpose and objectives of Freemasonry are also multiple. In general it is believed that it was created as a haven for medieval religious dissidence. In time the need for secrecy has gradually subsided; however, its practices and rituals, as well as its spiritual content have expanded. Freemasonry is known

to have experienced two schisms. The first one took place in 1753, when a newer faction, of a lower class standing and more religious, known as the Antients, broke away from the Grand Lodge of England and their acolytes, a more aristocratic and unorthodox—mostly Deist or Pantheist—group, which would come to be known as the Moderns. The second schism started in 1877, when the French branch, the *Grand Orient de France*, started accepting atheists and women and also tolerating religious and political discussions in the Lodge. Atheism and revolution had increasingly become popular with the continental European and Latin American lodges, so that governments often regarded them as fronts for subversive activity. Despite all the metaphysical and ethereal constitutional claims of Free Masonry, its ultimately concrete social objectives and interests have become apparent through its recruiting choices and strategies, generally directed towards the upper echelons of the social and religious hierarchy.

Some of the most well-known members of the nineteenth-century lodges included British Kings George IV (1762–1830), William IV (1765–1837), and Edward VII (1841–1910); Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882) of the Italian Orient, a leader in the Risorgimento that led to the unification of Italy; Giacomo Casanova (1725–98); American Presidents George Washington (1732–99), James Monroe (1758–1831), Andrew Jackson (1767–1845), James Knox Polk (1795–1849), James Buchanan (1791–1868), Andrew Johnson (1808–75), William McKinley (1843–1901), and Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919); American abolitionist John Brown (1800–59); French sculptor Frédéric Bartholdi (1834–1904), the creator of the *Statue of Liberty*; the Portuguese “Dom Pedro” (1798–1834), briefly King Pedro IV of Portugal and then Pedro I, first Emperor of Brazil when Brazil declared its independence in 1822; Mexican Presidents Benito Juárez (1806–72), the first and only Native American Mexican president, and Porfirio Díaz (1830–1915), the dictator; Argentinean general José de San Martín (1778–1850), a leader in South America’s fight for independence from the Spanish Empire; Venezuelan general and statesman Antonio José de Sucre (1795–1830), one of Simón Bolívar’s closest friends; Bernardo O’Higgins (1778–1842), the first head of state of independent Chile; and the Cuban poet José Martí (1853–95), a leader of Cuba’s fight for independence.

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GEORGIA TRES

Free Trade

The doctrine that international trade should be neither discouraged nor distorted by government policy. It normally refers to the idea that tariff barriers to the entry of foreign products into a domestic market should be abjured; in more sophisticated forms, it also holds that government policy should avoid bounties and other policies designed to enhance exports. The canonical authority to which free traders looked throughout the nineteenth century for intellectual and moral support was Adam Smith, although the vast majority of classical political economists were hostile to protection except in select circumstances. Arguments for free trade generally rested on the theory of **comparative advantage**, which held that each nation should

focus on those products that it could make most cheaply and efficiently, a system of free trade ensuring that the benefits were distributed. Some, such as the free trade campaigner **Richard Cobden**, hoped that peaceful trade would bind nations together by ties of common interest, thereby leading to international peace.

Free trade was one of the most emotive causes in nineteenth-century British politics. The abandonment of agricultural protection—the so-called **Corn Laws**—in 1846 caused the Tory or **Conservative Party** of Sir Robert Peel to split, many of the free traders going at length into the Liberal Party. Free trade exerted a powerful hold on the Liberal Party until the 1940s. Britain abandoned free trade for revenue reasons during World War I. Between the mid-nineteenth century and that war, opposition to free trade was limited to the **Tariff Reform** wing of the Conservative or **Unionist Party**, and even there it was a minority position. Supporters of free trade urged a “free breakfast table”—in other words they opposed tariffs on sugar and tea. Although free trade had its supporters in other countries, Britain’s policy of unilateral free trade, not emulated by other powers, was unique.

From an imperial point of view, arguments for free trade cut both ways: in a free trading world, empires would be irrelevant to the economics of trade, but in a world in which many major colonial powers—France and Germany chief among them—practiced protection, there was an argument for other powers to expand their empires so as to retain access to colonial markets. The cause of free trade could serve as a motive for war, often by interimperial forces, in the name of opening markets, as it did in China and Japan. In practice, in British politics dogmatic free traders were often radicals and anti-imperialists, whereas protectionist policies were associated with such enthusiastic imperialists as Joseph **Chamberlain**. *See also* Anti-Corn Law League; British Empire; Continental System; Open Door.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

French Empire

During the Age of Imperialism France had, after Britain, the second largest and most diverse colonial empire, with a wide mix of settler colonies, penal settlements, plantations, trading bases, and **protectorates** that literally spanned the globe. The bulk of French colonial possessions date from the nineteenth century, but the origins of the empire actually go back 300 years earlier when men like Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain were sent by the monarchy to explore and colonize parts of the New World. Although the French subsequently expanded their possessions in **Canada** and the **Caribbean** to include slaving bases in West Africa, several Indian Ocean island colonies, and five trading bases in **India**, nearly all were lost in a series of eighteenth-century wars against Britain and Spain. In the early nineteenth century, during the reign of Napoleon **Bonaparte**, whose conquests came mostly at the expense of other great powers in Europe itself, France lost still more overseas colonies. The Haitian Revolution, led by **Toussaint l’Ouverture**, not only cost France her most prosperous

plantation colony, it also led to the sale of recently restored French holdings in the Mississippi basin to the United States in what has become known as the **Louisiana Purchase** (1803). Consequently, at the start of the nineteenth century, the French overseas empire was limited to a handful of trading bases in India and **Senegal**, Caribbean plantation colonies in Guadeloupe and Martinique, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the coast of Canada, and Guiana on the South American mainland. Subsequent French colonial expansion overseas was haphazard and devoid of any grand master plan. Instead, colonies were taken either to satisfy the vagaries of domestic French politics or in response to the activities of individual colonial officials and special interest groups. The result was continuous, if somewhat chaotic, expansion that reached a fever pitch in the 1880s as part of the **Scramble for Africa**.

Colonial Expansion

The first bout of French colonial expansion in the nineteenth century came in **Algeria**, which at the time was a semi-autonomous province of the **Ottoman Empire** ruled by a local viceroy. After the final restoration of the Bourbon Dynasty in 1815, Franco-Algerian relations suffered a sharp decline when the French objected to the high interest rates charged for grain borrowed by Napoleon's armies and refused to take responsibility for debts incurred by the Revolutionary government. The situation came to a head in April 1827, when an argument over unpaid debts escalated and led the Algerian viceroy to destroy French trading posts and expel the French consul after swatting him with a ceremonial whisk. **Charles X**, the increasingly unpopular king, later seized on this incident as justification for launching a March 1830 invasion in a vain effort to divert the attention of the French masses from his attempts to restore autocratic royal power. Despite the success of the French invasion, Charles was toppled from power and replaced by the **July Monarchy** of his distant cousin Louis Philippe. The new king opted to keep Algeria in the hopes of placating competing economic pressure groups by granting contracts and concessions in Algeria. Shortly thereafter the eruption of a long and bloody revolt by the Algerian masses led the French to expand their initial holdings by pushing deeply and permanently into the Algerian interior.

The July Monarchy also oversaw the expansion of French interests in sub-Saharan Africa, the Indian Ocean, and Polynesia. In an effort to compete with the British for trade along the **Guinea** coast of West Africa during the late 1830s and 1840s, French merchants and naval officers began signing a series of treaties granting French protection to coastal tribes in Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and the river estuary of Gabon, thereby turning an old string of trading posts dating to the seventeenth century into a larger informal sphere of influence. This sphere later served as the nucleus for additional French incursions into West and Equatorial Africa during the "new imperialism" of the 1880s. In the Indian Ocean, the desire for sugar plantations and the need for resupply bases for naval vessels led the French governor of Reunion to annex the islands of Nosy Bé in 1840 and Mayotte in 1841, giving France a toehold in the Comoros Islands and a base from which to intervene in the affairs of neighboring **Madagascar**. Similarly, longstanding demands from missionaries and colonial enthusiasts for annexation of various Polynesian islands in the hopes that they would yield plantations and resupply bases for the French navy finally bore fruit in the early 1840s when Admiral Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars acted on his own authority by annexing the Marquesas and declaring a protectorate over Tahiti.

Additional expansion in Africa, the Pacific, and Indochina in Southeast Asia took place during the Second Empire of Louis Napoleon **Bonaparte** (Napoleon III), who opted to pursue an active and aggressive foreign policy to live up to his namesake, increase popularity at home, and divert attention from his failed foreign policy ventures in Italy and Mexico. During his time in power (1852–1870), Napoleon III continued the conquest and pacification of the Algerian interior and dispatched French troops to Guinea and Dahomey on the pretext of protecting French merchants and securing access to the increasingly important peanut and palm oil trade. A combination of military power, diplomacy, and bribery was then used to get local chiefs to accept protectorates over additional West African coastal regions. In the South Pacific, the existence of good pasture land, a strategic location near Australia, and the need for a healthier penal settlement than Guiana led France to annex New Caledonia in 1853. Over the next several decades, New Caledonia was turned into a small settlement colony composed of a handful of free settlers and thousands of convicts and political prisoners exiled from metropolitan France. In nearby China and **Indochina**, France was goaded into action by the persecution of missionaries and their converts, culminating in French participation in the Second **Opium War** in 1860. Similarly, the French government intervened in nearby Indochina by sending in the navy in 1847 and again in 1858 to bombard the port of Da Nang in an effort to force Tu-Duc, the emperor of Annam, to grant freedom of worship to Christians. Tu-Duc was eventually forced to sign a treaty in 1862 that granted religious toleration throughout his realm and ceded the southern province of Cochinchina, including Saigon, to France.

Not all colonial activities during the reign of Napoleon III were orchestrated or even officially sanctioned by his government. In eastern Africa, a French merchant and occasional diplomat, Henri Lambert, visited the Somali coast in 1855 and convinced the local chief to cede the port of Obock to him on behalf of France. Although the ministry of foreign affairs convinced Napoleon III to turn down the cession owing to suspicions about Lambert's motives, the French negotiated a new treaty in 1862 after Lambert's death purchasing Obock outright so as to counter the British presence in Aden and guarantee access to the Red Sea. French expansion in Senegal was similarly driven by a single individual who forced the government's hand. Starting in the mid 1850s, Louis Faidherbe, the newly appointed governor of Senegal, embarked on an unofficial and unsanctioned program of colonial expansion by invading the interior after provoking border disputes with neighboring Muslim communities in an effort to gain land for plantations.

In 1870, the Second Empire's defeat in the **Franco-Prussian War** swept Napoleon III from power, triggered the **Paris Commune** uprising, and ushered in the Third Republic. Given its bloody beginnings and the French public's loss of confidence in the new regime over a series of scandals, including the Boulanger Affair, the Panama scandal, the **Dreyfus Affair**, and the turn of the century anticlerical campaign, the new regime was forced to compensate with an aggressive foreign policy in the hopes of preserving France's geopolitical position and, above all, reinvigorating French patriotism via the acquisition of allies and new colonies overseas. In the process, the Third Republic hoped to use the new territories, their resources, and peoples to restore French military and economic power on a global scale. Indeed, by the turn of the century, French politicians were openly talking about using their

empire as a base for creating a nation of 100 million Frenchmen that would ensure France's status as major world power.

The renewed French interest in colonies was not just motivated by geopolitics. As in other European powers, by the 1870s, national attitudes toward empire were also changing because of industrialization, persistent action by special interest groups, and belief in the twin ideologies of **social Darwinism** and the **white man's burden**. Industrialization caused domestic misery and unrest in metropolitan France as the masses adjusted to urbanization and factory-based means of production. Like Charles X before them, Third Republic politicians often saw the acquisition of colonies as a means of diverting public attention from domestic crises. Given the intensified competition among industrial powers, colonies were also seen as a major arena of investment and an attractive safety net providing guaranteed markets and raw materials; interest groups, which now included leading industrialists, continued to push European governments to acquire colonies. France was no exception. In addition to bankers and overseas investors, French merchants and **missionaries** also made strident demands for annexation to protect their activities. The military and their suppliers soon joined in, reasoning that the pursuit of empire would both demonstrate French power and legitimate their own claims on national fiscal resources. Lastly, the belief in social Darwinism convinced the French that they were in a struggle for survival in which the strong were entitled to seize resources from weak. In the process, they incurred a moral obligation to elevate and "civilize" their racial inferiors by providing peace, stability, education, good government, and exposure to capitalism.

For all these reasons, the French entered the 1870s increasingly interested in taking on additional colonies. That interest peaked in the late 1870s and early 1880s as a result of events in **Tunisia**, **Egypt**, and the Congo River basin. Shortly after the turn of the century, the rulers of Tunisia and Egypt, two outlying provinces of the declining Ottoman Empire, began modernization campaigns financed by European capital in an effort to strengthen their lands and secure their independence from the Ottoman Sultan. By mid-century, the size of these debts led to the creation of finance commissions that enabled the Europeans to supervise and reform Tunisian and Egyptian finances. France, as the largest creditor, naturally dominated these finance commissions and regarded both provinces as French spheres of influence. This position of French dominance was threatened at the end of the 1870s when a newly unified **Italy** indicated its intention to annex Tunisia as part of an effort to rally the masses at home behind the new nation. France responded by sending the Algerian army into Tunisia in 1881 in a bid to secure a treaty creating a formal French protectorate. The invasion, although intended to be temporary, provoked a nationalist revolt fueled by Islam that ultimately forced the French to stay permanently in Tunisia.

As in Tunisia, the size of its loans and active involvement in the construction of the **Suez Canal** led the French to regard Egypt as a sphere of influence. They were therefore not pleased when Egypt's debt burden forced the Khedive to sell his 43 percent stake in the Suez Canal to Britain in 1875. This move and the subsequent implementation of Anglo-French control over Egyptian finances proved to be deeply unpopular and helped trigger a nationalist uprising in 1881 that deposed the Khedive and threatened to nationalize the canal. Because Paris was preoccupied

with domestic problems and the growing revolt in Tunisia, France refused Britain's offer to send in a joint invasion force to restore order. Britain, after invading alone, subsequently declined to allow France to resume its old role in jointly administering Egyptian finances. Feeling cheated out of its sphere of influence, the French government became increasingly determined both to regain lost influence in Egypt and to contain British influence elsewhere on the continent.

The chance to act on these sentiments was afforded by the actions of **Leopold II** of Belgium. Eager to overcome the limits of his status as a constitutional monarch, Leopold created a private trading company to explore and exploit the Congo River basin in central Africa. These efforts, which peaked in the late 1870s, put him in direct competition with French merchants operating out of Gabon. As French and Belgian company officials raced each other to sign treaties securing monopolies on trade with local African rulers, Leopold tried to preempt further French claims by declaring that he controlled the entire Congo region on the southern side of the river. Concerned that additional paper partitions could lead to conflict between European nations, German Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** and the French Prime Minister Jules **Ferry** convened the **Berlin Conference** in 1884 to set ground rules for future colonial annexations. Immediately thereafter, France joined other European powers in a race to acquire African territories that was subsequently dubbed the Scramble for Africa.

During the scramble, France engaged in a combination of diplomatic ventures and military expeditions in an attempt to hem in British possessions and regain influence in Egypt by securing access to the upper Nile. Starting in 1884, French expeditions began pushing inland from all the existing African colonies in an effort to drive across the center of the continent in a French equivalent of Cecil **Rhodes's** Cape to Cairo dream. These efforts culminated in 1896 with an expedition led by Jean-Baptiste Marchand, which marched overland from Equatorial Africa to southern Sudan, claiming everything it encountered along the way for France. Although the Marchand expedition successfully reached the Nile River ahead of advancing British forces, the **Fashoda Incident** effectively put an end to the dream of regaining control over Egypt. Nevertheless, French gains in Africa were enormous, in part because the areas in question were often sparsely populated desert or were divided into large African states that periodically cooperated with French forces in actions against their neighbors. Consequently, by the turn of the twentieth century, French possessions covered more than one-third of the African continent and stretched from Algeria, Senegal, and Equatorial Africa to the Oubangui River. Further adjustments, including the acquisition of **Morocco**, continued right up until the outbreak of World War I and were the result of inter-European negotiations to resolve border disputes.

The Third Republic's colonial efforts were not limited to the African continent. The French also acquired additional Pacific island possessions, but their greatest area of expansion occurred in Indochina. Eager to protect existing holdings in the region, colonial lobbyists in France demanded active military intervention in **Tonkin** in 1884 in a bid to restore order and end endemic piracy. By the end of the decade, the success of these operations enabled France to establish protectorates over Annam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, and Cambodia and to turn the Vietnamese emperor into a puppet ruler. Not satisfied with these conquests, the French invaded neighboring **Laos** in 1893 in an effort to solidify their hold on the Mekong River

and gain additional land for plantations. These actions completed the establishment of a French colonial empire that by 1914 boasted 63 million colonial subjects and 12 million square kilometers of territory.

Administrative Policy and Structure

Unlike other colonial powers that thought of their empires as possessions, France regarded its colonial empire as noncontiguous extensions of France itself. They were considered literally part of France, not because they had been annexed, or even because they contained French settlers, but because the French were committed to the idea of assimilation and expected colonial peoples to one day take on the status, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship. Belief in assimilation, which had its roots in the French Revolution, not only led to efforts to “civilize” native peoples through exposure to French language, culture, industry, and education, it also had a profound impact on colonial administration.

Because the colonies were considered part of France, they were afforded no special treatment whatsoever. Metropolitan laws, tariffs, and forms of government were simply extended to newly acquired possessions. Hence, as in France itself, power was concentrated in the hands of the National Assembly in Paris and was transmitted through a series of lower level officials down to towns and villages. As only Frenchmen could fully understand and appreciate this system, France adopted a concept known as direct rule in which all officials in the colonies were French. Africans and Asians were employed by colonial administrations as clerks and aides, but they served in subordinate roles that left all decision-making authority in the hands of white officials. Although bypassing local rulers ensured French political control at all levels, it had the disadvantage of making French colonial policy ponderous and slow to adapt to local conditions. These factors were partly offset by the ability of French citizens in some full colonies such as Algeria, Senegal, and Cochinchina to elect deputies to serve in the National Assembly. Since few nonwhites acquired citizenship, however, most indigenous peoples remained unrepresented.

Although the National Assembly could not deal with everyday colonial matters, the French did not develop a colonial minister or colonial office for most of the nineteenth century. Before the Scramble for Africa, France never had a sufficient number of colonies to warrant creating a high-level government position to coordinate colonial policy. Moreover, creating such a position flew in the face of assimilation by implying that, rather than being subject to the jurisdiction of regular government bodies, the colonies instead had some sort of special status. In the absence of a single colonial ministry, France therefore developed a tradition whereby any ministry with sufficient reason could dabble in colonial affairs. This situation, which made the drafting and implementation of colonial policy chaotic and difficult, changed slightly during the 1890s, as France began to acquire newer and larger colonial holdings. France finally created a colonial minister in 1894, but his position remained ambiguous. Not only was the colonial ministry the smallest and least prestigious agency within the government, but, in a nod to tradition, it never took over full responsibility for colonial affairs. Instead, it remained subject to constant budget scrutiny from the National Assembly and continued to face periodic intervention from other ministries, government agencies, and committees representing special interest groups.

Below the colonial minister were governors and governor-generals who administered individual colonies or the three federations of **French West Africa**, **French Equatorial Africa**, and **French Indochina**. Like the colonial minister, the governors and governor-generals were in an ambiguous position. On the surface they were quite autocratic and could issue decrees; control their own administration, police, military, and legal systems; and run native affairs. At the same time, however, their power was restricted in several ways. In addition to requiring colonies to generate tax revenues to pay for their own administration and share of common expenses like defense, the National Assembly also reviewed all other expenditures by local administrations. Governors who raised additional monies to pay for pet projects inside their own colonies risked signaling Paris that they could possibly afford to contribute more in the future toward joint expenses. As a result, Paris exercised tight fiscal control over the governors. French colonial governors also had to obey orders from the colonial ministry, were watched by inspectors, and were subject to influence from pressure groups and the press. Moreover, they also had to contend with advisory councils made up of local colonial officials who could influence policy by threatening to appeal to metropolitan officials.

Individual colonies were subdivided into districts—Subdivisions and *cercles* or *circonscriptions*—in the hands of white bureaucrats who gathered reports, carried out the governor's policies, administered justice, and collected taxes. Despite having sole authority for huge geographic areas, colonial administrators were usually young men with little training. Furthermore, tropical diseases, long separation from friends and family, lack of amenities, and distance from the metropole combined to make colonial posts less desirable than other branches of government. As a result, in addition to suffering high turnover rates, those who served in the colonies often had little interest in the lives of indigenous peoples, few ideas about how to promote commerce or education, and little incentive to act without specific instructions from Paris. Paris tried to deal with this problem by setting up the *École Coloniale* in the late 1880s to train colonial officials. Still, its curriculum was largely irrelevant and, even at its peak, less than 20 percent of colonial administrators were alumnae. Rather than concentrating on practical matters or languages, the *École Coloniale* emphasized French law, history, and obedience to existing government policies. Consequently, French administrators were less well trained, less efficient, less capable, and ultimately less effective than their British counterparts.

By 1900, the French began rethinking the premises behind colonial rule. In particular, they concluded that the policy of assimilation was a failure, as few Africans had renounced local custom and become French citizens. The pull of religion and indigenous social and cultural institutions proved to be too strong. At the same time, the rise of social Darwinism and racism made the French increasingly uncomfortable with the very idea of African assimilation. Consequently, at the turn of the century, France abandoned assimilation in favor of *association*, defined as a cooperative policy of colonial administration in which colonized peoples were recognized as junior partners and native institutions were to be allowed to continue developing according to local needs. In effect, the shift was in principle toward a more indirect form of rule whereby native authorities would retrieve and exercise some power. In practice, however, little changed, as most French colonial officials had been schooled in the old policy of assimilation and either fell back on it out of confusion or in resistance to the prospect of sharing political authority on any level.

The Colonial Lobby

Often lumped together under the general descriptor of *Parti Colonial*—a loose collection of interest groups rather than a political organization—the French colonial lobby was composed of a wide variety of private organizations eager to highlight the supposed benefits of colonies and acknowledge the achievements of missionaries, explorers, and settlers. In addition to missionary societies, urban chambers of commerce, and academic associations, the colonial lobby also contained large numbers of independent entities like the *Comité de l'Afrique Française*, which were organized around specific colonies or groups of colonies. These committees, most of which were formed between 1890 and 1905, held lectures, supported research, held exhibitions, and published journals to draw attention to colonial affairs or influence government policy. Similarly, in 1893, business interests created their own lobby in the form of the *Union Coloniale Française* to pressure the government regarding trade and colonial development policy. Collectively, these groups found a willing audience in the *Groupe Coloniale*, a caucus of pro-colonial deputies in the lower house of the National Assembly.

The military and settlers also represented important interests. The army continued to lobby on behalf of colonial issues not only because its honor was at stake, but also because the maintenance of empire ensured its budgets from year to year. As for the settlers, they naturally petitioned Paris for protection, land, subsidies, labor, and the development of colonial infrastructure. Paris often distrusted their motives, leading to frequent disputes between settlers and administrators who resented settler demands and the difficulties they created. Colonial authorities were also suspicious of settlers because not all were of French origin. Because the country was relatively stable and prosperous after 1850, finding settlers to send to colonies was often challenging, so that France had to turn to immigrants from Italy and Spain, as well as imported laborers from India and Syria. The result was a heterogeneous colonial population, which, aside from Algeria, was never very large and only a limited success as a lobby.

Economic Policy

Although colonial propaganda claimed that the colonies were economically valuable, the reality is that they were of limited use to France in part because Paris had no coherent or coordinated economic plan until after World War I. Throughout the nineteenth century, the government paid lip service to the demands of the colonial lobby for public investment in infrastructure but remained wary of the expense and preferred instead to concentrate on the tasks of conquest and administration. Economic development was therefore left in private hands between 1880 and 1914. Private firms in the colonies and in the metropole underwrote and promoted many colonial ventures, but their efforts were insufficient. Consequently, the French colonial empire not only lacked adequate roads, railroads, and port facilities to exploit effectively the mineral and other resources of the interior, French merchants and manufacturers also blocked efforts to develop local manufacturing lest it interfere with their own exports. As a result, most colonies remained underdeveloped and their people too poor to be a real market for French goods. They were confined to supplying tropical raw materials such as coffee, spices, sugar, rice, bananas, coconut, citrus, margarine, peanut oil, cotton, rubber, minerals, and hardwoods.

Although colonial exports were useful for propping up uncompetitive and declining French industries through the provision of cheap raw materials that could be sold internationally or shipped to France to be made into finished goods, by 1914, the colonies accounted for only 10 percent of French foreign trade. The bulk of colonial trade was concentrated in Indochina and parts of West Africa where France had established rubber, peanut, and palm plantations. Much of the remainder of the African empire, however, was desert and economically worthless. Efforts to change this were limited by the combination of direct rule, with its insistence on sending out expensive white administrators and soldiers to the colonies, and the requirement after 1900 that colonies be self-sufficient. Limited spending on health and education also took their toll in the form of higher absenteeism and poorly trained workers, all of which worked to slow economic development. It was not until the 1920s and the effort to rebuild from the destruction of World War I that France began making serious attempts to develop its colonies by expanding plantations, increasing road and railroad construction, and making improvements in harbor facilities.

Education Policy

Throughout the nineteenth century, French colonial policy was committed to the *mission civilisatrice*, which held that it was an imperial duty to civilize or uplift backward natives by exposing them to the benefits of French culture, language, education, industry, and justice. For most of the century the intent was to actually assimilate colonized peoples to the point where they would acquire citizenship by renouncing native law and customs in favor of French language and culture. Although education was considered the key to this transition, successive governments continually struggled with the format, content, and direction it should take in the colonies. The result was significant variation in terms of the size and quality of school systems from one colony to the next. Generally speaking, colonial officials refused to spend much time or money on schools, preferring instead to leave them in the hands of missionaries. Government schools were therefore few in number and were geared toward schooling low-level clerks or providing vocational training. Trainees were drawn from native elites and the best students of mission schools and were presented with curricula and textbooks imported from France. Yet the education they received was not equivalent to one received in France. Instead pupils in the colonies were taught basic literacy, acceptance of their secondary status, and obedience to the colonial order. Moreover, because diplomas earned in the colonies were not recognized in France, pupils of government schools found their prospects for future advancement outside the colonial environment highly restricted.

Mission schools were similarly limited. Although missionaries maintained extensive school systems that extended deep into the interior and down to the village level, their curriculum was a mixture of Christianity, manual labor, and limited academics. Because Protestant mission theology held that conversion was best achieved through exposure to Scripture in one's own language, mission schools often taught in local vernaculars. Moreover, as the missions felt that the bulk of their pupils were destined to lead lives as farmers and laborers, mission schools eschewed academic preparation beyond primary school in favor of vocational training, often employing pupils on school farms, plantations, and other money-making ventures in lieu of charging tuition. Although the pupils of mission schools often pushed for more

academic instruction, particularly French-language literacy, as a means of obtaining better paid clerical jobs with local business or administration, their requests met with limited success before 1914. The failure of mission schools to be more responsive to these requests led to discontent among pupils and exposed mission schools to criticism from administrators who complained that they were not doing enough to spread French language and culture or even train sufficient numbers of clerks to fill the needs of local government and business firms. The combination of these charges, combined with growing anticlerical sentiment in France, stripped mission schools of government subsidies after 1900, and led to repeated clashes with administrators over the content of curriculum right up until the outbreak of World War I.

The Status of Native Peoples

France established two forms of political status within the empire. Citizens included nationals from France, whites born in the colonies, and the handful of natives who naturalized. Although citizens enjoyed full civil liberties, voting rights, and preferential treatment under the law, few Africans or Asians were willing or able to meet the conditions for naturalization that varied from place to place yet always included complete linguistic and cultural assimilation. Most colonized peoples were ignorant of the requirements or even the possibility of acquiring full citizenship. They were also discouraged from naturalizing, as it cut them off from their own communities and meant giving up inheritance rights established under native law. Instead, the majority of colonized peoples were classified as colonial subjects and were denied voting rights. They were also subjected to forced labor known as *prestation* and were legally answerable to native courts run by administrators who applied their own interpretation of local customary law in civil cases. Colonial subjects were also subject to the *indigénat*, an extra-judicial code that began in Algeria in the 1870s and was soon extended to all of French Africa. Under the *indigénat*, French administrators could impose punishments in the form of short jail sentences and fines for a series of offenses ranging from failure to pay taxes to disrespect of colonial officials. The arbitrary nature of the *indigénat* was deeply offensive to Africans and continually underscored the inequality of French colonial administration.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, France relied heavily on its colonies to provide men and resources for the war effort in Europe. After the armistice of 1918, France clung to its colonies and used their resources to facilitate reconstruction of the metropole. In light of the many sacrifices of colonized peoples during and immediately after the war, the French failure to address the inequities in treatment of colonized peoples—including retention of the hated *indigénat*, the use of forced labor, poor education, and limited economic opportunities—led to a gradual rise in colonial nationalism during the interwar period and eventually triggered decolonization in the 1960s. *See also Belle Époque; Boulanger, General Georges-Ernest; Entente Cordiale; Brazza, Pierre; Haiti; Somaliland; Triple Entente.*

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

French Equatorial Africa

French Equatorial Africa (*Afrique équatoriale française*) was a federation of French colonies, stretching northward from the Congo River into the Sahara Desert. From 1880 to 1910, the French expanded their colonial empire into West and Central Africa. The federation was formed in 1910, as an administrative grouping modeled after the *Afrique Occidentale Française*, French West Africa, which was formed in 1895. Savorgna de **Brazza**, the French Commissioner for the French Congo, was largely responsible for its creation. The new federation consisted of Middle Congo, Gabon, and Ubangi-Shari-Chad. In 1920, however, Chad left the federation and was ruled as a separate colony. After the **Agadir Crisis** in 1911, part of French Equatorial Africa was ceded to German Cameroon. This part was later returned to France according to the terms in the Treaty of Versailles signed in 1919. The federation’s capital and seat of the governor-general was Brazzaville. With only 3 million inhabitants spread over 965,000 square miles, the federation was sparsely populated and not an attractive target for investment. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Entente Cordiale, French Empire.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

French Foreign Legion

Officially named the *Régiment Étranger*, the French Foreign Legion was the most storied and durable mercenary force attached to a regular army. France had a long history of employing foreign mercenaries before the creation of the legion; of 102 line regiments in the French army before the revolution, 23 were made up of foreign nationals. The French Foreign Legion was established in 1831 by Louis Philippe to mop up refugees coming into France after the Revolution of July 1830 made it illegal for foreigners to enlist in the French army. The Legion quickly became a home for foreign adventurers, social misfits, and every kind of criminal.

The Legion also became a military workhorse of French colonialism, seeing action for the first time in **Algeria** in 1832. In 1835–1836 the Legion served in the

Carlist Wars in Spain, where it fought well yet was so decimated that it had to be rebuilt. Adopting the motto *Legio patria nostra*, “the Legion is our fatherland,” in the 1840s, it made its headquarters in Sidi-bel-Abbès in Algeria and played a major role in the French conquest of that country. Legion units also served in the Crimean War, the Austro-Piedmontese War, the Franco-Prussian War, and in French **Indochina**. Captain Jean Danjou, a highly decorated legionnaire who lost a hand in combat in Algeria in 1853, and had a wooden prosthetic made, died with most of his men in a last-ditch stand in the Battle of Camarón in Mexico in 1863. His wooden hand was recovered, is displayed at the legion headquarters in Aubagne in southern France, and is paraded annually on the anniversary of the battle.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

French Indochina

See Indochina

French Restoration (1814)

The return of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne of France in 1814 in the wake of the collapse of the empire of Napoleon I. Despite a brief interruption in their control of government after Napoleon’s escape from exile on Elba in 1815, the Bourbons regained control of France until the Revolution of 1830. The period of 1814 to 1830 was characterized by a sharp conservative reaction to the ideas of the French Revolution, which had overthrown the Bourbon monarchy. Louis XVIII, whose brother Louis XVI had been executed during the French Revolution, assumed the French throne in 1814 and ruled until 1824. Louis XVIII was forced to grant a written constitution, known as the Charter of 1814, guaranteeing a bicameral legislature with an appointive Chamber of Peers and an elected Chamber of Deputies. Only men of exceptional wealth, property, and education were eligible to vote. The king argued over the constitution’s preamble, steadfastly arguing that his right to rule derived from providence rather than the people.

Although the monarch’s return was initially popular, the nostalgia surrounding it dissipated as Louis XVIII’s efforts to reverse the changes of the French Revolution mounted. In 1815, Napoleon escaped from his exile on Elba and landed in France, beginning the adventure of the Hundred Days. The king fled to Ghent as Napoleon regained control of the government. After Napoleon’s defeat at **Waterloo**, the Bourbon dynasty was restored a second time. What followed was the White Terror, a bloody purge of Bonapartists, who supported Napoleon, and antimonarchists in France conducted by reactionary supporters of the monarchy.

Louis XVIII was a cautious king who relied primarily on moderate ministers to run the government. As a result of the elections of 1815, the Chamber of Deputies became dominated by ultraroyalists, or ultras, staunch conservatives who supported the monarchy and the Catholic Church. The Chamber proved difficult for the king’s ministers. Liberals gained control of the Chamber from 1816 to 1820. In 1820, the assassination of the duc de Berry, son of the king’s brother, the comte

d'Artois, who was leader of the Ultras, prompted the fall of the Liberals and the return of the Chamber to the Ultras, who would dominate government throughout the next decade.

Louis XVIII died in September 1824 and was interred at Saint Denis. His brother, d'Artois, inherited the throne as **Charles X**. A devout Catholic and defender of the absolutist principles of monarchy, Charles X held an elaborate coronation ceremony at Reims Cathedral in the style of medieval French kings. In 1829, Jules de Polignac became chief minister. From 1827 to 1830, a series of economic downturns led to a growing number of liberal deputies in the Chamber. Although Polignac retained support from much of the aristocracy, the Catholic Church, and the peasantry, he was opposed by workers and upper members of the bourgeoisie. Charles X became frustrated with the Chamber as it filled increasingly with liberal deputies who blocked his legislation and threatened his existing policies. The Charter of 1814 established a constitutional monarchy, granting the king extensive power over policymaking, but the Chamber had to pass his legislation. The charter also granted the Chamber the right to determine the election method for its deputies and their rights within the Chamber. The liberal deputies issued a final no-confidence vote in March 1830, prompting Charles X to overstep his constitutional restrictions by attempting to alter the charter by a series of royal decrees known as the Four Ordinances. The decrees called for the dissolution of the Chamber, new elections based on a new electorate, strict censorship of the press, and restriction of voting rights to only the wealthiest in France. Polignac conceived of the 1830 invasion of **Algeria**, partly to shore up Charles' popularity with a foreign triumph reminiscent of Napoleon. In this it failed, but the invasion succeeded, and Algeria became the regime's most lasting legacy.

The decrees led to outcries in the press and urban mobs in Paris mobilized against the king, assembling barricades in the streets. The uprising quickly mounted until it went beyond the means of the monarchy to control. The revolution occurred over three days in 1830, resulting in the abdication of Charles X and his son, the duc d'Angoulême, on July 30, thereby ending the Bourbon monarchy. The liberal, bourgeois Chamber of Deputies refused to recognize Charles X's grandson, the comte de Chambord, as Henry V. Instead, they declared the throne vacant and elected Louis Philippe, duc d'Orleans, a member of a junior branch of the Bourbon family, king of the French. Louis Philippe ruled the "July Monarchy" from 1830 until 1848, when he too was overthrown in revolution. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Bonapartism; French Empire.

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ERIC MARTONE

French West Africa

French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*) was by 1913 a federation of eight French colonial possessions in Africa that extended, on an East-West axis, from

Senegal on the Atlantic coast to the border of Chad and, on a North-South axis, from the northern border of Senegal and Algeria to the Ivory Coast. The explosive growth of the French Empire after the mid-1880s necessitated the consolidation of political authority in an effort to coordinate policy and eliminate intercolonial rivalry, ultimately resulting in the creation of three colonial federations: **French Equatorial Africa**, French West Africa, and French **Indochina**. French West Africa, created in 1895, was the largest and most geographically diverse of the three, combining the colonies of Senegal, Ivory Coast, French Sudan (present-day Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso) and French **Guinea** into a single administrative unit. Later additions included Dahomey in 1899 (present-day Benin) and Mauritania in 1904.

As in the other federations, political authority in French West Africa was highly centralized. Each colony retained its own governor and local colonial administration, but they were all subject to oversight by a governor-general headquartered in the Senegalese port town of St Louis, moved to Dakar in 1904. The position of governor-general was immensely powerful. The decision to forbid individual governors from having direct contact with Paris meant that the governor-general, who answered directly to the colonial minister and French parliament, served as a clearinghouse for all colonial policies, decisions, and reports. Moreover, in addition to setting federation-wide health, education, and agricultural policies, the governor-general also controlled the purse strings of individual colonial governments, as all revenues from customs duties gathered throughout the federation were sent to Dakar and then reallocated in the form of “subsidies.” As such, the governor-general was not only in a position to pressure the colonial governors under his command to follow a common set of policies but was also able to coordinate economic development by directing investment in infrastructure. The result was a growing emphasis throughout the early twentieth century on the cultivation of cash crops such as peanuts, cotton, coffee, and cocoa, as well as intensive railroad construction to open the interior to trade.

During World War II, French West Africa served as a crucial base of operations for Charles de Gaulle and the Free French. As a reward for this service, the French colonies in West Africa were granted increased local autonomy and, once the war ended, were transformed into overseas territories, complete with citizenship and full political rights for their inhabitants. By 1956, however, the rising tide of African nationalism led to demands for independence and the final dissolution of French West Africa as a political entity. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; French Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

G

Gambetta, Léon (1838–1882)

A leading politician of the French Third Republic. Gambetta was called to the Bar in 1859 and as a lawyer exhibited strong political views, above all hostility to Napoleon III (see **Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon**). He was elected as a Republican to the National Assembly in 1869, and in 1870, he voted against going to war against Prussia. On September 4, 1870, Gambetta proclaimed the Third Republic and, as a member of the Committee of National Defense, displayed immense energy and political skill to supplying the French Army. Gambetta opposed both the peace of 1871 and its terms, fighting with patriotic zeal against the cession of **Alsace-Lorraine** in particular. He was suspicious of Adolphe **Thiers** but contemptuous of the Paris Commune that Thiers destroyed. In these attitudes he was typical of the militant moderation of many Radicals, Georges **Clemenceau** among them: middle class republicans who hated the monarchy and the Church equally, who were dedicated to the prosperity of business, and who were absolutely devoted to France.

Gambetta was among the most important republicans of his generation, playing a key role in the defeat of President MacMahon and the triumph in the elections of 1879 of a republican majority under Jules Grévy. In 1881, he supported the policy of Jules Ferry in sending a French expeditionary force across the Algerian border to seize the ailing Ottoman province of Tunis before Italy could do so and thereby reclaim France's status as Great Power. Gambetta then served briefly as prime minister and died suddenly of an accident at age 42. He was mourned as a hero of the Third Republic. At his funeral Victor Hugo took his grandchildren to see the coffin and said "there lies a great citizen."

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807–1882)

An Italian patriot, soldier, adventurer, revolutionary, and politician instrumental in the unification of **Italy**, Giuseppe Garibaldi was born in Nice in 1807 in what was then the kingdom of Sardinia. Garibaldi joined **Young Italy**, a patriotic society, in 1833, and became a follower of nationalist Giuseppe **Mazzini**. The French Revolutionary Wars had brought the Italian peninsula reforms, giving Italians a taste of republicanism. The return of absolutist governments after the **French Empire**'s 1814 demise prompted the **Risorgimento**, a revolutionary movement. Secret nationalist societies formed and unsuccessful revolts flared throughout the peninsula.

Garibaldi participated in a failed nationalist insurrection in 1834. He barely escaped arrest and execution, fleeing to Marseilles and then Brazil. During his 12 years in South America (1836–1848), Garibaldi met his first wife, Anita, who became his comrade-in-arms, and won fame fighting for the province of Rio Grande do Sul, then in revolt against the Brazilian government. He became a member of its navy, operating as a pirate. Garibaldi gained military leadership experience as a **guerrilla** in Uruguay, which was fighting Argentina for independence. The Revolutions of 1848, a liberal nationalist movement in Europe, saw mostly unsuccessful uprisings throughout the Italian peninsula against its foreign rulers. Sicily rebelled against its Bourbon king, and anti-Austrian riots ensued in the north. Garibaldi offered his services to the Sardinian king, leader of the Italian independence movement. Mazzini established a Roman Republic against Franco-Austrian troops sent to restore the pope. He summoned Garibaldi to help defend the Republic. Garibaldi's forces were driven from Rome in 1849; during the retreat, Anita died.

Several revolutionaries went into exile, including Garibaldi. He worked in New York making candles, leaving to become the skipper of cargo ships. In 1854, Garibaldi returned to the Italian peninsula after Count **Cavour**, Sardinia's prime minister, granted his consent. Garibaldi retired to Caprera, living as a farmer before accepting a commission in the Sardinian army. Sardinia joined the Crimean War in 1855 to gain French support to expel the Austrians for Italian independence. By 1859, victories at **Magenta** and **Solferino** had forced Austria to cede Lombardy, but Venice and Rome remained under foreign control. Napoleon III of France sought peace with Austria without consulting Sardinia and annexed Savoy and Nice as payment for assistance. Tuscany, Romagna, Modena, and Parma opted for annexation to Sardinia.

Garibaldi mounted an invasion of the Italian peninsula via Sicily. He resigned his commission and called for "a million rifles and men." About 1,089 volunteers, known as "Red Shirts," rallied to Garibaldi's call. Most of them were young professionals, journalists, lawyers, artists, and intellectuals. With his army, Garibaldi invaded Sicily and Naples, driving out the Bourbon dynasty. Garibaldi became temporary dictator and continued marching north until halted by Sardinian troops. Garibaldi resigned his command to Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia, which annexed Sicily and Naples to create Italy. In 1861, Italy became a nation-state under **Victor Emmanuel II**. Rome remained protected by France while under papal rule. Garibaldi led two unsuccessful attacks against Rome in the 1860s and later accepted a position in the French army during the Franco-Prussian war to "aid the cause of International Republicanism." In 1870, French troops withdrew from Rome for war with Prussia. After France lost, Italian forces entered the Papal States, annexing

them into Italy. In 1874, Garibaldi became deputy for Rome in parliament. He retired with a government pension to Caprera, where he died in 1882. *See also* Vienna, Congress of.

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ERIC MARTONE

Gaspirali, Ismail Bey (1851–1914)

Also known as Gasprinskii, Gaspirali, a Crimean Tatar intellectual, and an advocate of educational progress for Turkic peoples. He was especially interested in increasing literacy rates of Turks, seeing that as a key avenue toward future economic and political success. He published many articles and books, including many in his newspaper, *Tercüman* or *Terjüman* (*Interpreter*).

Gaspirali saw education as a means to ultimately challenge Russian political authority, but he never called for more radical measures. He thought gradual measures were the most effective way to create pan-Turkic unity. Gaspirali's ideas paved the way for the late-nineteenth-century movement known as Jadidism, whose supporters advocated new school curricula that combined modern Western subjects, Turkic literature, and traditional Islamic teachings. Gaspirali urged the creation of a common Turkic literary language, which he used in *Tercüman*. He believed that a common language was necessary to advance Pan-Turkism. *See also* Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Geneva Convention (1864)

The Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field, known as the Geneva Convention, had as its goals the protection of the vulnerable in wartime and the prevention of unnecessary suffering. Its key provision was that once soldiers were wounded, they were no longer legal combatants and should not be targeted as such. Signatories to the convention pledged to protect the wounded and allow representatives of the Red Cross to administer aid. The Geneva Convention also called for those killed in war to be properly identified and given a proper burial, as well as for a prohibition of weapons of war that cause “undue” suffering, notably “dum-dum” bullets. The Geneva Convention was extended in 1906 to cover war at sea, in 1929 to provide protection for prisoners-of-war, and in 1949 to protect civilians during war.

The First Geneva Convention was inspired by the Swiss doctor Jean Henri Dunant, the founder of the International Red Cross. Dunant was in the Italian town of Solferino in 1859 during a battle between Franco-Sardinian and Austrian troops. He was horrified by the suffering of battle casualties, who were left to die on the field because neither side would agree to a truce to retrieve them. He helped some of the injured

himself and subsequently wrote *A Memory of Solferino*, published in 1862, proposing the creation of a civilian relief organization to aid the wounded in war. Dunant's work led to the formation of a private Red Cross organization in Geneva and to the international conference in Geneva in 1864, which drafted the Geneva Convention. The convention recognized the work of the International Red Cross, the new international organization comprised of the private Red Cross organizations that had begun to form in other European nations. Its headquarters was also in Geneva. Although the International Red Cross was technically an independent body, its member organizations often worked in close collaboration with national military and medical staffs, illustrating the connections between national and international ideals in the nineteenth century.

The Geneva Convention was an early step in the establishment of international humanitarian law. It provided a moral standard against which foreign policies and military affairs could be judged and gave legitimacy to later humanitarian campaigns against some of the more egregious examples of imperial rule. The desire to attenuate the violence of war also inspired the 1899 **Hague Peace Conference** and the 1907 Hague Convention on Land Warfare, both of which put forth rules of warfare in the spirit of the First Geneva Convention.

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DANIEL GORMAN

George III, King of Great Britain (1738–1820)

George III was the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1760 to 1820. George III began his rein in the midst of the Seven Years' War from which he swiftly brought his country after he removed from office the elder William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. During the rebellion of the American colonies, 1775–1783, he gave full support to Lord North's ministry and staunchly refused to come to any terms with the colonists short of their remaining part of the British Empire. He later supported William Pitt the Younger during his long period as prime minister (1783–1801, 1804–1806), not least the government's vigorous prosecution of the war against revolutionary France after the execution of Louis XVI in 1793.

He suffered bouts of illness, probably prophyria, which led to periodic political crises, most significantly in 1788–1789, when talks of a regency and the rise of the Whigs would almost certainly have led to Pitt's fall and peace with France. The king, however, recovered, and continued to support the war, although disagreement with Pitt over Catholic Emancipation led to the former's resignation in 1801. From 1811, as a result of a return of insanity, George III withdrew from politics, succeeded by his son, the future **George IV**, as Prince Regent until 1820. *See also* British Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

George IV, King of Great Britain (1762–1830)

Prince Regent, and later King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. He served in the capacity of regent from 1811 when the madness of his father, **George III**, rendered him unfit to continue as sovereign. Politically, George was a close ally of the Whigs, particularly Charles James **Fox**—his father's political nemesis—and this association, together with his inveterate gambling, strained relations with his father. He consistently ran up enormous debts, much to the embarrassment of the royal family, which regularly appealed to Parliament for relief. Despite his Whig loyalties, George worked with the Tory government under Lord Liverpool from 1812, supporting the nation's war against Napoleon **Bonaparte**, which ended three years later. George's divorce from Queen Caroline led to a scandalous public trial, and his later years as regent and king were characterized by domestic unrest and a gradual weakening of royal power. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

George V, King of Great Britain and Emperor of India (1865–1936)

The second son of **Edward VII** and among the most conscientious and popular of British monarchs. He served in the **Royal Navy** from 1877 to 1892, a career path suddenly closed to him by the sudden death of his older brother and his consequent emergence as heir to the throne. With the death of Edward VII in May 1910, George V followed his coronation with a trip to **Ireland** and Wales and five months later made the first visit to **India** of a reigning monarch, although he had visited the country in 1905 as the Prince of Wales. On the advice of his constitutional advisors, he intervened in the political crisis over the Parliament Act of 1910–1911 and urged compromise during the Irish Home Rule crisis in 1912–1914. During World War I, he insisted that the royal household abide by national rationing guidelines and personally donated £100,000 to the war effort. He made seven visits to the front in Belgium and France and hundreds of visits to hospitals and factories, and he personally awarded 58,000 military decorations. To top it all off he changed the family name from the German Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to the English Windsor.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

German Confederation

The German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*), a loose association of Central European states, mostly but not exclusively German, was created in 1815 by the Congress of **Vienna**. The *Bund* was a reorganization of the surviving states of the Holy Roman Empire, abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1806 and replaced by

the **Confederation of the Rhine**. It consisted of 39 states in all and covered a territory stretching from Westphalia in the west to Moravia in the east, from Prussia in the north to Tyrol in the south. The member states were formally committed to mutual defense yet were fully sovereign and had no overarching authority. Hanover was a German state yet also a co-sovereignty under the crown of England; Luxembourg was governed by the Netherlands. Whereas the Rhine confederation had been a creature of Napoleonic hegemony in Central Europe, the *Bund* became the object of the post-Napoleonic rivalry of Prussia and Austria until the **Austro-Prussian War** of 1866 decided the matter in Prussia's favor. Most of the *Bund's* members were integrated in to the new **German Empire** established in 1871.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

German East Africa

Although dwarfed as a settlement colony by **German Southwest Africa**, German East Africa was the largest and most populous German colony. During the early nineteenth century Arab slavers expanded their activities deeper into the interior of East Africa, thereby attracting the interest of European abolitionists, merchants, explorers, and missionaries. By the 1840s, early European contacts with East Africa had evolved into an informal British protectorate over **Zanzibar** and its coastal possessions. Formal colonization of the region began in late 1884 as part of the Scramble for Africa when the German explorer and adventurer Carl Peters induced interior chiefs to sign treaties of protection that placed their lands under his control. Although Otto von Bismarck had initially opposed Peters' activities lest they provoke an unnecessary confrontation with Britain, the German government established a formal protectorate over East Africa in February 1885. Germany's creation of a protectorate caught Britain by surprise and triggered a race for territory in which British and German agents competed with each other to expand their respective colonial holdings by signing additional treaties with tribes located much further inland. Anglo-German rivalry in East Africa finally ended 1890 with the **Heligoland-Zanzibar** treaty, which formalized the borders of German East Africa.

Although Bismarck had initially hoped to leave the task of administering the new protectorate to Peters and his *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (German East Africa Company [DOAG]), the combination of DOAG mismanagement, arrogant treatment of the local Muslim population, and increased competition for trade triggered a revolt in 1888 that forced the German government to intervene militarily and eventually assume control of colonial administration three years later. Although the outbreak of additional revolts over the next several years required ongoing military campaigns to pacify the interior, the new administration's primary task was fostering economic development. To that end, the Germans began an ambitious program of railroad construction, created coffee and rubber tree plantations, and introduced a variety of new crops including cotton, sisal, and sesame.

Despite German East Africa's economic growth, by the turn of the century German relations with the indigenous peoples were again in decline, as a result of a

combination of taxes, forced labor, and the arrival of white settlers and Indian immigrants. The situation finally came to a head with the outbreak of the 1905–1907 **Maji-Maji** revolt, which the Germans suppressed with extreme brutality. Nevertheless, after the outbreak of World War I, German forces composed predominantly of African recruits under the command of Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck retreated into the interior and launched a highly successful guerilla campaign, only surrendering after the war had officially ended. After the war, Germany was stripped of all her colonies and in 1922 the newly created League of Nations split German East Africa into mandates, assigning Tanganyika to Britain and the smaller territories of Rwanda and Burundi to **Belgium**. *See also* Burton, Captain Sir Richard Francis; Berlin, Conference of; Dernburg Reforms; German Empire; Livingstone, David; Lugard, Lord Frederick; Uganda.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

German Empire

The German Empire was proclaimed on January 18, 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, not far from where the Prussian army besieged Paris in the final days of the **Franco-Prussian War**. The German Empire, occasionally referred to as the **Second Reich**, also died in battle, on November 9, 1918, when **Wilhelm II** abdicated his throne in the final days of World War I. Strife-ridden at home because of unresolved institutional contradictions and provocative abroad as the result of an economically powerful and culturally volatile nation on the make, Imperial Germany was for the 50 years of its existence a source of instability in Europe and throughout the world. The regime's tenuous compromise between monarchical privilege and constitutional provision, combined political authoritarianism with an industrialized social order that made Germany both the most admired and feared nation on the European Continent. Its history illustrates the critical dilemmas of political, social, and cultural upheaval in modern times and the folly of chauvinistic nationalism in the era of "total" war.

The Foundation of the Reich

The architect of the German Empire was Prussian Prime Minister Otto von **Bismarck**. In the 1860s, Bismarck orchestrated a series of international crises, including wars with **Denmark** in 1864, the **Austrian Empire** in 1866, and France in 1870–1871. With these conflicts, Bismarck sought to marginalize Austria in Central European affairs and then to unite the many small states of Germany under Prussian leadership. With the leaders of these states, Bismarck established a federalist system of government capped by the Prussian hereditary monarchy. The constitution of the German Empire reflected the priorities of the **Junkers**, Prussia's land-owning aristocracy, from whom Bismarck himself descended. The emperor alone directed

foreign affairs and had the authority to declare war. He called and dissolved parliament and appointed imperial officials, who served at his sufferance independent of parliamentary oversight. His chancellor, almost always a Junker as well, had broad executive and legislative powers. The lower house or Reichstag was elected by universal manhood suffrage, but it had no ministerial responsibility and its decisions had to be approved by the upper house or *Bundesrat*, which was dominated by the delegation from Prussia. This arrangement gave Prussia and in particular its Junker elites *de facto* veto power over Reich legislation, guaranteeing a political authoritarianism that was out of step with a rapidly industrializing and modernizing German society.

At the core of the German imperial government, then, was a fundamental contradiction. The system provided for mass political action in a parliamentary body, but such action, above all when it advocated socialism, was unwelcome. When parliament addressed foreign or military affairs, it was constitutionally enfeebled. The system possessed little flexibility for adapting to the complicated politics of an increasingly mobilized electorate and hampered the creation of a national political consensus. The basic institutions of the state—the emperor, the constitution, the Reich ministry, and the voting system—bore enormous stress as recurring topics of acrimonious debate. The country's numerous divisions between workers and the middle class, urbanites and farmers, Catholics and Protestants, and Germans and ethnic "others," such as Danes, Poles, Alsace-Lorrainers, and East European Jews, were neither resolved nor mitigated by democratic compromise. More dangerously imperial authorities attempted to generate popular support for the regime less by mollifying disagreement through meaningful political reform than by foreign policy adventurism and emotional appeals to aggressive nationalism that imperiled Germany's strategic position. The temptation to overcome domestic squabbling through grand foreign undertakings assumed increasing importance in the planning of Reich officials in the military, ministry, and imperial court.

Problems of National Integration

In the early years of the empire, Bismarck attempted to solve the problems of national unity by marginalizing the two groups that seemed to menace the interests of his chief allies in the Protestant middle class and Junker aristocracy, socialists and Roman Catholics. From 1871 to 1890, German society experienced the tumults of rapid industrialization and urbanization. The agricultural base of the country, strong in rye, potato, and sugar beet production in the east, and dairy farming and winemaking in the west, was solid. But the increasing intensity of cultivation, resulting primarily from the growing use of artificial fertilizers and the mechanization of seed and processing work, expanded yields while reducing labor requirements, releasing rural inhabitants from the demands of the soil to seek employment elsewhere. These populations found work in heavy industry, above all in the teeming cities of central Germany, the Ruhr Valley, and along the Rhine River, such as Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Duisburg.

As elsewhere in Europe, life for industrial workers was hard. In massive numbers, German workers joined the Social Democratic Party (SPD), founded in 1875, and the labor unions affiliated with it to address concerns such as job safety and security, reduced working hours, protections for women and children, and the right to strike. To Bismarck, socialist criticism of the highly stratified industrial social order

and aristocratic claims to political authority, combined with sympathy for laborers abroad, posed intolerable risks to the nation's unity and long-term stability. Socialism threatened perpetual social unrest and undermined the national loyalty of industrial workers, the fastest growing segment of the population. In the late 1870s, he therefore disbanded the SPD and its unions, outlawed socialist propaganda, and criminalized associations that promoted socialist ideas. These Antisocialist Laws only drove more workers into the socialist camp and honed the parliamentary skills of SPD delegates, who, in the 1880s, pushed a government motivated both by fear of a radicalized working class and real humanistic concern to enact sweeping social welfare legislation, including national health and accident insurance. This legislation also established a social security system for the aged. In an 1890 political crisis that cost Bismarck his chancellorship, the Antisocialist Laws were officially retired, and the SPD emerged stronger and more politically astute than ever.

Roman Catholics, the other major category of *Reichsfeinde* or “enemies of the Reich” in Bismarckian Germany, accounted for roughly one-third of the country's 1871 population of 41 million inhabitants. They lived in regions such as Bavaria, Württemberg, and the Rhineland, which had either been annexed to Prussia early in the nineteenth century or had to be cajoled into joining the Prussian-dominated empire at the expense of cherished political and cultural traditions. Bismarck always mistrusted them. Their adherence to the “infallible” pronouncements of a foreign pope, their clericalism and dogmatic traditionalism, and their low social status clashed with the national consensus he was attempting to construct on the basis of liberal-Protestant anticlericalism, modern scholarly endeavor, and middle class social advancement. The participation of the clergy in mobilizing Catholic voters in the nation's first elections emboldened Bismarck to strike against German Catholicism in the classic church-state confrontation of the nineteenth century, the *Kulturkampf*. Prussia led the way in this “struggle for culture” with legislation that expelled foreign Jesuits, imposed lay inspectors on Catholic-run schools, established civil marriage as compulsory in law, and dispatched state supervisors to seminaries and the houses of monastic orders. Priests in Prussia were even compelled to sit for “cultural” exams to test their knowledge of—and support for—the prevailing liberal-Protestant ethos. These measures galvanized Catholic support behind the Center Party, established in 1870 to defend Catholic interests against a hostile government. Led by the irrepressible Hanovarian Ludwig Windthorst, the Center became a thorn in Bismarck's side and forced the Prussian government to rescind nearly all anti-Catholic legislation by the end of the decade.

The *Kulturkampf*, however, was more than a Church-State struggle. It was also a conflict over the very definition of what it meant to be German in the infant national community. One reason nationalism had such powerful resonance in modern Germany was that Germans found defining a durable collective identity so difficult. Catholics and Protestants lived in different sociocultural “publics.” Better educated and more upwardly mobile, Protestants supported Imperial Germany's official culture as articulated by the monarchy, the army, liberal business and academic elites, and their churches. This culture celebrated the ancient Germans and their revolt against the Roman Empire, as well as Martin Luther and his revolt against the Roman popes. It also respected modern knowledge and honored the philosophical contributions of Protestant titans like Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Lastly, it promoted a middle class domestic experience of cultural attainment

that shaped the personality through regular consumption of art, the Bible, the glorious histories of Protestant Prussia in arms, and the fiction of such giants of German literature and letters as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. Roman Catholics, especially when antagonized by the Prussian state, reveled in an idealized medieval and pastoral past, when Church and State existed in harmony and society rested untroubled in organic integration. More modestly educated and provincial than urbanized Protestants, they welcomed the achievements of scientific learning but resisted the fragmentation of knowledge promoted by German universities and rejected any intellectual extremism that did not recognize the limits on science suggested by religion. Their philosophical champion remained the medieval Spanish saint Thomas Aquinas; their literary heroes still included venerable figures like the fourteenth-century Italian Dante Alighieri and the seventeenth-century Spaniard Miguel de Cervantes. They viewed the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century as a diabolical tragedy.

So, whereas the social divide in Bismarck's Germany had to do with disputes over economic structure and access to power, the confessional divide touched on core historical narratives and bedrock cultural commitments that originated from and reinforced competing identities. The polemics generated by this cleavage poisoned every aspect of public life. Middle class Protestants saw in the mass of lower-class rural, small-town, and working class Catholics a hostile population, whose alleged intellectual backwardness and cultural impoverishment thwarted the upward drive of the nation. Consequently, they discriminated against Catholics in all areas of civil society, from university and military appointments to job promotions and access to positions of cultural leadership, such as the boards of provincial museums and libraries. As late as 1914, only 18 percent of all civil servants were Catholics—half their percentage of the total population. This inequality and the ugly confessional rancor it generated, not least among Catholics who deeply resented their lack of parity with Protestant Germans, was a perpetual irritant to social relationships at the national and local levels and testifies that, despite national political unification, the German Empire was still building a German nation well into its history. The problems of national identity only intensified under the reign of the young Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918), who proved inept at reforming a political system headed toward institutional paralysis and unable to establish a popular consensus behind the regime any more durable than the visceral fears and impulsiveness of patriotic nationalism.

Society and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany

Many historians have argued that the German Empire's uneasy commingle of authoritarianism and democracy, as well as its forestalled national integration resulting from the persistence of premodern social relations and strident religious argument, explains Germany's political catastrophe in the twentieth century. Germany followed a *Sonderweg*, or "special path," to modernity, the thesis holds, which led from the Bismarckian constitution to world war and to Adolf Hitler's Third Reich in the 1930s. This picture of Germany under Wilhelm II as a stagnant and stifled, "misdeveloped" nation can be drawn too tightly. If imperial authorities felt constrained in their rule, it was because civil society in Wilhelmine Germany was so dynamic, the cultural voices within it so diverse and divergent, that it impinged on the monarchy's maneuverability and undermined the government's efforts in moving

legislation to sustain the system and thereby to reassert its legitimacy. The élan of this civil society derived principally from the German middle class.

The expansion of the German economy in the years 1888–1914 was striking. Annual growth ran at a brisk 4.5 percent. The heavy industries of mining and steel production increased in size and scope of enterprise, and metalworking took off owing to the rapidly expanding need for specialized parts, precision tools, and finely calibrated measuring instruments. German industrial research and applied science created new industrial sectors as well. Germany led the way in the lucrative electrical and heavy chemical industries. In 1891, the production of electricity contributed about 45 million marks to the economy. By 1913, this figure had risen to 1.3 billion. Thanks to innovations in pharmaceuticals and electrochemical production, Germany had become the world's leading exporter of synthetic dyes by 1900. Germany was also a major European exporter of capital through an impressive network of banks centered in Berlin. The country's enormous fleet of merchant ships, operating out of the ports of Hamburg, Kiel, and other maritime sites, helped increase Reich exports of manufactured goods and textiles 81 percent from 1889 to 1910. "Made in Germany" became a prestigious and highly coveted label in European and world markets, broadcasting Imperial Germany's arrival as a major economic powerhouse.

The occupational profile of German workers changed just as dramatically as the economy that shaped it. The percentage of workers employed in industry and craft production, as well as in trade, commerce, and transportation, rose to 55 percent by 1907; those involved in agriculture fell to less than 30 percent. As the economy diversified and as labor became more specialized, many new types of jobs appeared. These included legal and health aides, government service work in building code inspection, postal and railroad administration, and fishery management, as well as positions in the booming "white collar" sector of the economy, which offered employment—to women as well as men—as clerks and typists, small business assistants, and teachers and officials in Germany's large public school system. Most German workers saw their real wages increase between 1885 and 1913, sometimes as high as 30 percent. National unemployment rarely exceeded 3 percent, and the average workweek fell from more than 70 hours in the late 1870s to 60 hours or less in the years before the war.

Germany's highly integrated and robust industrial economy also created yawning social inequalities. Industrial workers, for example, experienced rising real wages, greater job security, and shorter hours but also suffered from squalid living conditions, high food prices, and, unlike their comrades in other industrialized nations such as Britain and France, strained social and political segregation that limited their ability to improve their circumstances. There was very little social mobility between the classes in Germany and great gulfs of wealth and income distribution. Doomed to perennial penury, German industrial laborers grew increasingly frustrated with a social order that offered greater opportunities to slide down than move up.

The winners in this economy were male members of the middle class—propertied and educated men who occupied positions of social and cultural influence. They were doctors, lawyers, professors, and other credentialed experts; writers, journalists, and cultural producers; and industrial captains and other business elite. Although a highly differentiated and ideologically fragmented stratum, they were united socially by their distance from the Junker aristocracy above and the impecunious wage

laboring classes below, and culturally by the values of hard work, thrift, competition, and enterprise. Intensely nationalistic and concerned for the diffusion of German literary *Kultur* as an integrating force in a fractious polity, they valued public education and popular literacy; manners in a well-regulated everyday life; conspicuous consumption of approved art, books, and music; and the celebration of the nuclear and patriarchal middle class family. They presided over a vigorous civil society, which demonstrated their dynamic capacity for self-mobilization and social leadership.

Wilhelmine Germany produced an extraordinarily rich artistic culture. New styles developed in painting, drama, poetry, opera, literature, and architecture. Publishing elites took advantage of mass literacy to create, by 1912, some 4,000 journals and newspapers addressing all audiences and interests, as well as an explosive pulp fiction market that filled leisure time with romance novellas, serialized crime stories, escapist travel accounts, tabloid spectacle, and an alarming volume of nationalist tracts that proclaimed Germany's national and ethnic superiority over other European and world populations. Creative energy channeled into other pastimes as well, including cinemas, dance halls and cabarets, theaters, **zoological gardens**, convivial societies of every kind, such as hiking, choral, and gymnastics groups, and spectator sports, which drew massive weekend crowds. Complemented by aristocratic and court ceremonial; thousands of faith-based social, cultural, and charitable voluntary associations; and proletarian institutions that shaped the everyday experience of the working class, the sociability of Wilhelmine Germany supported a wide and colorful spectrum of cultural voices that lent essential substance to public opinion. When this opinion mobilized in Germany's numerous elections, the flux, incoherence, and instability of German society became only more evident.

Politics, Foreign Policy, and War

Before 1890, elections in Imperial Germany could still appeal to a shared purpose of national community building. After 1890, elections turned primarily on concrete issues concerning, above all, reform of the Prussian electoral system and the achievement of social justice. The emergence of interest-based politics fragmented the electorate more than ever. It also sharpened a political rhetoric that was already drenched in **militarism**. This rhetoric, along with more sophisticated techniques of voter mobilization, placed added pressure on a Prusso-German authoritarian system, already under stress, by introducing new tensions and energies into the political arena. Voter mobilization in the countryside, for instance, engaged new strata of the rural population in agitation for such controversial measures as tariff protection, progressive taxation, and the abolition of the Reich's restricted suffrage provision. Mobilization in the cities produced a number of anti-Semitic parties, which, although irrelevant by 1900, nonetheless testified to a society at odds with itself and a politics deeply tinged with the irrational. The introduction of other new voices into Germany's political culture, including those of feminists, who demanded, however fruitlessly, access to the franchise, undermined even solid blocs of support, such as the Center Party had enjoyed, and made coalition politics difficult due to constantly shifting parliamentary majorities.

The greatest threat to the system and the most dramatic development in German politics after 1890 was the rise of the SPD as a dominant party with enormous support among unhappy urban voters. While the Conservative Party receded and both the National Liberals and Progressives stagnated, the SPD skyrocketed in electoral

power. With the retirement of the Antisocialist Laws in 1890, the SPD sent 35 delegates to the Reichstag, a new high. By 1912, this number had grown to 110, as the SPD drew almost 35 percent of all ballots cast. The red tide of the SPD was dangerous because it mobilized public opinion hostile to the core institutions of political authoritarianism, even as its broader critique of the social order destabilized the status quo. The party's insistence on the urgency of political and social reform would not go away. The Center Party and the left-of-center Progressives occasionally worked with the SPD in a parliamentary coalition on some reformist policies, but the right-of-center National Liberals and Conservatives, which represented the entrenched interests of the state, would not. This intransigence in the face of the SPD's advance threatened, as early as 1909 but certainly after the elections of 1912, political stalemate, in which the government could not obtain parliamentary backing for its policies.

The gathering specter of political paralysis encouraged imperial elites to relieve domestic pressure by diverting public attention to foreign involvements. No one embraced the idea with greater ardor than Wilhelm II himself. Incapable of reforming the system he inherited from Bismarck, whom he unceremoniously dismissed from public service in 1890, he sought a way out of the crisis by demanding that Germany be recognized as a World Power. In this policy of *Weltpolitik*, he enjoyed broad-based popular support, voters for SPD candidates excluded, although patriotism was also lively enough among workers. Indeed, pride in the nation's many economic and cultural achievements; regard for the army, which had an exceptional influence in determining national culture; and jingoist enthusiasm for an assertive foreign policy were the few matters on which there was parliamentary consensus. Naturally, national chauvinism was strongest in the military and naval leadership, in the Reich Foreign Office, and among Wilhelm's court advisors. Transmitting nationalistic ideas to the population and often shaping elite opinion were a number of powerful extra-parliamentary pressure groups that whipped up the middle class for militarism, imperialism, and the notion of building a blue water navy as a platform for projecting German power abroad. These groups included the Colonial League, the Naval League, the Central Association of German Industrialists, and the Pan-German League, which was led by the vitriolic anti-Semite Heinrich Class.

Germany's foreign policy under Wilhelm II left the country wreathed with enemies. Bismarck's preoccupation had been to solve the strategic conundrum of a country located in Central Europe with few natural borders and faced on multiple fronts with the prospect of war against a coalition of forces. Accordingly, he sought alliances with the conservative empires of **Austria-Hungary** and Russia to the south and east and the isolation of Germany's traditional enemy, France, in the west, in part by an understanding with Great Britain. These arrangements, already in disarray when Wilhelm assumed the throne, were abandoned by the kaiser's foreign ministry. In 1890, Wilhelm refused to extend the **Reinsurance Treaty** that Bismarck had signed with Russia. This prompted a precipitous decline in relations with Russia, whose government now approached France, thus leaving Germany with only the weak Austro-Hungarian monarchy to the south as a principal ally. Wilhelm then alienated Britain in two grave respects. Bismarck had resisted colonialism as an unnecessary impediment to good relations with the **British Empire** but, in 1884, nevertheless gave in to gathering domestic pressure to establish colonies in sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia. These possessions brought negligible economic benefit to the Reich

yet alarmed the British, whom Bismarck had reassured repeatedly that Germany was satisfied territorially. Under Wilhelm, however, German colonialism expanded to include such possessions as Togoland, the **Cameroons**, **German East Africa** (Tanzania), **German Southwest Africa** (Namibia), a handful of islands in the Pacific, a strip of land on the Southeastern coast of **New Guinea**, and **Kiaochow** off the coast of China. Further irritating to the British was Wilhelm's obsession with building a "deterrent fleet" to dissuade any power from attacking Germany or challenging the Reich's colonial interests. Germany's 1897 decision to build a large surface fleet, and the provocative Naval Bills subsequently passed through the Reichstag, drove Great Britain and France, themselves colonial rivals, closer together. In 1904, they concluded a series of friendly agreements known as the **Entente Cordiale**; Russia, in fear of rising German militarism, joined them in 1907 in the **Triple Entente**. With the exception of its alliance with Austria-Hungary, Germany was now isolated. Yet its foreign policy only became more erratic, as it attempted to exploit diplomatic crises in such places as **Morocco** and the Balkans to weaken the ties of the powers now arrayed against it.

Stalemated politically at home and all but encircled on its borders, Germany faced a nightmare scenario. Imperial elites in the military and foreign ministry talked openly of resolving the desperate domestic and geostrategic situation through war. Other Germans, including leading intellectuals and religious authorities, believed that a war might put an end to materialism, decadence, and the malaise of cultural despair by elevating the atoning values of righteous suffering and heroic self-sacrifice. Although it cannot be said that these Germans intrigued to provoke a war—and they certainly did not get the war they wanted—it is true that when an unexpected event set the march toward military conflict in motion they chose escalation and defiance over moderation and restraint.

World War I (1914–1918) was a catastrophe for Imperial Germany and the German people. The general staff of the German army, led by Helmuth von Moltke, the nephew of the hero of the Seven Weeks' War against Austria and the Franco-Prussian War, responded to the assassination of Archduke **Francis Ferdinand**, the heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, by running the calculated risk of a localized, short war that Germany could win by implementing the **Schlieffen Plan**. Drawn up by General Alfred von Schlieffen, the plan called for rapid mobilization to the west against France, which would be defeated in six weeks, followed by a rapid redeployment of forces to the east, by way of Germany's dense railway network, to face Russia. Inflexible in its minute design, fantastical in its ignorance of the manpower and logistical requirements of moving massive armies burdened with tremendous strategic and tactical expectations and, above all, dismissive of the dreadful new realities of industrialized combat, the Schlieffen Plan broke down just miles outside of Paris. Its violation of Belgian neutrality triggered the Allied alliance system, bringing the full weight of the British Empire against Germany. The great trench and attrition battles on the Western Front against France, Britain, and eventually the United States—the Marne and Ypres in 1914, the Somme and Verdun in 1916, Passchendaele and Cambrai in 1917, and the Ludendorff Offensives of the spring of 1918—in addition to its bloody engagements with Russia and its allies and Italy, cost the German Army an astonishing 6 million casualties, including 2,043,000 war dead.

The *Burgfrieden*, or “civil peace,” that Wilhelm declared at the outbreak of the war—which was supposed to subordinate party politics to the exigencies of the national enterprise—could not hold up against these terrible losses. The war did not resolve the manifold tensions that had long afflicted Germany, and whatever enthusiasm there may have been in August 1914 dissipated rapidly. Morale at home sagged as casualties mounted, consumer goods disappeared, crime rose, strikes broke out, censorship was imposed, people starved as a consequence of Britain’s naval blockade, and children came down with typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and rickets. Unable to relieve the misery and unwilling to open up the political structure until October 1918, when the German Army had already lost the war and was streaming back dejected across the nation’s frontiers, the Reich collapsed in utter exhaustion and comprehensive defeat. The army, led by Generals Paul von **Hindenburg** and Erich Ludendorff, both of whom would figure prominently in the later rise to power of the war veteran and political crusader Adolf Hitler, blamed this defeat on civilian elites in the Reichstag, whose interminable squabbling had “stabbed the army in the back.” Wilhelm II abdicated his throne on November 9 and fled to Holland, there to spend the rest of his life splitting wood, dreaming of what might have been, and uttering vile anti-Semitic diatribes. The German people, meanwhile, staggered forward into revolution, massive debt, international opprobrium, and a future no less divisive—politically, socially, or culturally—than that of the ill-fated Empire. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; Balkan Crises; Bülow, Bernhard von; Russian Empire; Tirpitz Plan.

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JEFFREY T. ZALAR

German Southwest Africa

The largest of the German colonial possessions in Africa, approximately three times the size of Germany itself. The initial German acquisition of the territory was almost solely the result of the efforts of Frans Lüderitz and Heinrich Vogelsang who together purchased land from the local Khoikhoi people in 1883. In 1884, Berlin announced that Lüderitzland was to become a German protectorate, and, after some diplomatic difficulties with London, the claim was recognized by Britain. Berlin then promptly annexed adjacent territory until the western coast of Africa north of the British Cape Colony and south of Portuguese Angola was a German protectorate. This policy represented a reversal for the German government under the leadership of Otto von **Bismarck**, who had hitherto been skeptical of the benefit

of overseas possessions to the Second Reich. It marked Germany's belated participation in the intensified competition among European powers for African territory. Although it was not financially solvent until 1912, German Southwest Africa was the object of such vigorous promotion by the *Kolonialverein*, especially for cattle breeding, that a significant immigration of European farmers resulted. Territorial pressure on the indigenous Herero—a semi-nomadic, cattle-herding people of the interior threatened by the enclosure of grazing land on which they assumed usufruct rights—exploded into violent revolt when disease then diminished the Herero herds. A number of colonists were murdered, but the German reaction quickly transformed the **Herero Revolt** of 1904–1907 into one of the most brutal of the colonial wars prosecuted by Europeans in Africa. In Germany the revolt occasioned the “Hottentot Elections” of 1907 in which pro-colonial parties inflicted a defeat on the anti-colonial Social Democrats. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Bülow, Bernhard von; German Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Gettysburg, Battle of (1863)

A pivotal battle of the American Civil War. It was fought in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, between the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, numbering 75,000 men and commanded by General Robert E. Lee, and Union forces, eventually numbering 90,000. Arriving piecemeal, they were commanded by General George G. Meade.

On July 1, Confederate troops looking for shoes at a Gettysburg factory encountered Union cavalry commanded by Brigadier General John Buford. Lee's cavalry, command by Major General J.E.B. Stuart, was off raiding for supplies. This left Lee militarily blind. On July 2, he nevertheless attacked the Union flanks. His generals failed to effectively execute his orders, so that intense fighting all day for the high ground left many dead with two key hills, Big Round Top and Little Round Top to the south of Gettysburg, still in the hands of the Union. At the same time, fierce fighting took place in a wheat field and peach orchard below as the tide of battle swayed back and forth. On July 3, 15,000 Confederates charged the Union lines on the high ground on Cemetery Ridge led by Major General George Pickett after the greatest artillery duel in American history. They were cut to pieces and too few gained the high ground to achieve a victory.

Gettysburg was thus one of the most decisive battles in the American Civil War and was the high watermark of the Confederacy. The news of Gettysburg—combined with the simultaneous surrender of Vicksburg, Mississippi, to the Union army of General Ulysses Grant—ended the diplomatic efforts of the Confederacy to gain diplomatic recognition from Britain or the Continental powers.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

Gibraltar

A tiny peninsula on the eastern coast of the Bay of Algeciras at the exit of the Mediterranean Sea into the Atlantic Ocean and a British crown colony after 1830. A British fleet first seized Gibraltar in 1704 during the War of the Spanish Succession, and it was formally ceded to Britain by Spain in the Treaty of Utrecht ending the war in 1713. Although Spain laid siege to Gibraltar during the American Revolution, British sovereignty was confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. Owing to its position at the gateway between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, Gibraltar acquired enormous strategic value to the **Royal Navy** during the Napoleonic Wars and thereafter in policing the oceanic waterways of the **British Empire**. John Fisher, First Sea Lord from 1904 to 1910, referred to Gibraltar as one of the “five strategic keys” of British world dominion, the others being Alexandria and Suez, Singapore, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Dover. *See also* Navalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Giolitti, Giovanni (1842–1928)

Italian Premier in 1892–1893 and for most of the period from 1903 to 1915. At the beginning of the twentieth century, two factions dominated Italian politics. The first represented nondemocratic and authoritarian political and economic elites. The second was a parliamentary alliance of Mazzinians, Radicals, and independent Socialists who advocated more democratic government. In 1900, this “extreme left” defeated an attempt by the right to restrict constitutional law, and thereby ushered in a democratic government under Giuseppe Zanardelli, a longtime reformer. When health issues forced Zanardelli to retire, Giuseppe Giolitti returned to power.

Giolitti was from Piedmont and entered public life shortly after national unification, holding various civil service positions. He believed that southern peasants and northern industrial workers could be entrusted with political choice but realized that both authoritarian conservatives and nondemocratic radicals threatened democratic government. In 1899, Giolitti announced a sweeping program of reforms, including respect for civil rights, administrative reorganization, a progressive tax, and free trade. To ensure that his reforms were passed, Giolitti practiced *trasformismo*, that is, bringing men into government regardless of political ideology and ensuring their loyalty through political patronage. He played the various parliamentary factions against each other to divide opposition, undermining the Socialists, for example, by supporting Catholic and Nationalist parliamentarians. Giolitti was responsible for the annexation of Tripoli and led a successful imperialist war against Turkey in 1911–1912 in which Italy gained **Libya**, Rhodes, and Dodecanese, but his government was rampant with corruption and the costs of war high. When he pushed through universal male suffrage and social welfare programs, moreover, he alienated industrialists and Catholics, split the Socialist Party, thereby crippling it as a political force, and had few political allies left. Giolitti supported the **Triple**

Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary but sought to keep Italy neutral at the outbreak of World War I. *See also* Italo-Turkish War.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLLO

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898)

William Gladstone was four times British prime minister, and leader of the **Liberal Party** at the height of its power in the late nineteenth century. Gladstone's name became synonymous with a central kind of Victorian liberalism, combining prudent and skillful public finance, earnest moralism, cautious reform, a broadly pacific foreign policy, and retrenchment on the defense expenditure. Known for his profound religious belief, prodigious industry, and argumentative skill, Gladstone's relation to British imperialism is ambiguous. Although he presided over periods of rapid imperial expansion, he resisted many acquisitions and professed a stern belief in the importance of consensual relations with foreign powers.

Gladstone came from a family of prosperous Liverpool merchants and was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Influenced by his family's evangelicalism in his youth, he was all his life a devout Anglican. Although he was as a young man primarily interested in theological questions, Gladstone first entered the cabinet in 1843 as president of the Board of Trade under Sir Robert Peel and shortly distinguished himself as a master of complex fiscal detail. In 1845, however, Gladstone resigned from Peel's cabinet in protest against a public subvention in support of a Catholic seminary in Ireland. He shortly rejoined Peel's cabinet as secretary for war and colonies, and served in the administration that, in 1846, split the Tory Party by repealing the protectionist **Corn Laws** in the name of free trade. Gladstone thus became associated with the Peelite group that formed much of the core of the early Liberal Party.

In opposition, Gladstone opposed on legal grounds **Palmerston's** use of the British fleet to compel Greece to compensate a British subject for losses in an anti-Semitic riot, the famous Don Pacifico affair of 1850. Shortly thereafter, Gladstone traveled to Italy and published a pamphlet on Neapolitan prisons, describing the government of that country as "the negation of God erected into a system of government." These were his first ventures into foreign policy and gave voice to the moralistic liberalism for which he became famous.

Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer under his fellow Peelite Lord Aberdeen in 1852. In his four terms as Chancellor over the following 30 years, he did much to turn that office into the chief controller of public funds that it has been ever since, as opposed to a mere accounting office recording decisions made elsewhere: the well-known battered briefcase in which chancellors carry their budgets to the House was originally Gladstone's. His first budget envisioned continuing tariff simplification and the abolition of the income tax by 1860, a hope not realized because of the outbreak of the **Crimean War** with Russia in 1853. With the fall of Aberdeen, he was out of office from 1855 to 1859. Gladstone returned

to the Exchequer under Palmerston in 1859, a government generally held to have marked the birth of the British Liberal Party. Gladstone served as Chancellor under Palmerston until 1865, and in the subsequent short-lived administration of Earl (formerly Lord John) **Russell**. As Chancellor, he cut tariffs further, and was leader in the Commons during Russell's failed attempt at franchise reform in 1866.

Gladstone first became prime minister on the strength of the Liberal election victory of 1868, famously proclaiming on receiving his summons to the Queen that, "my mission is to pacify Ireland." His government disestablished the Anglican Church of Ireland and also reformed Irish land laws, introduced in the 1870 primary education bill, abolished commission purchase in the army, and introduced the secret ballot. In foreign policy, Gladstone's first government remained neutral in the Franco-Prussian war while successfully persuading the belligerents to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and also negotiated the 1872 Anglo-American arbitration treaty under which American claims for compensation for the depredations of the British-built confederate cruiser *Alabama* in the American Civil War were settled. This government saw the withdrawal of most British troops from the New Zealand Maori Wars and from Canada, which led to charges that, in Disraeli's words of 1872, the Liberals were intent on "the disintegration of the empire of England." This was untrue—Gladstone's government in fact in its final years annexed the Diamond Fields of South Africa, a move pregnant with future consequences, and also made war on the King of Ashanti—but the charge that Liberals were indifferent to imperial concerns did reflect much Liberal opinion, and so had some traction.

Gladstone lost the election of 1874 by a large margin, bringing the Tories under Benjamin **Disraeli** into office with a majority for the first time since that party's split over protection in 1846. There was widespread feeling that the Liberals had run out of ideas, and Gladstone surprised the party by resigning the leadership. In 1876, the Tory government supported Muslim Turkey in its campaign against Christian Bulgarian nationalists, a consequence of Britain's traditional policy of supporting Turkey to contain Russia. With his famous pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, Gladstone became the voice of popular anger, particularly but not exclusively among Liberals and nonconformists, at Turkish outrages.

A number of foreign and imperial incidents followed on the heels of the Bulgarian crisis: Disraeli's acquisition of Suez Canal shares in 1876, the Royal Titles Act making Queen Victoria Empress of **India**, and the 1878 acquisition of Cyprus, among them. They combined with Disraeli's own pro-imperial rhetoric and the jingoism of his supporters to associate the Tories with a kind of bombastic and expansionist imperialism, which Gladstone found morally offensive. Gladstone was among those who first used the term *imperialism* to describe not support for the empire but rather its aggressive expansion, and for Gladstone there was always a suspicion that imperialism was as much as anything a set of what he called "theatrical displays and tricks" designed to divert the voters from more serious issues.

Disraeli's government blundered into the Second Anglo-Afghan War in 1878. In the previous year it had faced a war in the eastern Cape Colony and in 1878 another with the Basuto. By early 1879, Britain also found itself at war with the Zulus in Natal, an indirect consequence of the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. The Zulu War was marked by the catastrophic defeat of Isandhlwana, although it was won by the end of the year. Gladstone was adopted as Liberal candidate for the

Scottish constituency of Midlothian, and there, in the fall of 1879, he made an epochal series of speeches laying out a detailed critique of Disraeli's imperialism.

On being returned to office as prime minister in 1880, Gladstone shortly found himself confronted with the difficulties of these not-always-consistent principles. He ordered withdrawals from Afghanistan and the Transvaal. Lord Roberts' victory at Kandahar allowed the former to be accompanied by a satisfactory agreement with Afghanistan, and relative peace prevailed on the Northwest frontier of India until 1919. But a Boer Victory at Majuba in 1881 made the Transvaal withdrawal appear, to both the Boers and the Tories, an ignominious defeat.

In opposition, Gladstone had protested against Disraeli's purchase of Suez Canal shares and against other encroachments on Egypt. In office, however, disorder in Alexandria and the threat of an Egyptian default on its international debts led to British intervention. The Royal Navy bombarded Alexandria on July 11, 1882. A force under Sir Garnet Wolseley then landed in the canal zone and defeated the Egyptian Army at Tel el-Kebir on September 13, 1882, leading to an effective British protectorate—although Egypt remained nominally subject to the Ottoman Empire.

Britain's intervention in Egypt led to strains with France, which was pursuing its own ambitions in Tunisia and in West Africa. The so-called Scramble for Africa was to some extent provoked by the British occupation of Egypt and led to the 1884 Berlin conference on the partition of West Africa. Gladstone resisted large annexations in tropical Africa and saw some merit in German claims in East Africa. He only permitted the 1884 Warren expedition into Bechuanaland because the rest of his cabinet insisted. Gladstone saw a large empire as a source of "needless and entangling engagements," rather than strength, and viewed imperial problems through the lens of European relations. That fear of entanglements and a parallel desire to avoid expense led Gladstone's government to countenance the reinvention of the semi-sovereign chartered company with the chartering of the British North Borneo Company in 1881. Little noticed at the time, the revival of the chartered company nonetheless prepared the way for subsequent and more prominent exercises in private imperialism, most notably of course that of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company.

The Egyptian occupation also led to British involvement in the Sudan, a territory in which the Egyptian Khedive had claims. General Charles "Chinese" Gordon was sent out to arrange an Anglo-Egyptian withdrawal from the Sudan in the face of an Islamic rising. But Gordon did not withdraw, and soon found himself besieged in Khartoum. Gladstone hesitated in sending Wolseley down the Nile to relieve Gordon, with the result that the latter was killed as the Mahdi's forces took the city. By this point the septuagenarian Gladstone was known in his party as "The Grand Old Man," or GOM: the Tories turned this around, calling him MOG, or "Murderer of Gordon."

After a brief interval of Tory minority government, Gladstone returned to power in 1886, determined, as in 1868, to bring peace to Ireland. His solution was **Home Rule**, an Irish legislature that was to have strikingly limited powers well short of the Dominion status extended to the settlement colonies. The question was not adroitly handled, and many of the more Whiggish or right-wing Liberals bolted the party, leading to the fall of Gladstone's third government. But they were accompanied by radicals like Joseph Chamberlain and John Bright, who saw in Home Rule a set of

special privileges for Ireland, and who also saw the end of the Union of 1801 as a possible prelude to the breakup of the Empire. The 1886 split of the Liberal Party ushered in a period of largely Tory rule that lasted until 1906, as the Liberal Unionists found places within an increasing middle class and imperialist Tory Party.

Gladstone returned to office for the fourth time as prime minister in 1892 at the age of 82, but he was increasingly out of sympathy with the imperialist temper of the times, and also less than equal to the strains of office. He resigned in 1894 over a dispute in which the rest of his cabinet insisted on the need for an increase in the naval estimates. Gladstone died on May 19, 1898, and was given a state funeral and buried in Westminster Abbey. Gladstone was in favor of the British Empire as an association of self-governing states and considered the empire and British power more generally a liberal force. But he was opposed to what he called “**imperialism**”—the expansion of the empire for its own sake or simply to obstruct the expansion of others. Although he occupied Egypt, he was also willing to pay a political price for retrocession in the Sudan and South Africa. He saw the empire as a consequence rather than a source of power. With the exception of Ireland, his primary interests were elsewhere. *See also* Boer Wars; Liberalism; Ottoman Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Globalization

Globalization is best defined as increasing interconnectedness between human beings on a global scale, plus increasing awareness of such interconnectedness. On both accounts, the Age of **Imperialism** was an age of rapid globalization in all dimensions of life, experienced firsthand by many people who increasingly conceived of the world as a single sphere of action where faraway events affected their daily lives.

Nineteenth-century globalization was based on the development of ever more efficient technologies of transport and communication—chiefly the **railway**, the **steamship** and the **telegraph**. The first steamship traveled from London to Bombay in 1850, and the opening of the **Suez Canal** in 1869 cut the travel time from Europe to India in half. Perhaps more important, steam navigation significantly reduced transportation costs and risks for both passengers and freight. Transatlantic freight rates fell by roughly half between the mid-nineteenth century and 1910. Railways opened up vast inland spaces to settlement and intensive agriculture and connected them to world markets. The telegraph for the first time in history allowed information to travel faster than goods and people, creating new possibilities for centralized decision making in business, diplomacy, and war. The first transatlantic cable laid in 1866 increased the velocity of communication between Europe and the United States by a factor of 10,000.

For economic historians, the mid-nineteenth century marks the beginnings of globalization. World trade grew 25-fold between 1800 and 1913, but globally

integrated markets for labor, capital, and goods emerged in the century's third quarter. For the first time in human history, basic commodities such as grain and meat were traded between continents. Europe was henceforth supplied with food produced on America's temperate plains, and farmers in Prussia and the United States and in Argentina and India were put in direct competition with each other. South African gold and diamonds, Indian textiles, Malayan rubber, and American manufactured goods likewise found markets halfway around the world, while developing economies soaked up European investment. Centers of production, trade, and consumption in different continents were now closely connected. The availability of telegraphic information on prices, supply, and demand completely transformed long-distance trade, as well as the stock exchanges and financial markets. Thus multilateral networks of exchange and global interdependence linking the great importers and exporters of people, goods, and capital emerged after mid-century; and soon there were economic cycles affecting the world economy as a whole, such as the first "Great Depression" beginning in 1873, and a first worldwide economic boom starting in 1896. By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly everyone in Europe, North America, and the settler societies was integrated into global markets as a consumer and producer.

Likewise at mid-century, a great wave of global migration set in, helped by cheaper travel, but also by a steady stream of information passing between migrants and those who had stayed behind. Nearly 70 million people permanently left their homes between 1850 and 1914. Migration from Europe to the temperate zones of the American continent was especially important, but millions also went from China to Southeast Asia, tens of thousands from China to South Africa, from Japan to California, and from India to East and South Africa. Immigration and emigration transformed entire societies, drawing large regions into the movement of global exchanges, pushing aside indigenous populations, and giving those staying behind room to breathe. Temporary migration was scarcely less consequential in its impact on China, for example, students returning from Japan with the foundations of Western learning and migrant workers taking back several years' savings from plantations and mines in Southeast Asia.

Increasingly, people became aware that they were part of globally interconnected markets and social relationships. This is evident in the outlook of seasonal laborers working in Sicily in summer and in Argentina in winter, or in that of Chinese emigrants worldwide contributing money to Sun Yatsen's revolutionary endeavors, but also in the global business strategies of trading houses, banks, and large manufacturing firms and in the global dimensions of military and naval strategic thinking. Widely read newspapers and telegraphic news agencies such as Reuter's made people react to important information from other continents as quickly as to local news.

Global consciousness was expressed in various forms: in visions of peace and unity, in humanitarian aid given to distant victims of flood or famine, notions of a Western *mission civilisatrice*, and of global economic competition and of global Great Power rivalry. Only against the background of a widespread sentiment that economic and political globalization had set in is it possible to understand the racial fear of the "Yellow Peril" that gripped Europe in the 1890s and the United States a decade later. Other evidence of an emerging global consciousness is the agreement by 25 states in 1884 to divide the world into a system of time zones and establish a

global time based on the Greenwich meridian. The success of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days*, published in 1873, rested on the striking novelty of the feat performed by Phileas Fogg and his companions; yet only 30 years later it was theoretically possible to make this voyage in half the time. Europe's return to protectionism and interventionism starting in the 1880s must be seen as a reaction to economic globalization. Finally, *Weltpolitik*—the idea that Great Power competition had become global—must count as evidence of a global consciousness that, just as today, focused with particular intensity on the dangers and conflicts of globalization.

Political globalization developed more slowly and with more ambiguous consequences. Western forms of political organization—administration, justice, government by law—were exported into the entire world. But the example of the new Latin American republics demonstrated that global institutional homogenization—the establishment of new nation-states—could imply political fragmentation in the form of the destruction of the Spanish colonial empire. By mid-century, the powerful and industrialized nation state seemed the only model available to societies that wished to retain independence and control over their destiny, and Westernizing reform and modernization were attempted from Egypt to Japan, from Siam to Madagascar. The world's empty or loosely organized spaces were relentlessly filled by the structures of clearly demarcated, competing nation states and empires. Still, nationalism and internationalism remained compatible. Globalization was furthered by nation states that remained reasonably open even when turning to protectionism after the mid-century interlude of **free trade**.

Political globalization was evident also in intensified global competition between states, but especially between the major imperial powers. In the mid-century era of "free-trade imperialism," competition was left to private traders and producers; military force was used to make non-European societies accept free trade and diplomatic relations rather than to conquer territory. Gradually, however, as economic competition and popular belief in the political and economic importance of overseas possessions increased, states began to play a more important role overseas. Africa was partitioned between the powers at the Conference of **Berlin** in 1884. The playing field of the **Great Game**, the struggle for mastery in Asia between Russia and Britain, was extended ever farther eastward, up to Northern China after the **Sino-Japanese War** of 1894–1895. Soon, the United States, the first non-European Great Power, and Japan, the first non-Western Great Power, were drawn into a balance of power that, by the end of the nineteenth century, was a global rather than European. Confrontation between rival Great Powers now meant fragmentation on a global scale. The Age of Imperialism ended with a world war.

World War I quickly became a global conflict as colonial peoples and overseas resources were marshaled for the war effort, yet its causes lay in local conflicts between powers that were among the least globally connected. Neither the Age of Imperialism nor, for that matter, the present era should be analyzed as a "global age" where everything and everyone is affected instantly, primarily, and homogeneously by the same, global structures and processes. There were, and are, many different ways in which people participate in globalization—as agents or victims, voluntarily or involuntarily, economically, politically, culturally or socially. Although half of **Ireland's** population emigrated in the mid-nineteenth century, France experienced hardly any emigration. Many territories were integrated into the world economy only partly, or hardly at all. Institutional homogenization and integration

within the great colonial empires often meant the disruption of older, continental, and transcontinental trading links, as in Africa. Where Westernizing reform really took hold, such as in Japan, the result was a new and rival variant of modernity, not merely an imitation of the Western civilization. Global consciousness and especially fear and envy of supposed enemies and competitors on other continents were often much more acute than warranted by substantive global interdependence. *See also* Navalism; Strategy.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Gneisenau, August Wilhelm von (1760–1831)

A Prussian field marshal and German nationalist hero, August Wilhelm von Gneisenau gained early experience serving in a mercenary regiment of the Margrave of Bayreuth Ansbach in the pay of Britain during the American Revolution. In 1786, Frederick the Great commissioned him as a first-lieutenant in the Prussian Army. Gneisenau fought against Napoleon at **Jena** in 1806 and as a major was awarded the coveted *pour le mérite* for his defense of Colberg in 1807. He then worked with **Scharnhorst** in reorganizing the Prussian Army to meet the Napoleonic challenge, introducing among other reforms the revolutionary concept of the general staff. As an aide to **Blücher**, Gneisenau distinguished himself at **Leipzig** and **Waterloo**. After retirement to his Silesian estate in 1816, he became governor of Berlin and a member of the Council State. During the Polish Revolution of 1831, Gneisenau came briefly out of retirement as a field marshal and commanded an army of observation on the Polish border with Carl von **Clausewitz** as his chief of staff. After his death, his name entered the pantheon of **Junker** resistance to Napoleon, the promotion Prussian professional militarism, and German nationalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Gold Coast

A territory on the coast of West Africa and the hub of British involvement in the **slave trade** during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Britain gradually extended its authority over the Gold Coast during the nineteenth century as it sought to enforce the abolition of the slave trade. During the twentieth century the Gold Coast rapidly developed its economy and in 1957, it attained independence, as the state of Ghana.

During the nineteenth century the major obstacle to the extension of British control over the Gold Coast was not the Fanti coastal traders, with whom the British

had a well-established commercial relationship, but the Ashanti confederacy that dominated the interior. In 1824, the British fought an unsuccessful war against the Ashanti and it took until the 1840s for Britain to establish permanent control over the coastal trading forts. The Coast of Africa and Falklands Act of 1843 proclaimed British jurisdiction over the territories adjacent to the coastal forts and settlements, but it took another two decades to extend the writ of the British Empire further inland. The British fought an inconclusive war against the Ashanti in 1863–1864, which was sufficiently expensive to persuade Parliament to bring British expansion to a temporary halt. In 1873, however, Sir Garnet Wolseley led a punitive expedition against the Ashanti in which his forces, equipped with breech-loading rifles and protected against malaria by the use of quinine, were much more successful than in earlier campaigns. In 1874, the Aborigines' Protection Society and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society persuaded the British government to commit itself to the abolition of domestic slavery on the Gold Coast. British missionary activity increased during the late nineteenth century and the Fanti, who were very willing to accommodate Christianity, developed into a reliable urban elite of imperial collaborators. The Asanti, however, refused to cooperate, and in 1895 the British government established a protectorate to exercise jurisdiction over the entire indigenous population.

The imposition of formal British control coincided with the articulation of a radical economic vision by Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, who argued forcefully that Britain must develop the empire with investment capital. Yet during the twentieth century, the economy of the Gold Coast developed almost entirely independently of British investment capital. African farmers responded to increasing demand for chocolate by cultivating cocoa, which turned the Gold Coast into one of the richest countries in Africa. This economic development was accompanied by political aspirations and Africans were brought into the higher civil service of the colony. The process of political integration accelerated after the World War II as a consequence of a new constitution and the growth of African nationalism, and in 1957 Kwame Nkrumah became president of the newly independent state of Ghana. *See also* Ashanti Wars; British Empire; Chamberlain, Joseph; Gold Coast, Exchange of Forts on; Slavery.

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CARL PETER WATTS

Gold Coast, Exchanges of Forts on (1850, 1868)

A series of agreements among Britain, Denmark, and the Netherlands to effectively bring the African Gold Coast under British control. Centuries of European rivalry on the Gold Coast led to the construction of a series of coastal forts built by the European powers to defend their commercial interests. Two dozen of these forts were still in use by British, Dutch, and Danish merchants in the nineteenth century.

As the century progressed, Britain negotiated agreements with Denmark in 1850 and the Netherlands in 1868 and 1872 to take possession of these forts. These agreements acknowledged British ascendancy in the region and helped clear the way for the assumption of colonial rule over the Gold Coast in 1874, despite the sometimes violent responses they aroused among the indigenous population. Formally, the forts themselves were the only European possessions on the Gold Coast. Nonetheless, in practice European officials exercised considerable political, economic, and military influence over the districts surrounding their forts. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain, Denmark, and the Netherlands all claimed substantial protectorates or spheres of influence, although the nature and extent of their authority varied.

The British maintained an extensive judicial presence and were more actively engaged in the administration of their protectorate. This was especially true in the 1850s, when they attempted unsuccessfully to impose a poll tax on the protectorate to fund the extension of the judicial system, the construction of schools, and the improvement of roads. Pressure to reduce administrative costs also led to the institution of customs duties in the British forts. In contrast, the Dutch and the Danish preferred a more limited scale of administration. They avoided the imposition of taxes and had little interest in humanitarian measures, although the Danes provided a small annual grant to the Basel Mission Society. The primary interest of the Dutch on the Gold Coast was the recruitment of young men, primarily Ashanti slaves, to serve in their East Indian colonies. In any case, the existence of these limited territorial claims proved a source of conflict as the exchanges of forts were carried out.

The first of these transactions was prompted by the Danish decision to withdraw completely from the coast. All the European powers had suffered from a prolonged commercial slump in the first decades of the century caused by an *Ashanti* invasion and occupation of the coastal districts between 1807 and 1826 and the abolition of the slave trade. Faced with mounting commercial losses, Danish officials began looking to sell the five forts they controlled in the mid-1840s. Alarmed by Danish negotiations with France and eager to stamp out the illicit slave trade that persisted in the area, Britain agreed to purchase the forts for £10,000 in 1850. Difficulties with the transaction arose, however, when the British attempted to impose their legal jurisdiction over the local Ga polities, enforce strict rules against slave trading, and collect the poll tax. Neither Britain nor Denmark had sought their consent to the transfer of authority, and the Ga soon chafed under the transition from *laissez-faire* Danish rule to the more invasive British administration. The inhabitants of several former Danish towns rebelled against British rule in 1854 with "Danish flags flying." The riots were ended by British naval bombardment of the towns of Osu, Labadi, and Teshie.

The second set of transactions arose out of British and Dutch efforts to ease the difficulty of administering their protectorates by exchanging territory and consolidating their spheres of influence. Both faced recurrent problems related to the poorly defined boundaries of their respective protectorates. British and Dutch forts were intermingled along the entire length of the coast, and in the complete absence of reliable maps, the inland boundaries of their protectorates were even more problematic. Attempts to collect taxes and issue summons in certain areas were continually obstructed by disputes over jurisdiction. After a decade of negotiations,

the exchange was carried out in early 1868. The Dutch took possession of four British forts in the western Gold Coast; the British took over five Dutch forts in the east. The new border between the reconstituted protectorates was the Sweet River, between Elmina and Cape Coast.

The exchange effectively shifted a number of independent polities from one protectorate to the other, again without their consent. Although the British took possession of the Dutch forts without incident, several of the states transferred into the Dutch protectorate refused to acknowledge Dutch authority. The inland states of Wassaw, Denkira, and Twifu were neighbors and longstanding enemies of the Ashanti empire. As the Dutch were close allies of Ashanti, they regarded Dutch rule as tantamount to an Ashanti occupation. Dutch authorities also faced resistance when they attempted to take control of British Commenda, which had a long history of conflict with nearby Dutch Commenda. Unable to occupy the British fort, the Dutch eventually destroyed it and the town with a naval bombardment. Within months the former British dependencies had placed Elmina under siege; the Ashanti army responded by invading the belligerent states; and the Dutch were plunged into a costly and unanticipated war. The Dutch eventually abandoned their forts in 1872, selling them to the British for the nominal fee of £4000. Two years later a British proclamation placed the Gold Coast under direct colonial rule. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Ashanti Wars.

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SCOTT ANDERSON

Gold Standard

A standard defining a national currency in terms of a fixed weight of gold, and allowing a free exchange and trade of gold. Until the nineteenth century, most of the countries maintained a bimetallic monetary system, in which national monetary units were valued against a certain weight of either gold or silver. The widespread adoption of the gold standard during the second half of the nineteenth century was largely due to the Industrial Revolution that brought a tremendous increase in the production of goods and widened the basis of world trade. During its existence, the classical gold standard is widely seen to have contributed to equilibrium of balances of payments worldwide. The same institutions that lent support to a period of remarkable globalization and economic modernization later contributed to interwar instability and the depth and length of the Great Depression of the 1930s. By the late 1930s, the gold standard as a species of monetary policy was mostly extinct.

The countries that accepted the gold standard had three principal objectives: to facilitate the settlement of international commercial and financial transactions, to establish stability in foreign exchange rates, and to maintain domestic monetary stability. Monetary authorities in different countries believed these aims could best be accomplished by having a single standard of universal validity and relative stability.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, virtually no country had a gold-based currency. The gold standard was introduced by Great Britain in 1821 and adopted by Australia and Canada in 1852 and 1853, respectively. Between 1870 and 1910, however,

most nations came to adopt it. The far-reaching changes of 1871 led Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Finland, and the United States to adopt gold standards by 1879. In the 1880s, Argentina, Chile, Greece, and Italy chose gold-based regimes, but these experiments did not last. Many of the countries soon reverted to fiat currency regimes where it became impossible to trade a fixed number of domestic notes for gold specie at the legally mandated quantity. By the first decade of the twentieth century, most of these nations nonetheless adopted the gold standard again. In the 20 years after 1890, Asian nations also linked up to the gold standard. With some exceptions, the prevalence of the gold standard lasted until the economic crisis of 1929 and the ensuing depression. *See also* British Empire; Free Trade; Globalization.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Gołuchowski, Agenor (1849–1921)

Austro-Hungarian minister for foreign affairs from 1895 to 1906. Count Agenor Gołuchowski was born in March 1849 in Lemberg (Lviv) in the Austrian crown land of Galicia. The son of a governor of Galicia and a member of the Polish aristocracy dominating the crown land, he entered the diplomatic service. His diplomatic career in Berlin, Paris, and Bucharest culminated in 1895 when he succeeded Count Kalnóky at the head of the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry. Traditionally, relations with Germany, Austria-Hungary’s closest ally, and Great Britain were quite good, and Gołuchowski used them as a basis for his foreign policy, but his Polish background did not hinder him from trying to ease tensions between the Habsburg monarchy and Russia.

In the Cretan insurrection against Ottoman rule (1895–1897), Gołuchowski achieved a consensus of the Great Powers, and in the Macedonian revolt of 1902, he cooperated with Russia. He managed to improve relations with Italy’s foreign minister, Tommaso Tittoni. Gołuchowski was less successful in coping with his opponents back home. Hungarian politicians and the heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, disliked him for opposite reasons but pushed for his resignation in October 1906. He died in Lemberg in March 1921. *See also* Balkan Crises; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Gorchakov, Alexander (1798–1883)

Russian foreign minister from 1856 to 1882 under Tsar Alexander II. Gorchakov’s main diplomatic mission was to revise Russia’s weakened position resulting from

defeat in the **Crimean War**. To that end Gorchakov threw Russian support behind **Prussia** in its drive for German unification in competition with Austria. In return for Russian support, Germany endorsed Russia's remilitarization of the Black Sea in 1871. In Asia, Gorchakov opposed further Russian expansion, and he issued the famous "Gorchakov Circular" to European capitals in December 1864. The circular asserted that Russian expansion was simply a civilizing mission to secure a stable frontier against barbaric nomads and that Russia did not covet a single inch of Central Asian territories from the settled areas of the Uzbek khanates. His assertions proved hollow when Russian armies advanced against the khanates and ultimately conquered them all by 1873. *See also* Great Game; Russian Empire.

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JONATHAN GRANT

Gordon, Charles George (1833–1885)

A British army officer famous for his leadership of native troops, killed at Khartoum by the forces of the self-proclaimed Mahdi, or messiah. As a young officer of Engineers, Gordon was converted to evangelical Christianity, which he practiced in earnest but unconventional ways throughout his life, housing paupers and at times going so far as to demand that his own salary be reduced. He fought with conspicuous courage at **Balaklava** during the **Crimean War**. In 1860, he volunteered to go to China as part of the Anglo-French expedition of that year. Two years later, he took command of what was audaciously called "the ever-victorious army," a disorganized force of mercenaries hired to protect the merchants of Shanghai. Gordon in fact did make it victorious against the **Taiping** insurgents. "Chinese Gordon" became a popular hero.

In 1873, Gordon was offered the governor-generalship of the southern **Sudan** by the Khedive of **Egypt**, a territory claimed by Egypt but not in fact under the Khedive's control. Traveling with only a small escort, Gordon made the abolition of slavery a personal priority, on one occasion riding almost alone into an enemy camp in Darfur to order the rebels' disbandment. Gordon left the Egyptian service in 1879 and undertook brief missions in Africa and **India**. When Britain occupied Egypt in 1882, it inherited Egypt's dubious claims to the Sudan. In response to the defeat of an Anglo-Egyptian force there, a popular clamor arose in London, assisted by the press, to send Gordon to fight the Mahdi. William Gladstone's cabinet decided instead to send Gordon not to fight the Mahdi but to extract the remaining Anglo-Egyptian troops from the country. Gordon reached Khartoum, but instead of evacuating he prepared to defend the city, which he managed to do for almost a year. In the face of a further popular outcry, Gladstone was at length forced to send an expedition to relieve him. In the event, Khartoum fell and Gordon was killed on January 26, 1885, two days before the relief expedition's boats sighted the city. Gordon's courage and charisma combined with his ascetic Christianity to make him

an imperial martyr in the sight of much of the public—the martyr’s blood being on Gladstone’s hands. Many who knew him closely thought him close to mad, and more recent critics have followed the lead of Lytton Strachey’s infamous caricature, portraying Gordon as egocentric, given to drinking bouts, possibly homosexual, and obsessed by death. Not even his critics have denied his courage.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Grant, Ulysses S. (1822–1885)

Ulysses S. Grant was an American Civil War hero and eighteenth President of the United States (1869–1877). In 1822, Grant was born in Point Pleasant, Ohio, to Jesse and Hannah Grant. His father was a farmer and a tanner. Grant was the oldest of six children and he had many different occupations throughout his younger years, but he was best known as a talented horse trainer. In 1839, he enlisted in the military, where he excelled in horsemanship, but was otherwise not an outstanding student. After graduation, Grant married Julia Dent and was assigned to General Zachary Taylor’s army in Texas around the same time as the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846. He was involved in major battles and was promoted to first lieutenant.

In 1854, he was promoted to captain and moved to California but became very depressed. He resigned from the military and wasted the next few years separated from his family and in many different and insignificant jobs. When Grant rejoined his family, the Civil War was looming. This national tragedy became Grant’s finest hour. He returned to the army and, in June 1861, was made a colonel at the head of the 21st Illinois Volunteers of the Union forces. His career then proceeded from minor victories at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson to a pivotal near-defeat at Shiloh and a major victory at Vicksburg, the capture of which on July 4, 1863, did more to doom the Confederate cause than the more storied Union victory at Gettysburg the same day. Late the same year Grant’s victory at Chattanooga opened the state of Georgia to a Union invasion. In March 1864, President Lincoln placed Grant in command of the entire Union Army. Grant’s aggressiveness and superior grasp of strategy thereafter relentlessly pursued the destruction the Confederate army led by Robert E. Lee, from whom he accepted the Confederate surrender on April 9, 1865. Grant is credited by many with having invented the American way of war.

Grant served as secretary of war under President Andrew Johnson, but it was his military background and popularity that led to his own election to the presidency in 1868. As president he governed during the bitter era of Reconstruction yet presided over the historic amendments to the constitution that ended slavery and gave the electoral franchise to the freed slaves. In foreign policy Grant settled the *Alabama* claims with Britain and avoided war with Spain over the future of Cuba. His attempt to annex Santo Domingo as a naval base was thwarted by Congress. Grant nonetheless announced that henceforth no territory on the American continent was to be transferable to any European power, a reiteration of the *Monroe Doctrine*. Grant secured a treaty with Hawaii in 1875 providing for freer trade—a down payment on an eventual American protectorate there. He sought but failed to secure a treaty

with Samoa in the southern Pacific and also failed to secure congressional approval for a treaty with Colombia for the rights to a Panamanian canal—in both cases revealing a personal awareness that the United States could not long delay a presence in strategically important waters.

Grant's presidency lasted two terms but was marred by charges of corruption, many of them valid, on the part of members of his administration. He died in 1885 in Mount McGregor, New York only four days after finishing his memoirs, widely considered one of the masterpieces of the English language. *See also* Strategy.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Gravelotte-St. Privat, Battle of (1870)

One of the largest and most important engagements of the **Franco-Prussian War**. By mid-August of 1870, the invading German armies faced east; and the French army faced west, its back to the German frontier and to the key French fortress of Metz. The French commander, Marshal François Achille Bazaine, chose to fall back on Metz and spaced out his forces along a strong defensive ridge from Gravelotte in the south to St. Privat in the north. General Helmuth von Moltke intended to use his artillery to weaken the French, then outflank the French position around St. Privat and roll up the French lines from north to south, but subordinates launched frontal assaults on prepared French positions. German artillery took a toll on the French, but French rifle fire tore up the German attacks.

By the evening, it appeared that the Germans were at the end of their tether, and a counterattack by the French would have carried the day. Instead, Bazaine ordered the troops to hold their positions. This gave the Germans time to conduct their flanking move around St. Privat, and the French were forced to retreat to the false security of Metz, where they were besieged. French losses were nearly 13,000; the Germans lost more than 20,000 men.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Great Exhibition (1851)

A celebration of British achievements in science and technology. Organized by the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce under the chairmanship of Prince Albert, consort of Queen Victoria, it featured 14,000 exhibitors and attracted more than 6 million visitors. The Exhibition took place in Hyde Park in the so-called "Crystal Palace"—as it was dubbed by *Punch* magazine—a prefabricated building of iron and glass, later dismantled and moved to its permanent location at Sydenham, Kent. The Great Exhibition became the model for future world's fairs and similar

exhibitions. Although 1851 by no means marked the height of the territorial expansion of the British Empire, the Great Exhibition has been held to mark the height of Victorian power and self-confidence; it certainly marked one of the last decades in which England's global technological and economic primacy was uncontested.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Great Game

The name attributed to the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century competition for colonial territory in Central Eurasia. Tsarist Russia and Great Britain were the primary actors in this ongoing diplomatic, political, and military rivalry. The term Great Game was first widely popularized in Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim*, first published in 1901. British Captain Arthur Connolly, however, was believed to have coined the phrase in his *Narrative of an Overland Journey to the North of India* in 1835. Since then, it has been the subject of countless historical studies. It should be noted that Russian speakers did not refer to this period of colonial rivalry as the Great Game, but certainly acknowledged this important period of its own historical record. Among Russian speakers, the Great Game competition is referred to as the "Tournament of Shadows."

The Great Game is generally accepted to date from the early nineteenth century until the 1907 **Anglo-Russian Convention**, although some scholars date its conclusion to later in the twentieth century. The Anglo-Russian Convention is also referred to as the Convention of Mutual Cordiality or the Anglo-Russian Agreement and was signed on August 31, 1907. The convention gave formal unity to the Triple Entente powers, consisting of France, Great Britain, and Russia, who would soon engage in future diplomatic and military struggles against the earlier-formed **Triple Alliance**, consisting of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy. The agreement also confirmed existing colonial borders. Great Britain and Russia agreed not to invade Afghanistan, Persia, or Tibet, but were allowed certain areas of economic or political influence within those regions.

In contemporary history, popular media often speak of many new "Great Games." This term has become customary for discussing any sort of diplomatic or state-organized conflicts or competitions in the Central Eurasian region. These new Great Games are often mentioned in disputes over oil or natural resources, diplomatic influence or alliances, economic competition, the opening or closing of military bases, the outcomes and maneuvering for political elections and offices, or any number of other contemporary issues in Central Eurasia. Russia, the United States, China, Turkey, the European Union countries, East Asian states, and various Islamic-influenced countries are often portrayed as the major competitors of these contemporary Great Games.

The historical roots of the Great Game are planted in a period of sustained mutual fear and mistrust on the part of Britain and Russia throughout most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both British and Russian leaders feared that the other side would encroach on their territorial holdings and would establish preeminent colonial control in the Central Eurasian region. It was widely

believed that this would escalate into a war between the two powers at some point, but this never happened. Russia and Britain, however, did engage in a considerable amount of military ventures against various peoples of Central Eurasia. The conflicts ranged from diplomatic squabbles to shows of military force to full-blown wars.

During the early nineteenth century, Russia became increasingly interested in solidifying its southern borders. The Russians gained allegiance from various Kazakh hordes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They still faced opposition from many Kazakhs, however, including Kenesary **Kasimov**, who led a sustained rebellion of Kazakhs against Russia from 1837–1846. Much of the early nineteenth-century Russian attention in Central Eurasia was directed toward quelling Kazakh resistance and ensuring secure southern borders for the empire. By 1847, the Russians finally succeeded in bringing the Greater, Middle, and Lesser Kazakh hordes under Russian control. In response to its defeat in the Crimean War (1854–1856), Russia turned its military attention away from the Ottoman Empire and the Caucasus and instead toward eastward and southward expansion in Central Eurasia. The terms of the 1856 Treaty of **Paris** effectively forced Russia to relinquish its interests in Southwest Asia, spurring a new round of imperial interest in Central Eurasia. Russian advances in Central Eurasia were both offensive and defensive moves, as they conquered the only areas left to them and hoped to position themselves against future British encroachment in the region.

The British government became increasingly alarmed over the southward movement of the Russian armies throughout the nineteenth century. Russian conquest of the Kazakh steppe was followed by mid-century attacks on the Central Eurasian oasis empires of **Khokand**, **Khiva**, and **Bukhara**. The Russians began a new wave of conquest in 1864 by conquering the cities of **Chimkent** and **Aulie Ata**. **Khokand** was defeated in 1865 and with the unexpected Russian attack and conquest of **Tashkent** in 1865 by General **Mikhail Cherniaev**, tsarist Russia was in a position to launch a string of attacks in the latter 1860s and throughout the 1870s that struck fear in the hearts of the British. The Russians then conquered the **Bukhara** state in 1868 and the **Khiva khanate** in 1873. Both **Bukhara** and **Khiva** were granted the status of Russian protectorates in 1873. The **Turkmen** of Central Eurasia put up particularly strong resistance to Russian conquest during a long period of fighting between 1869 and 1885. As with most of the other areas, the Russians considered controlling the **Turkmen** and their territory as essential for resisting possible British incursions. The Russian victory over the **Turkmen** at the **Battle of Göktepe** in 1881 was crucial. The final Russian territorial acquisition in Central Eurasia was at the oasis of **Merv** in 1884. The Russians considered this conquest especially important because of its proximity to **Afghanistan**. As the Russian southward advance continued, British colonial officials became increasingly concerned that Russia may attempt to continue southward and attempt to take the jewel in the British colonial crown, **India**. The British had maintained economic and political influence over South Asia since the early seventeenth century, initially through the British East India Company's economic ventures. Although **India** was not a formal British colony until 1858, with the suppression of the Sepoy rebellion, Britain enjoyed strong commercial and political influence over the area throughout the nineteenth century. Russians feared British interest in areas they considered to be in their own colonial backyard—especially **Afghanistan**, **Persia**, and **Tibet**.

The Great Game included two major wars between the British and the leaders of Afghanistan, with disastrous results for the British. The British hoped that Afghanistan could serve as a buffer state in defense of Russian advances toward India. The First Anglo-Afghan war lasted from 1839 until 1842. In this war, the British attempted to replace current Afghan leader Dost Muhammad Khan with a leader more amenable to British control, Shuja Shah. The Second Anglo-Afghan War was fought from 1878–1880, again over issues of British political and diplomatic influence in Afghanistan. In both conflicts the British faced harsh opposition in Afghanistan; however, after the second conflict, they were able to establish considerable control over Afghan politics by placing Abdur Rahman Khan in power. Abdur Rahman Khan ruled Afghanistan until 1901, largely in service of British interests in the region. He was able to quell opposition to the idea of a unified Afghanistan during this period. Perhaps his biggest test of political leadership came in 1885 in Panjdeh, in northern Afghanistan. Panjdeh was an oasis area, which the Russians wished to claim. After much diplomatic wrangling, the dispute was resolved and the Russians and Afghans agreed to a border at the Amu Darya River, ceding Panjdeh to the Russian Empire. During the early 1890s, the Russians attempted to continue a southward push through the Pamir Mountains to India's frontier of Kashmir. At this point mutual fears had reached a crisis situation, but they were temporarily resolved through the work of the Pamir Boundary Commission in 1895. This agreement paved the way for the formal acknowledgment of Russian and British colonial possessions in Central Eurasia through the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention. The Pamir Boundary Commission of 1895 set the definitive boundaries for the Russian Empire in Central Eurasia.

The Russians faced two major setbacks in the early twentieth century, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, and the Revolution of 1905. As a result of these two reversals and amidst the backdrop of an emerging alliance system among the major European powers, the Russians became interested in resolving their disputes with Great Britain. In 1907, both sides agreed to a cessation of the Great Game competition by agreeing to the **Anglo-Russian Convention** on August 31. Under the terms of this agreement, both sides settled their disputes over territories in Central Eurasia—including Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet—and forged a military and diplomatic alliance that they would carry into World War I. *See also* Afghan Wars; British Empire; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War; Triple Entente.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Great Powers

States whose economic resources, military power, and diplomatic prestige make their policies and actions an inescapable concern of all states in an international system. The term was first adopted as an orthodox diplomatic concept in 1817, with

the signing of the Treaty of Chaumont and was elevated to common usage by the Prussian historian Leopold von Ranke in 1833. In the period between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I, the Great Power club included Austria, Britain, France, Italy after 1861, the Ottoman Empire, Prussia—succeeded by the **German Empire** after 1871—Russia, Japan after 1895, and the **United States** after 1865. *See also* Balance of Power; Strategy; Navalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Great Trek (1863–1867)

Often dated to 1837, the Great Trek was an overland migration over a number of years of Dutch-speaking **Afrikaners**, or Boers as they were then called, away from the British-controlled Cape Colony and into the interior of what is now South Africa. Boers traveled through the Eastern Cape north and east toward what became the **Orange Free State**, into the **Transvaal**, and some south again into Natal. Although some areas were relatively depopulated as a result of the African intertribal warfare known as the Mfecane, the Boers clashed with several black African tribes, most notably the Zulu at the battle of Blood River in 1838.

The Great Trek was motivated by a desire for land and pasture, but also by opposition to the anglicizing influences brought to the Cape by the British, and specifically to the abolition of slavery and tentative moves toward racial equality in the British Empire. The Great Trek led to the founding of militantly independent Boer republics in the interior, the predecessors of those—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State—that went to war with Britain in 1879 and again in 1899. The Great Trek and its myths of survival in the face of great odds and native hostility became a foundational event in the historical consciousness of the Afrikaners, the eventual capital of South Africa being named Pretoria in honor of Andries Pretorius, their leader at **Blood River**. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Boer Wars; British Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Great White Fleet

A popular name for the newly established Atlantic Fleet of the United States Navy, which was sent on a round-the-world-cruise between December 16, 1907, and February 22, 1909, to demonstrate the ascendancy of American sea power. The ships set out from Hampton Roads, Virginia under the command of Civil War veteran Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans to arrive back there after completing a 43,000-mile voyage. The fleet first circumnavigated South America, reaching San Francisco, California.

At that point Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperry assumed command and his fleet traversed the Pacific with calls in Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, China, the Philippines, and Japan, then steaming west into the Mediterranean by way of Ceylon and the Suez Canal. His units participated in relief efforts after the Sicily earthquake while other ships reached Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire before returning home via the Strait of Gibraltar.

The 16 battleships, all painted white for the occasion, comprised the single largest concentration of capital ships in the world. This underscored the United States' recently acquired great power status, signaled its entry to the global naval building race, and also dealt a warning to potential challengers of the **Monroe Doctrine**, such as Germany or Japan. At the same time the fleet was not merely formed for display, but reflected organizational reform in the U.S. Navy: doctrinal reform proposed by Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, and the assertive policies of President Theodore Roosevelt called for the concentration of formerly scattered capital ships in a single battle fleet able to deliver decisive victory in the theater it was deployed. *See also* Great Powers; Navalism; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Roosevelt; Theodore; Strategy.

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GÁBOR BERCZELI

Greece

The **Ottoman Empire** ruled Greece from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth century. Ottoman rule preserved the religious traditions of the Orthodox Church and ruled along with the cooperation of the Church and the Orthodox elite. During the enlightenment Europe created a unitary ideal of ancient Greece and appropriated its perceived righteousness and made it its intellectual and political ancestor. Soon a unitary ideal of a modern Greece emerged and many Orthodox Christians, who had a religious identity and lived in peace and in many cases integration with Muslims, began to consider themselves Greeks.

In 1821, the “Greeks” rebelled and declared their independence yet did not succeed in winning it until 1829. The Patriarch, Gregory V, was hanged, not for supporting the revolt, but after advising the Sultan that it would be shortly suppressed. Indeed, the Ottomans often seemed on the verge of suppressing the Greek revolt, but the intervention of the Russian, British, and French governments brought a different result. The intellectuals and elites of France and Britain saw the war as a chance to “liberate” their spiritual ancestors. Many French and English men volunteered to fight for the cause, including, most famously, Lord Byron, who died fighting for Greece. The Russians saw the Greeks as their coreligionists and wanted to gain an influence over them. The military intervention of Russia, France, and Britain resulted in the Porte ultimately agreeing to Greek independence. The former Russian minister of foreign affairs, Ioannis Capodistrias, a Greek noble from the Ionian Islands, became president of the new republic, but the **Great Powers** had ideas of controlling the Greek state. They instituted a

monarchy, the Greek Kingdom, under the Convention of London in 1832 and, in the person of the 17-year-old Otto of Bavaria of the German House of Wittelsbach, the second son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria and Therese of Saxe-Altenburg, and Greece's first king.

Otto's reign lasted for 30 years. In the beginning a group of Bavarian regents ruled in his name and made themselves unpopular by trying to impose German ideas of orderly government. Nevertheless they laid the foundations of a Greek administration, army, justice system, and education system. Otto sought to give Greece a good government, but refused to renounce his Roman Catholic faith in favor of Orthodox Christianity. His marriage to Queen Amalia remained childless and he was autocratic. The Bavarian regents ruled until 1837, at which point the governments of Britain and France, which considered Greece a part of their informal empire, forced Otto to appoint Greek ministers, although Bavarians still ran most of the administration and the army. Greek discontent grew until a revolt broke out in Athens in September 1843, and Otto agreed to grant a constitution. A National Assembly created a bicameral parliament, consisting of an Assembly and a Senate. Power passed into the hands of a group of politicians, many of whom had been commanders in the revolt against the Ottoman rule.

Nationalism and nation-building dominated Greek politics throughout the nineteenth century. When Greece was created in 1832, its people, who called themselves *Romíee*, were not homogenous—language, culture, and social norms were entangled with other linguistic and religious groups: Turkish, Slavic, Latin, Frankish, and even the Romaic. With the majority of Orthodox Christians living under Ottoman rule, Otto and many Greek politicians dreamt of liberating them to form a Greater Greece, with Constantinople as its capital. This was called the Great Idea (*Megali Idea*), and it was sustained by almost continuous rebellions against Ottoman rule in many Christian Orthodox territories. But Greece was too poor and too weak to wage war on the Ottoman Empire, and London, to whom Greece was heavily in debt, opposed expansion. During the Crimean War the British occupied Piraeus to prevent Athens from declaring war on the Ottomans as a Russian ally.

Meanwhile, Otto's interference in government was beginning to upset Greek politicians wanting to rule their own back yard. In 1862, Otto dismissed the prime minister, the former admiral Constantine Canaris, provoking a military rebellion that forced Otto to leave. The Greeks then asked Whitehall to send Queen Victoria's son, Prince Alfred, as their new king, but the other Great Powers rejected this idea. Instead, a young Danish Prince of the Gluckburg house became King George I. George was a popular choice. At London's urging, Greece adopted a more democratic constitution in 1864. The powers of the king were reduced, the Senate was abolished, and the franchise was extended to all adult males. Yet politics remained dynastic. Two parties soon started to alternate in office: the Liberals, led first by Charilaos Trikoupis and later by Eleftherios Venizelos, and the Conservatives, led initially by Theodoros Deligiannis and later by Thrasivoulos Zaimis. His son, Alexandros Trikoupis, who favored social and economic reform, dominated Greek politics in the later nineteenth century. Deligiannis, on the other hand, promoted Greek nationalism and the *Megali Idea*, especially in Crete and Macedonia, but also in Cyprus. By the 1890s, Greece was virtually bankrupt, and poverty in the rural areas was eased only by emigration to the United States. Despite its poverty, Greece managed to host the first Olympic games of the modern age in 1896.

The issue of nation-formation continued to dominate the political landscape and gave rise to the language question. The Orthodox Christian or Romiee spoke a language that had evolved during the centuries of integration with other linguistic traditions into many unique variations of Greek. Many of the educated elite saw this as a peasant dialect and wanted to restore the glories of ancient Greek. Government documents and newspapers were published in *Katharevousa*, an artificial purified language, which few people could understand. Liberals favored recognizing the spoken tongues, but Conservatives, the University, and the Orthodox Church resisted. When the New Testament was translated into the popular Demotic in 1901, riots in Athens brought down the government. Hellenization had succeeded in transforming Orthodox Christian Romiee into Hellenized Orthodox Christians.

The result was that many Greeks increasingly became active in “liberating” Orthodox Christian territories that they perceived were part of Greece *irredenta*, namely Crete, Macedonia, Epirus, and to a lesser extent Cyprus. The Treaty of Berlin of 1881 gave Greece Thessaly and parts of Epirus, while frustrating hopes of securing Crete. Greeks in Crete continued to stage regular revolts, and in 1897 the government of the firebrand nationalist Deligiannis declared war on the Ottomans. Ottoman forces defeated the Greek army. Disturbances in Macedonia also increased. Here the Greeks were in conflict not only with the Ottoman rule but also with the Slavs and Bulgarians. The Cretan Greeks, led by Eleftherios Venizelos, rebelled again in 1908. When the Greek government refused to rescue them, the army and navy rebelled. Venizelos was soon asked to take control and instituted sweeping reforms.

Venizelos successfully steered Greece through the two Balkan Wars, dramatically increasing the borders of the country, but his support of the Entente was rejected by the new king, Constantine I. Despite parliament approving Venizelos’ policy to enter the war on the Entente’s side after Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, Constantine forced Venizelos to resign. Venizelos established a rival government at Salonica and with allied backing managed to bring Greece into the war in 1917. *See also* Balkan Crises; Balkan Wars.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Grey, Charles, Second Earl Grey (1764–1845)

Prime minister of the United Kingdom from 1830–1834, Earl Grey oversaw the passage of the Great Reform Act of 1832. Although from a Tory family, he became from his election to Parliament in 1786 a Foxite Whig, and, unlike many others, he remained true to his Foxite principles throughout the 1790s. As foreign secretary in the Ministry of All the Talents, however, he came to see Napoleonic France as a threat to Britain, and he supported the war effort through 1815. Grey was out of office during the years of Tory rule up to 1830. He became prime minister on November 16, 1830, and immediately set about satisfying the widespread demand for electoral and franchise reform, although his aims in that effort were essentially conservative. With great determination and some assistance from public agitation and a threat to create a mass of new peers, Grey overcame the resistance of the Lords, and the great Reform Bill received royal assent in June 1832. Grey’s government

also oversaw the abolition of **slavery** in the British Empire in 1833. His ministry fell over Irish questions in 1834.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Grey, Henry, Third Earl Grey (1802–1894)

Colonial secretary under Lord John Russell, Grey oversaw the introduction of **responsible government** in the British settlement colonies. Grey became parliamentary undersecretary at the Colonial Office under the ministry of his father, Charles Grey, Second Earl Grey, in 1830. His ideas about colonial governance were influenced by the contemporary writings of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who urged the sale of colonial lands, with the proceeds used to subsidize emigration. In the 1830s, he argued for a conciliatory reaction to the Canadian rebellions, and also became interested in reforming the conditions of life for enlisted soldiers in the army.

Becoming colonial secretary under Lord John Russell in 1846, Grey oversaw the introduction of responsible government in **Canada** and the effective grant of similar local self-government in the major Australian colonies. He also oversaw the introduction of limited forms of representative government in South Africa and **New Zealand**, two colonies beset by chronic native wars, for which neither Grey nor anyone else had an adequate solution. He left office when Russell's ministry fell in 1852, and produced *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, a defense of his conduct in office, which remains a useful source on early Victorian colonial policy.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Grey, Sir Edward, First Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1862–1933)

British foreign secretary from 1905 to 1916, Sir Edward Grey had much to do with taking the country in World War I. Descended from an old Whig family with a tradition of military and political service, and distantly related to the Earl Grey of the great reform bill, Grey had an undistinguished academic career at Balliol, Oxford. In 1884, he became private secretary to Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord **Cromer**, effectively the British proconsul in **Egypt**. Elected to parliament as a Liberal in 1885, Grey remained loyal to William Gladstone during the split of the **Liberal Party** over **home rule** the next year. When Lord Rosebery went to the Foreign Office in Gladstone's 1892 government, Grey became his parliamentary undersecretary, and thus the department's voice in the Commons.

In opposition after the Liberal defeat of 1895, Grey aligned himself with the Liberal imperialists in supporting British actions at **Fashoda** and in South Africa. When the Liberals returned to power under Henry **Campbell-Bannerman** in 1905, Grey went to the foreign office. Although ruling out a firm commitment to defend France against Germany, Grey permitted the Anglo-French military staff talks

begun under the Tories to continue. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 drew Britain yet closer to the Entente powers. In 1914, Grey strongly insisted to the House of Commons that Britain must intervene against Germany; however, he also remarked, famously and prophetically, that “the lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime.” Grey was left out of Lloyd George’s 1916 cabinet, thus ending his official life after more than a decade at the foreign office. *See also* Entente Cordiale; July Crisis (1914); Liberal Imperialists; Military Conversations.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Grey, Sir George (1812–1898)

Governor of New Zealand and the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey was an enthusiastic follower of Thomas Carlyle and protagonist of British power who believed fervently in Britain’s civilizing mission. Grey was born into a military family and educated at Sandhurst. Temporarily posted to Western Australia as a captain in 1839, he shortly sold his army commission and returned as governor. Appointed governor of New Zealand in 1845, shortly after the outbreak of war with Maoris, Grey waged war with enthusiasm while denying full self-government to the New Zealanders.

In 1854, he went to South Africa as high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony, where he waged war against the Xhosa and tried to incorporate the Boer republics into the British Empire, contrary to London’s policy. He went back to New Zealand in 1861, where he again made war, with some success, against the Maori nationalist “King movement.” He was replaced by the British government, tired of the expense of his New Zealand campaigns, in 1868. His campaigns against the Maori had made him popular with some settlers, and he was elected premier of New Zealand from 1877–1879. This eccentric but ruthless man died in 1898. *See also* Maori Wars.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Guadeloupe

See French Empire

Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848)

The treaty ending the Mexican War of 1845–1848 and transferring over half of the Mexican territory to the United States. Negotiated by Nicholas P. Trist for the United States and Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Bernardo Couto, and Miguel Aristrain for

Mexico, the treaty was signed on February 2, ratified by the U.S. Senate on March 10 and the Mexican government on May 30, and proclaimed July 4, 1848.

American interest in territory south of the Louisiana Purchase had been long-standing. In 1836, **Texas** declared itself independent of Mexico, and in 1845 the United States annexed Texas. After a clash between American and Mexican troops on Mexican territory, Congress declared war on May 13, 1846. American troops captured Mexico City on September 17, 1847, and Trist, without official authorization, opened negotiations later that year.

By the treaty, Mexico ceded what later became Arizona, **California**, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah, to the United States, in all some 55 percent of Mexican territory. Washington compensated Mexico with \$15 million for war-related damages to Mexican property and assumed up to \$3.5 million of claims by American citizens against Mexico. The border was set at the Rio Grande and the two nations agreed to cooperate on any future road, canal, or railway project along the Gila River, later the basis of the 1853 Gadsden Purchase.

The treaty benefited mainly the United States, which completed, except for the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, its contiguous continental expansion by increasing its national territory by approximately one-quarter. Many Americans viewed the treaty as a validation of the nation's **Manifest Destiny** to expand across the continent, but the terms soured Mexican-American relations for decades and the territorial acquisition exacerbated sectional divisions in the United States. The treaty and the circumstances surrounding it exemplify America's antebellum expansionist thrust.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Guam

See Spanish-American War

Guatemala

Guatemala is the Central American home of the Mayan civilization (c. 301–900) and a Spanish colony after 1524. Guatemala was the core of the Captaincy-General of Guatemala—comprising present-day Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama—until it achieved independence from Spain with Mexico in 1821. Guatemala ceded from Mexico to join the Central American Union, 1824–1838, and finally to become a wholly separate republic in 1839. It lost the territory of present-day Belize to Britain in 1859. Guatemala frequently intervened in the affairs of its neighbors, but after 1880 it came progressively under the domination of the United States. *See also* Monroe Doctrine.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Guerrilla

The word commonly used to refer to an irregular fighter, the term *guerrilla* is widely acknowledged to have entered usage in the English language during the **Peninsular War**, when *la guerrilla* referred to the struggle of irregulars practicing harassment and sabotage of the Napoleonic army in Spain. Insofar as one in every four French casualties suffered in Spain is thought to have been inflicted by them, *guerrilleros*—the more appropriate Spanish term for the fighters themselves—were obviously effective fighting allies for Wellington but were also a source of valuable intelligence.

Romanticized as the champions of a “people’s war” against Bonapartist tyranny, they were also famed for extraordinary cruelty to the French soldiers they captured and were blamed by the victims of the harsh French reprisals they provoked. Carl von Clausewitz dealt with the conditions facilitating guerrilla tactics, and C. E. Callwell devoted a chapter to guerrilla war in his classic *Small Wars*, first published in 1896, citing among others the followers of **Abd-al-Qādir**, the **Khalsa**, and the **Boers** as especially effective practitioners. *See also* **Afghan Wars**; **Boer Wars**; **Peninsular War**.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Guinea

Guinea, or Guinea Coast, is a geographical term of Berber origins used by Europeans from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries to designate varying sections of the western coast of Africa, a region that formed one apex of the Atlantic Triangle trade, and lay along the route to the Asian lands formerly known as the East Indies. Taken in the broadest sense, that is, stretching from the southern edge of the Sahara Desert to Angola, it was divided into Upper and Lower Guinea at the Equator. Further subdivisions indicated the most lucrative export commodities, hence the Pepper or Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Mina or **Gold Coast**, and the Slave Coast. Given that these items originated in the hinterland, and their procurers were known to have supplied the Trans-Saharan and internal Sudan trade beforehand, such labels point to the existence of an extensive and efficient distribution system.

It is well documented in Arabic written sources that the region’s resources prompted the rise of indigenous empires especially from the tenth century onward and occasionally lasting into the twentieth century, including those of the Mande, Soninke, Yoruba, Edo, Akan, and Fulbe people. Enabled by a technological revolution, and pressed by a shortage of bullion, the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) initiated the European exploration of the Atlantic seaboard, primarily to gain direct access to the goldfields of the western Sudan. A further advantage of establishing trading posts on the Guinea Coast lay in their utility as a stepping stone to the spice trade of Asia, until then monopolized by the Levant traders of Genoa and Venice, and also disrupted by the expansion of the Ottoman Empire.

Even though the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 made the region a formal Portuguese sphere of interest, Portugal's emerging seaborne empire was soon challenged by Dutch, English, French, Danish, Swedish, Brandenburger, and even Courland competitors from the 1520s on. Having organized chartered companies with commercial monopolies, Europeans constructed a network of factories and forts along the seaboard and built up a profitable trade first in gold then slaves to satisfy the need of an emerging plantation complex in the Americas. The capital thus accumulated and access to lubricants derived from palm or peanut oil contributed to the rise of industrial Europe. Imports included European metal ware, textiles, and firearms; American silver and tobacco; and Asian and African cowries and cloth. Such early commercial links to the Guinea helped establish the modern interdependent world economy. Partaking in the Columbian exchange, the transfer of disease, plant and animal species, as well as technology, ideas and religious currents across continents formed part of the transactions at the same time. The hinterland, however, was less affected until the so-called Scramble for Africa, the period of direct territorial annexation that is commonly dated from the 1870s. Obstacles included resistance by the powerful indigenous states of the interior, efficient competition from other trading systems, the limited length of navigable rivers, few suitable natural harbors, a disease environment that earned the coast the epithet "White Man's Grave," and finally the lack of sufficient funds or official support. By the 1870s, France and Britain remained the two dominant European powers that also carried the lead in colonization and territorial annexations. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire; Globalization.

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GÁBOR BERCZELI

Guizot, François (1787–1874)

French statesman and historian whose father was executed during the Reign of Terror in 1794. Guizot started a legal career in Paris in 1805, but from 1812 to 1830 he was a professor of modern history at the Sorbonne, where his intellectually formative publications included *Sur l'histoire de France* and *Histoire de la révolution d'Angleterre*. Guizot's sympathy with moderate royalists drew him into politics after the July Revolution of 1830 as an advocate of a constitutional monarchy with limited suffrage and supporter of the July Monarchy of Louis Philippe. As minister of education, 1832–1837, he introduced a new system of primary instruction.

Guizot served briefly as French ambassador to London, before becoming foreign minister and finally prime minister in 1847. Guizot was fond of British gradualism in political reform, but his conservatism led to the fall of his government and the abdication of Louis Philippe in the February Revolution of 1848. He devoted the rest of his life to writing.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Gujarat, Battle of (1849)

The final and decisive engagement of the Second Sikh War. After the Battle of Chillianwala, the Sikh commander, Sher Singh, received reinforcements from his father Chattar Singh and also from the Amir of Kabul. On January 26, 1849, the Sikh fort of Multan in West Punjab surrendered to British forces and reinforcement was on its way to meet Baron Hugh Gough, commander-in-chief of British forces in India. Sher Singh decided to outflank Gough's army at Gujarat by crossing the Chenab River but was thwarted in the venture by British irregular cavalry and forced instead to face a British attack in open country south of Gujarat. The Sikh defensive position was in the form of a crescent. A dry sandy *nullah* named Dwarah protected the Sikh right; their left was on a rivulet named Katela. The Sikh center rested on the two villages named Bara Kalra and Chota Kalra, respectively. Gough brought 24,000 soldiers to the field to engage a Sikh army 50,000 to 60,000 in number.

The battle started on February 21 at 7.30 A.M. with a furious cannonade that continued for three hours. The distance between the Sikh forces and the British lines was 800 yards. Gough enjoyed qualitative and quantitative superiority in artillery over the Sikhs, and the 59 Sikh guns were silenced by 96 British guns. Gough then launched the First and Second divisions against the Sikh center and, at a cost of 600 casualties, captured the two villages. The Sikhs then retreated to their second defensive line. Meanwhile, the Third Division and the Bombay Brigade supported by field artillery advanced towards the Sikh left. About 1,500 Afghan cavalry charged from the Sikh left but were routed by Sindh Horse and the Ninth Lancers. The Sikh left then launched another attack of combined infantry and cavalry but were again driven back by the field battery and horse artillery of the Third Division. By one o'clock, the Sikhs were in full retreat. Gough won at the cost of 96 killed and 710 wounded. Sikh losses are unknown. Aside from ending the Second Sikh War in Britain's favor, Gujarat witnessed the first ever use of anesthetics on British soldiers. *See also* Khalsa; Punjab.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Gurkha War

See Anglo-Nepal War

H

Haakon VII, King of Norway (1872–1957)

Born Christian Fredrick Charles George Valdemar Axel, Prince Charles for short, the future Haakon VII of Norway was the son of King Fredrick VIII of Denmark (1843–1912). In 1896, he married Princess Maud (1869–1938), daughter of King Edward VII of Great Britain (1841–1910). When Norway declared independence from Sweden in 1905, the Norwegian parliament offered Prince Charles the throne, which he accepted after a plebiscite held November 13–14 of that year. He took the name Haakon after several of his old Norse predecessors.

Many of the founding fathers of the new Norwegian state were republicans, but they realized that the public was largely monarchist. The choice of Haakon affirmed the ties to Denmark, which Norway was a dependency of from 1380 to 1814, and through his wife, the ties with Britain. The latter was paramount, as the British Empire was Norway's largest trading partner and also commanded the high seas on which Norway's important merchant fleet was navigating. Good relations with Britain also lessened the prospects of Swedish intervention aimed at quashing Norwegian independence, and that other great power would support Sweden in doing that.

In a constitutional monarchy based on parliamentarism, King Haakon's role as head of state made him more a ceremonial symbol than a real political force. At certain pivotal points in Norwegian history, however, he rose to the occasion. He became an important advisor on foreign policy to the government during World War I, in which Norway stayed neutral. In a 1927 political crisis, Haakon turned to the Labor Party and asked them to form a new government, as they were the largest party in the parliament. The task was formally assigned to the king by the Constitution, but reduced to a formality under normal circumstances after the introduction of parliamentarism in 1884.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Habsburg Dynasty

One of Europe's great dynasties, the Habsburgs were a royal and imperial Austro-German family that ruled Austria from 1282 until 1918. The Habsburgs also controlled **Hungary** and **Bohemia** from 1526 to 1918 and ruled Spain and its empire from 1504 to 1506 and again from 1516 to 1700. The family name is derived from the Habichtsburg, or "Hawk's Castle," erected around 1000 in the Aargau region of Switzerland. From southwest Germany the family extended its holdings to the eastern reaches of the Holy Roman Empire, roughly today's Austria.

After 1521, the family split into the Austrian and the Spanish Habsburgs. The Austrian line held the title of Roman Emperor, as well as their hereditary lands and the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary; the Spanish Habsburgs ruled over Spain, the Netherlands, the Habsburgs' Italian possessions, and Portugal. With this enormous empire, the Habsburgs inherited a bulk of problems. Cooperation between Spanish and Imperial Habsburgs in the seventeenth century failed to maintain the hegemony that the dynasty had enjoyed in the sixteenth century. During these two centuries, the Habsburgs were preoccupied with halting the Ottoman advance into Europe. The Spanish Habsburgs died out in 1700.

In 1806, the Holy Roman Empire was ended by **Napoleon Bonaparte's** reorganization of the German states into the Confederation of the Rhine. Because of the possibility that Napoleon could be elected Roman Emperor, Franz II took steps to protect Habsburg interests. To guarantee his family's continued imperial status, he adopted a new hereditary title, Emperor of Austria, in 1804, thus becoming Franz I of Austria. To preclude the possibility of Napoleon's election, he officially dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. The Congress of **Vienna**, 1814–1815, then redrew the map of Europe. The Holy Roman Empire was replaced with a **German Confederation**, and Austria's Emperor held the permanent presidency of the confederation. Franz I's conservative outlook set the parameters especially for domestic policy, which Franz personally controlled until his death in 1835. The state council that Franz selected to rule in the name of his mentally incompetent son Ferdinand I ensured the continuance of his policies until revolution shocked Habsburg rule in 1848. Ferdinand abdicated on December 2, 1848, and his 18-year-old nephew was crowned Emperor Franz Joseph I. He would rule Austria for no less than 68 years.

In 1854, Franz Joseph married Duchess Elisabeth of the Bavarian House of Wittelsbach. She bore him four children: three daughters and the crown prince, Rudolf, who, in contrast with his conservative, if not reactionary, father, held liberal views. In 1881, he married Princess Stephanie of Belgium, daughter of King **Leopold II**. By the time their only child was born in 1883, the couple had drifted apart, and Rudolf found solace in drink and female companionship.

Rudolf's death, apparently through suicide, along with that of his mistress, Baroness Mary Vetsera, in 1889 at the estate of Mayerling near Vienna, made international headlines and fueled conspiracy rumors. According to official reports, their deaths were a result of Franz Joseph's demand that the couple end the relationship. Rudolf was declared to have been in a state of mental imbalance. Many people, however, doubted the veracity of the reports and claimed that Rudolf had been murdered as part of a conspiracy. Rudolf's death was an extremely grim chapter in the long line of outbreaks of mental instability in the Habsburg Dynasty caused by inbreeding. One younger brother to Franz Joseph, Archduke Viktor Ludwig, spent

most of his life exiled, following scandals involving dressing up in women's clothes. Franz Joseph's brother, Archduke Maximilian, was crowned Emperor of Mexico, but his regime was overcome by insurgents after the French Emperor Napoleon III had withdrawn military aid for Maximilian. He was captured and executed on June 19, 1867.

In 1867, autonomy was given to Hungary under the terms of the *Ausgleich* or "compromise," turning the empire into the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The December Constitution of 1867 placed no significant restrictions on the Emperor with regard to foreign and military affairs. Franz Joseph thus remained the ultimate arbiter of all important decisions. After the death of Crown Prince Rudolf, Franz Joseph's nephew, Archduke **Franz Ferdinand**, became heir to the throne. His marriage to the low-ranking Countess Sophie Chotek was permitted only after the couple had agreed that their children would have no access to the throne. Franz Ferdinand, an impatient and cynical character, had a strained relationship with the aged emperor and established a shadow government at his place of residence, the Belvedere Palace in Vienna. He alienated many sections of Austro-Hungarian political opinion with vague plans to be carried out after his accession to the throne. Both supporters and opponents of Austria-Hungary's dualist structure were suspicious of his ideas for a reform of the monarchy. When Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, the attack on Habsburg imperial continuity led to a Great Power diplomatic crisis and ultimately a war of unprecedented scale.

The death of Franz Joseph on November 21, 1916 then deprived Austria-Hungary of his symbolic unifying presence. His grand-nephew Charles I, age 29, became his successor but was unprepared for the role. Although Charles was a pious Catholic of conciliatory nature, his good intentions were not reinforced by gifts beyond the ordinary. He was unable to put forward a meaningful program of reform and could not resist the centrifugal forces pulling the monarchy apart. On November 11, 1918, he renounced his state duties but did not abdicate his throne. He fled to Switzerland after Austria-Hungary had collapsed. Encouraged by Hungarian nationalists, Charles sought twice to reclaim the throne of Hungary, but failed. He died in exile in 1922. In Austria and Hungary, the monarchies were abolished and republics established. The Austrian parliament expelled the Habsburgs and confiscated all the official property in 1919. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars; Ottoman Empire; July Crisis.

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MARTIN MOLL

Habsburg Empire

The Habsburg Empire comprised the territories ruled by the Habsburg family, one of the most prominent royal dynasties in European history. The Habsburgs

originated in the southwestern regions of the Holy Roman Empire, a conglomeration of territories in central Europe that lasted from the early Middle Ages to the start of the nineteenth century. The name of the dynasty derived in the eleventh century from a castle, the *Habichtsburg*, or Hawk's Castle, in what is today the Swiss canton of Aargau. In the following centuries, the Habsburgs lost control over their Swiss holdings but acquired smaller territories in southwestern Germany. The election of Rudolph I as German king and Holy Roman Emperor in 1271 marked the Habsburgs' rise to political prominence. In 1278, Rudolph seized control of Austria from King Ottokar of Bohemia who was killed by Habsburg forces at the Battle of Marchfeld. In the following centuries, the Habsburgs acquired the Tyrol and Carinthia, elevated themselves to the rank of Archdukes by using a forged document, and formed dynastic relations with the ruling houses of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, becoming, as a result, kings of the latter two realms. Effective control over Bohemia was limited by the power of the Bohemian estates, and the situation in Hungary was even more complex, with most of the territory inherited from King Louis (Lajos), who had been killed at the Battle of Mohács in 1526, controlled by the Ottomans or their vassals until the late seventeenth century. From the fifteenth century until the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, the Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian duchies and kingdoms formed the core of Habsburg territory in central Europe.

The Ascent of the Habsburg Dynasty

The position of the Habsburgs as one of the most powerful dynasties in Europe rested on their ability to secure election as German kings and Holy Roman emperors from 1438 to 1806 with only a brief interlude in the eighteenth century. Holding the imperial crown enhanced the dynasty's prestige and allowed the Habsburgs to profit from the loyalty of imperial cities and estates. Another decisive factor in the Habsburgs' rise as a political force was their success in making politically advantageous marriages. In 1477, Maximilian, the son of Emperor Frederick III, married Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and in 1496, their son, Philip the Handsome, married Juana, the daughter of the Catholic monarchs of Spain, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. Through these two matches, Philip and Juana's son, Charles of Ghent, succeeded his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand, as Charles I, king of Spain, in 1516, and his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, as Charles V, Holy Roman emperor, in 1519. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Habsburgs ruled not only Spain and the empire, but the Netherlands (part of the old Burgundian state), the vast Spanish empire in the Americas, southern Italy, and Portugal. For a time in the 1550s, Charles's son Philip, as husband to Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII, was also king of England. After Charles's death in 1558, the Habsburg domains, which had nearly encircled France, the dynasty's main rival, split into two parts. Descending from Charles's brother Ferdinand, the Austrian branch, the *Casa d' Austria*, or House of Austria, ruled over the family's central European possessions and maintained the succession to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire from 1548–56 to 1740. After the Ottoman defeat at the Battle of Vienna in 1683, the Austrian Habsburgs also controlled the Kingdom of Hungary. Descended from Charles's son Philip, the Spanish branch of the family ruled Spain and much of the Netherlands until 1700. The two branches of the dynasty intermarried frequently to consolidate their possessions and to cooperate in international politics.

From the point of view of France, with Habsburg domains on its eastern, southern, and northern borders, the dynasty's dominance was a serious threat to European peace. After the death of Charles II, the last Spanish Habsburg, a bitter fight over succession to his throne led to the War of Spanish Succession (1700–1713), which pitted Austria, in alliance with other states, against France. Although they lost the Spanish Crown to the French House of Bourbon, the Austrian Habsburgs successfully seized the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium) and parts of northern and central Italy. After 1713, the center of the Habsburg Empire was Vienna, not Madrid. Because he lacked a male successor, Emperor Charles VI issued the Pragmatic Sanction (1713), which confirmed provisions for a female succession and insisted on the monarchy's indivisibility. Through concessions, Charles tried to win the approval of the Pragmatic Sanction from the estates in the various Habsburg territories and from other European monarchs. Nevertheless, after his death in 1740, his heir and daughter Maria Theresa had to fight for eight years to secure her rights and titles and to place her husband on the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. Even then, the strategically important and economically valuable province of Silesia was lost to Frederick II of Prussia; however, Maria Theresa launched a number of important reforms of the bureaucracy, the military, and education. Her son Joseph II tried to modernize and militarize his realm in a more radical fashion but provoked violent opposition in Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands. Joseph's failure to centralize governmental structures by following the examples set by France and Prussia demonstrated the limits of the dynasty's grip on power.

Nationalist and Napoleonic Challenges

Without the cooperation of the traditional elites in the various kingdoms and lands, the multiethnic Habsburg Empire could not be held together. At the same time, it was the dynasty that provided the indispensable unifying bond. Therefore nationalism and the sovereignty of the people were not only anathema to the dynasty, but a deadly threat to the political survival of the union of lands and crowns ruled by the Habsburgs. Since the late eighteenth century, the Austrians sought to contain or destroy revolutionary and nationalist movements. This policy proved costly. In the wars against revolutionary France and Napoleon from 1789 to 1815, Austria not only lost the Netherlands, southwestern Germany, and northern Italy but, after the defeat at Wagram in 1809, was forced to cooperate with Napoleon to avoid another armed clash with the French emperor. The new Austrian foreign minister, Count Klemens von Metternich, nevertheless decided to break with Napoleon and rejoin the anti-Napoleonic coalition in 1813. Together with his British counterpart, Lord Castlereagh, Metternich worked for a lasting European settlement in 1814–1815, in the wake of Napoleon's final defeat. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the working of the Congress system until the 1820s gave Austria more than its due share of political influence in Europe. In terms of territory, Austria gave up its former possessions in southwestern Germany and the Netherlands. Instead, Salzburg became Austrian and the Habsburgs kept most of the Polish territory acquired in 1774 and 1795. In Italy, Lombardy and Venetia formed a kingdom united with Austria.

In 1804, in response to the self-coronation of Napoleon as Emperor of the French, Holy Roman Emperor Francis II claimed the title of hereditary Austrian emperor. Under French pressure, Francis in effect dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Metternich refrained from any attempt

to resurrect the Holy Roman Empire, and in the newly created German Confederation Austria chaired the deliberations of the diet but could not achieve much without Prussian consent. Still, through Metternich's skilful diplomacy, the Habsburg Empire was able to win the support of Prussia and other German states to use the confederation as a tool to suppress liberal and nationalistic groups in Germany. In Italy there was no equivalent of the German Confederation, so Austria intervened militarily when revolutionary movements threatened to destabilize the Italian states. Austrian antirevolutionary zeal undermined the solidarity among the Great Powers and damaged Austro-British cooperation in the 1820s; Metternich found himself isolated when Britain, France, and Russia fought for the independence of Greece from Turkey in 1827. Austria refrained from a policy of territorial expansion on the Balkan Peninsula and considered the preservation of the **Ottoman Empire** as indispensable to its own survival. The Habsburg Empire thus acted as the most clear cut case of a status quo power and annexed Kraków only to contain the spread of Polish nationalism. Unable to establish an efficient tax-system, however, the empire suffered from inadequate financial means to play the role of Great Power. Overcommitted and underfinanced, Austria depended on a favorable climate of antirevolutionary consensus and a preference for peaceful crisis settlement among the other Great Powers. Austria's policy of repression, directed against liberals and nationalists at home and abroad, collapsed in 1848.

The revolution of 1848–1849 challenged Habsburg rule in several ways. In Vienna, a liberal government replaced Metternich, and an assembly was summoned to deliberate and decide on a new constitution. In Hungary, nationalists took control and were fighting for independence. In Italy, nationalist uprisings and an attack on Piedmont-Sardinia aimed at the expulsion of Austria from the region. With young Emperor **Francis Joseph** and a conservative government under Prince Felix Schwarzenberg in charge, the Habsburgs were able to fend off the danger. By 1850, the Habsburg rule had been restored, as was the German Confederation. Francis Joseph's neo-absolutist regime was based on tradition, repression, economic progress, and prestige. During the **Crimean War** (1853–56), Austria's policy offended a **Russia Empire** that had supported the Habsburgs against the Hungarian insurgency in 1849 yet did not lead to an alliance with France and Great Britain. In 1858, the French Emperor **Napoleon III** formed an alliance with Piedmont-Sardinia to expel Austria from northern Italy. In response to Sardinian provocations, the Habsburg monarchy went to war. Defeated by the French-Sardinian alliance in the Battles of **Magenta** and **Solferino**, Austria was forced to cede Lombardy in 1859. The Habsburg Empire had no choice but to watch helplessly from the sidelines as the Italian kingdoms and principalities were swept aside by a combination of nationalism and Sardinian power politics. The next blow to Habsburg prestige came in the 1860s when Prussia under Prime Minister Otto von **Bismarck** outmaneuvered Austrian foreign policy in the debate about a reformed German Confederation and the future of the former Danish duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, both occupied by Austrian and Prussian forces after the German-Danish War of 1864. The Prussian secession from the German Confederation led in 1866 to war between Prussia and Austria and most of the other German states. The Battle of **Königgrätz** ended with a clear Prussian victory and forced Francis Joseph to accept Austria's exclusion from Germany. Victories over Prussia's ally Italy in the Battles of Custoza and Lissa were of little political significance and could not prevent the loss of Venetia. The creation of

two new nation-states, Germany and Italy, had come at the expense of the Habsburg Empire, which could survive as a Great Power only as long as the opposition within it could be mollified.

Constitutional Reform

From 1860 to 1867, constitutional reform therefore ranked high on the political agenda. Neo-absolutist rule gave way to broader political participation, lively public debate, and the protection of individual rights. The most difficult aspect was the position of Hungary within the framework of the empire. The Hungarian opposition under leaders like Ferenc Deák and Count Gyula Andrassy negotiated the *Ausgleich*, or Compromise, of 1867, which transformed the Habsburg possessions into **Austria-Hungary**. From 1867 to 1918, the so-called Dual Monarchy symbolized a union of the Kingdom of Hungary and Austria over the other kingdoms and lands of the Habsburgs; both parts shared the person of the monarch, the King of Hungary and Emperor of Austria, and the settlement of succession laid down in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713–1723 was the constitutional foundation of Austria-Hungary. According to Law XII of 1867, approved by the Hungarian diet, Hungary also accepted a common foreign policy and a common defense. Currency and foreign trade issues were also to be resolved in common. After 1868, a common Austro-Hungarian army and navy formed the Habsburg monarchy's fighting forces, but there would also be defense forces for Hungary and Austria. The common ministers of foreign affairs, war, and finances and the prime ministers of Austria and Hungary would deliberate on questions of common interest. Delegations from the parliaments in Vienna and Budapest would discuss regularly the common ministers' policy. The contributions of Hungary and Austria to the budget of the common ministries had to be negotiated every 10 years. Among the common ministers, the minister of foreign affairs stood out as minister of the Imperial and Royal House. He presided over the session of the common ministerial council if the monarch were not present in the council. High politics were traditionally the most prestigious aspect of government policy, and the decision to wage war or to make peace was considered to be the monarch's prerogative. In the Dual Monarchy, where there was no common prime minister or chancellor, the foreign minister served as the monarch's most important political advisor.

In domestic affairs, the emperor and king had to rely on the heads of governments in Vienna and Budapest. The prime ministers of both Austria and Hungary were appointed and dismissed by the monarch, who had to approve any legislation, but the prime ministers nonetheless needed the backing of a parliamentary majority to get their budgets and bills through the legislative assemblies. Emergency legislation offered an opportunity to circumvent unruly parliaments, especially in Austria, but only for brief periods. In Hungary, support for the prime minister in the diet was almost indispensable. The composition of the parliaments in Vienna and Budapest differed significantly. Austria's ethnic diversity was adequately reflected in parliament, at least by comparison with the ethnically homogenous Hungarian diet. Magyars, the Hungarian-speaking segment of the population, were overrepresented as a consequence of restrictive electoral laws excluding the less affluent and mostly non-Magyar Hungarian citizens. In Austria, the electorate was gradually expanded and universal male suffrage introduced in 1907. The crown supported this democratization in the hope that nationalistic parties with their middle-class supporters

would lose clout. The Austrian crown lands had their own parliaments and electoral rules; the administration of the crown lands was headed by a governor, chosen by the emperor and usually drawn from the high nobility. Within the framework of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, whereas the rest of the Hungarian realm had a more centralized structure than Austria.

On the domestic agenda, dualism and the nationality question stood out. Whether the settlement of 1867 was sufficient to secure Hungarian independence was hotly debated among Hungarian politicians. With the diet in Budapest dominated by the small Hungarian-speaking elite of landowners and bourgeoisie, social or national divisions in the parliament were less significant than the divide between the supporters of the *Ausgleich* and the followers of almost complete independence. The Liberals under the leadership of Kálmán Tisza accepted the Compromise of 1867 as the legal basis of Hungary's place in the Habsburg monarchy and controlled Hungarian politics until 1890. Over the following decade, the economic success and growing self-confidence of the Magyar middle class fueled a significant rise in Magyar nationalism. The Independence Party followed the tradition of the revolutionaries of 1848–1849 and put pressure on the Hungarian government to aim for Hungary's independence. In 1903, the conflict between Hungary and the crown escalated, when Francis Joseph upheld the status quo of the common army in the face of attempts to establish Hungarian as the language of command. A coalition formed around the Independence Party was forced to give in to Francis Joseph when the king threatened to have a general franchise bill introduced in parliament in 1905. In the last years before World War I, István Tisza, the leader of the Hungarian moderates, managed to rein in the opposition within the diet and became the most influential politician in Austro-Hungarian politics. In the late 1880s, Tisza became the first Hungarian prime minister willing to co-finance a massive military buildup. Stability in Hungary and better cooperation between Vienna and Budapest, however, could be achieved only by accepting Magyar dominance in Hungary and Hungarian assertiveness in Austro-Hungarian negotiations. To Francis Ferdinand, Francis Joseph's nephew and heir apparent, this was anathema. He believed that Hungary's strong position within the Dual Monarchy would block any sensible solution to nationality problems and would eventually bring down the Habsburg Empire. Yet he and his supporters tried in vain to roll back the political influence of Hungary's elite, so when war broke out in 1914, dualism was still one of the decisive features of the Habsburg Empire's political system.

The Balkan Tinderbox

The nationality question was no less persistent than the quarreling about dualism. With 11 officially recognized nationalities, none of them constituting a majority, Austria-Hungary certainly was a multiethnic empire. By 1910, the Austrian population broke down into the following percentages: 35.6 percent Germans, 23 percent Czechs, 17.8 percent Poles, and 12.6 percent Ruthenians (Ukrainians). In the same year, the population of the lands of the Hungarian crown was 48.1 percent Magyar, 9.8 percent German, 9.4 percent Slovak, 14.1 percent Rumanian, 8.8 percent Croatian, and 5.3 percent Serb. On the eve of World War I, the Magyars were almost a majority language group in Hungary yet only one-fifth of the Habsburg Empire's population. Even the Germans could claim no more than 23.9

percent of Austria-Hungary's total population. Unlike the Magyars, the Germans watched their share of the population dwindling, albeit rather slowly; the traditional dominance of Germans in most of the crown lands looked threatened by a Slav population, growing stronger in relative terms. In Bohemia, with its Czech majority, German and Czech nationalists were at loggerheads over language policy issues. When the Austrian government under Prime Minister Count Badeni proposed a settlement that strengthened the role of Czech in official use in 1897, Germans in Bohemia and in other parts of Austria protested in the streets, and German politicians obstructed the parliament in Vienna. Badeni's decrees were revoked and the Bohemian nationality problem was still waiting for a viable solution when Austria-Hungary finally collapsed in 1918.

Other nationality conflicts, in Moravia and Bukovina for example, could be solved by compromise. In Galicia, the Poles made some concessions to the Ruthenians. In Hungary, the government's policy of Magyarization worked well in the Hungarian heartland but alienated the Slovak, Rumanian, Croatian, and Serb minorities. The Croats in Croatia-Slavonia were able to defend their cultural autonomy. Among Croats and Serbs in the lands of the Hungarian crown and in Austria, different strands of nationalism evolved, one of them aiming at the unification of the Habsburg monarchy's South Slavs. This challenged the structure of the Dual Monarchy and called for the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, part of the Ottoman Empire and home to Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs, and South Slav Muslims, was occupied by Austria-Hungary after the **Congress of Berlin** in 1878. Administered by a special department of the common ministry of finance, Bosnia-Herzegovina belonged to neither Austria nor Hungary. The unilateral annexation of the territory in 1908 at the behest of foreign minister Aloys Lexa von **Aehrenthal** caused an international crisis but failed to stabilize the internal situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Radical Serb and South Slav nationalistic groups, encouraged and supported by factions of the elite in the kingdom of Serbia, agitated against Habsburg rule. One such organization, the Black Hand, assassinated Francis Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo on July 28, 1914. Austria-Hungary's political leaders, first and foremost the new foreign minister Count Leopold Berchtold, decided to use the murder of the Habsburg Empire's heir apparent as an opportunity to wage punitive war on Serbia for its provocations going back several years. Bosnia-Herzegovina was the only example of Austro-Hungarian territorial expansion in the age of imperialism, and the western half of the Balkan Peninsula was considered to be the Habsburg Empire's "natural" sphere of influence. The **Balkan Wars** of 1912–1913 made a mockery of this miniature version of imperialism. In addition, Serbia's policy in the South Slav question was perceived as a deadly threat to Austria-Hungary's survival as a Great Power. To quell the South Slav opposition within the Habsburg Empire and to defend its Great Power status, Austria-Hungary posted an ultimatum to Serbia that ultimately triggered war against its neighbor in July 1914. The political and military leaders of the Habsburg Empire and Francis Joseph were well aware that an attack on Serbia could lead to Russian military intervention and to a wider Great Power conflict but were not deterred.

There was hope that Russia, because of its domestic instability, might not enter the fray, and, in the event of a European war, Austria-Hungary could rely on German assistance. In 1879, the Habsburg monarchy had formed the Dual Alliance with Germany, which was a defensive alliance against Russia and was supplemented in

1881 by the Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy and in 1882 by a secret alliance treaty with Rumania. As a result of the domestic quarreling about dualism, however, the Habsburg monarchy had neglected the buildup of its reserve armed forces since the late 1880s. Austria-Hungary took part in the European armaments race after 1912 but could not make up for decades of a self-imposed blockade. In addition, Germany would have to face the possibility of a two-front-war against Russia and France, which had been united in a military alliance since the 1890s.

Greatly exaggerated hopes in Italy's and Rumania's support or at least neutrality and extreme optimism with regard to the German and Austro-Hungarian offensives at the beginning of the war proved to be illusory. The Austro-Hungarian army under the leadership of Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf suffered defeat in 1914–1915. With German help, Habsburg troops were able to achieve victories against Russia and Serbia in 1915, against Rumania in 1916, and against Italy in 1917, but coalition warfare led to an ever-increasing dependence on Germany and made it more or less impossible to negotiate a separate peace treaty with the Entente powers. After Francis Joseph's death in November 1916, the new Emperor, Charles I, tried to win more freedom of maneuver, but his policy of secret negotiations with the Entente backfired when the talks were made public by the French in 1918. In the face of growing unrest caused by the hardship of war and calls for independence among the Habsburg Empire's Slavs, Charles offered a root-and-branch reform of Austria-Hungary's political structure in October 1918. It was too late. The Austro-Hungarian front in Italy was already collapsing and nationalists seized effective control in many parts of the empire.

Austria-Hungary broke apart in November 1918, and Charles was helpless to prevent the Habsburg Empire's dismemberment. He went into exile in Switzerland in March 1919. Two attempts to restore Habsburg rule in Hungary failed in 1921, and Charles was forced to leave Europe for the Portuguese island of Madeira, where he died on April 1, 1922. His empire had given way to several newly created states. From beginning to end, the Habsburg Empire had been a union of territories kept together by the ruling house, the court, the crown's advisors, and the military and civilian servants of the Habsburg dynasty. Tradition and convenience had provided for widespread loyalty as long as middle class nationalism was confined to inter-ethnic bickering, but in the face of a long and unsuccessful war, "divide and rule" tactics could not save an empire that had endured for centuries. *See also* Appendix *Words and Deeds*, Doc. 24; Balkan Wars; Black Hand; Congress of Vienna; Eastern Question; Napoleonic Wars.

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London: Longman, 1989; Taylor, A.J.P. *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809–1918*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Hague Conferences (1899, 1907)

International conferences formalizing the laws of war. Many contemporaries imagined that they would show the way to the abolition of war and its replacement by a system of arbitration. The Hague Conference of 1899 was called in response to an 1898 diplomatic note known as the Tsar's Rescript, circulated by Tsar Nicolas II, who wanted to abolish war on Christian grounds. The idea was greeted enthusiastically by pacifists and liberals, with respectful circumspection by most governments, and with some derision in conservative and military circles. The 1899 conference produced some quickly obsolete provisions against dropping bombs from balloons, and some rapidly ignored prohibitions against chemical warfare, but it also led to the formation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, still in existence, to which consenting states may submit disputes for arbitration.

The 1899 conference led to the Second Hague Conference of 1907, which had more success in formalizing the customary laws of war, in particular those pertaining to the rights of neutrals, the conventions of land warfare, and the opening of conflicts. The 1907 convention also produced statutes pertaining to the long-controversial topic of the status of prizes taken in naval warfare, a topic that submarines, torpedoes, and long-range gunnery shortly made anachronistic. A third Hague conference, planned for 1914, never took place. Initiated by the most autocratic monarch in Europe, the Hague conferences nevertheless attracted high hopes from many on the reformist left. They became the models for many future attempts at multilateral international diplomacy, their statutes on the laws of land warfare are generally accepted today, and the internationalist spirit of the Hague conferences was a precursor to the League of Nations and later the United Nations.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Haig, Douglas (1861–1928)

British military leader who became commander-in-chief of all British forces on the Western Front in 1915 and collaborated closely with Marshal Ferdinand Foch, the Generalissimo of Allied Armies in France, until the Allied victory of 1918. Haig joined the army in 1885 and served with distinction as a cavalry officer in the Sudan in 1898 and in the Second Boer War, 1899–1902. Thereafter, he served in India but between 1906 and 1909 implemented reforms in the War Office under Richard Haldane. With the outbreak of war in 1914, Haig initially commanded a corps of the British Expeditionary Force before succeeding General John French at the head of the British army in 1915. Haig was a determined yet unimaginative commander considered by Prime Minister David Lloyd George to be responsible for heavy British losses at the Battle of the Somme and the Third Battle of Ypres.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Haiti

Haiti was the second colony in the Americas, after the United States, to win its independence from European control. Initially a Spanish possession peopled in large part by slaves imported from Africa, Haiti was ceded to France in 1697. A slave revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture first erupted in 1791 and defeated the French colonial forces but then united with them to defeat invading British and Spanish forces in response to a decree from the French revolutionary government abolishing slavery. In 1802, a new invasion force was dispatched to Haiti by Napoleon. Toussaint was persuaded to agree to a truce, but was betrayed and shipped to prison in France where he died. The cause was immediately taken up by a former slave, Jacques Dessalines, whose army, aided somewhat by the ravages of yellow fever among the French, won the Battle of Vertières in November 1803. On January 1, Haiti declared its independence. *See also:* French Empire, Slavery.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Haldane, Richard Burdon (1856–1928)

Richard Haldane was a British Liberal imperialist in the 1890s and a supporter of the Boer War. He is remembered for his army reforms of 1907, which created the British Territorial Army reserve system still in use, a system that served Britain well in the World Wars. Haldane was born into a Scottish Calvinist family, although like many young men of his generation he developed religious doubts. Educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and Göttingen, he was called to the bar in 1879. Haldane was known throughout his life for his philosophic temperament. Henry **Campbell-Bannerman**, with whom he periodically crossed swords politically, referred to Haldane as “Schopenhauer.” Haldane was involved in the founding of the London School of Economics in 1895 and in higher education reform.

He was first elected to Parliament as a Gladstonian Liberal in 1886, along with his friend H. H. **Asquith**. Haldane had friends across the political spectrum, ranging from the Webbs to A. J. **Balfour**, but as a Liberal imperialist he supported, along with Asquith and Lord **Rosebery**, a strong stance against France in the **Fashoda Incident** of 1898. With other Liberal imperialists, he also broke rank with the **Liberal Party** leader Campbell-Bannerman, supporting the Conservative government's policy at the outbreak of the Second Boer War in 1899.

Haldane initially opposed Campbell-Bannerman's accession to the premiership in 1905, thinking the latter too anti-imperial, but he went to the War Office in his government. He became an active reformer and succeeded in gaining the wholehearted cooperation of the army staff. He was responsible for founding the Officers'

Training Corps, which drew many educated young men into the army; the Territorial Army, effectively the army reserves; and the Imperial General Staff. He took relatively little part, owing to ill health, in the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911, but went to the Lords in that year and in 1912 became Lord Chancellor. He briefly returned to the War Office during the crisis of August 1914, and left office for the last time in May 1915. Although attacked for his philo-Germanic leanings by the Tory press, in fact his work at the War Office was a solid contribution to the British cause in the World Wars. *See also* Boer Wars; Liberal Imperialists.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Hamilton, Alexander (1755–1804)

American soldier, politician, statesman, and constitutional theorist of the Federalist Papers, as well as first Secretary of the Treasury of the **United States** (1789–1795). Hamilton was born in the Caribbean on the tiny island of Nevis. When he was 10 years old, his father moved the family to the nearby island of St. Croix and subsequently abandoned them. His mother opened a shop while Hamilton found a job as a clerk at a trading post where he was first immersed in bookkeeping and economics. The main trade in the Caribbean at this time was sugar and slaves formed the majority of workforce. Witnessing the brutal reality of slavery firsthand, Hamilton developed an aversion to the practice that prevented him from ever owning slaves or endorsing the practice. At 17, Hamilton left for the colony of New York in 1772 and enrolled at King's College, now Columbia University. He joined the New York Militia in 1775 and became a captain of an artillery unit. After two years of service, he gained the respect of General George Washington, who appointed him his aide-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant colonel. His intelligence and his proximity to Washington ensured his position as an important political figure after the Revolutionary War was won.

In 1780, Hamilton married Elizabeth Schuyler, began a successful Manhattan law practice, and represented New York at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Hamilton led the Federalist side in the constitutional debates, accounting for two-thirds of *The Federalist*, a series of 85 newspaper essays written together with James Madison and John Jay on the fundamental principles and constituent institutions of government that represent both the first major work of political theory produced in America and the blueprint for *The Constitution of the United States of America*. The coherence of Hamilton's ideas and the force with which he articulated them did much to secure ratification of the Constitution. As Secretary of the Treasury to President Washington, Hamilton was able to encourage manufacturing, allow the national government to assume responsibility for the country's debt, create a national bank that standardized and controlled the currency, and was able to maintain friendly ties with the British government. Hamilton found himself in a constant struggle with anti-Federalists, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison most

prominent among them, who wished to keep the federal government's power to a minimum. Federalists and Anti-Federalists disagreed on almost every issue—save that of territorial expansion.

Expansion was deemed not only desirable but also a necessity in ensuring the security of the republic. Hamilton personally went as far as trying to form a permanent standing army to accomplish this task, but he was impeded when then President John Adams disagreed. The little republic was, Hamilton maintained, “the embryo of a great empire” and the powers of Europe would happily crush the American experiment. In the meantime he deemed it imperative that the United States avoid any overseas commitments beyond “occasional alliances,” a sentiment evident in the Farewell Address of Washington's presidency, which Hamilton co-authored. The speech is often cited as the first article of American isolationism in the first half of the twentieth century. Hamilton used his influence to help his rival Jefferson to the presidency in 1801 over Vice President Aaron Burr, whom he distrusted personally and politically. He also supported Jefferson in the Louisiana Purchase, deeming it important to American security that European power be eliminated from the North American continent and the hemisphere. In this attitude he anticipated the Monroe Doctrine. Hamilton died young and suddenly at the age of 49 in a pistol duel with Burr. *See also* Louisiana Purchase; Monroe Doctrine.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Haussmann, Baron George Eugène (1809–1891)

A civic planner responsible for the radical rebuilding of the city of Paris. Born in Paris to a Protestant family from Alsace, Hausmann had a successful civil service career and was prefect for the department of the Seine from 1853 to 1870. He was appointed in 1853 by Napoleon III to modernize the French capital. The city was comprehensively transformed in a massive public works project under Hausmann's direction. Broad and long tree-lined avenues and boulevards were cut through the tangled mass of narrow streets and old urban neighborhoods. The goals of the project were both functional and aesthetic. The city was to be more sanitary with vastly improved traffic flow and commercial accessibility. The broad avenues, meanwhile, made it impossible for insurrectionists to erect barricades as they had in 1848, while the system of converging avenues at *étoiles* and the proximity of both to the main railway stations made it possible for Adolphe Thiers to transport large numbers of troops from the provinces to any point in the capital and thus crush the Paris Commune in 1870. At the same time, the classicism of grand avenues such as the *Avenue de la Grande Armée* radiating out from the *Arc de la Triomphe* evoked Napoleonic might and gave Paris the look and feel of an imperial capital.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Hawaii

A group of eight major islands located in the Pacific Ocean 2,500 miles off the California coast, Hawaii became the first overseas territory of the **United States** in 1898. Throughout the nineteenth century, Hawaii served as central crossroads of the North Pacific for whaling and the Asia trade. The islands' strategic location in the central Pacific made Hawaii of major importance to all great powers, especially the United States.

Since the 1820s, American protestant **missionaries** turned planters and businessmen helped to maneuver the kingdom of Hawaii, which had been politically unified in 1810 under Kamehameha the Great, into a position of a culturally and commercially dependent **protectorate** of the United States. The new residents on the islands accelerated the "Americanization" of Hawaiian society. Hawaii's first constitution of 1840 reflected the dual influence of American political thought and missionary work, as it was based on the Declaration of Independence and the Bible. Americans shaped the educational system, advised Hawaiian monarchs, achieved government positions, and increased the Hawaiian aristocracy's economic dependency through debt stimulation.

From 1842 up to the 1890s, successive U.S. administrations supported the Tyler Doctrine, which extended the **Monroe Doctrine** to Hawaii and warned Britain and France against any attempts at annexation. In 1881, Secretary of State James G. Blaine even described Hawaii as an essential part of the American system of states and key to the North Pacific trade. The 1875 reciprocity treaty gave the islands' most important product, Hawaiian sugar, duty-free entry into the United States provided Hawaiians would not allow territorial concessions to other powers. The relationship further intensified when the Hawaiian government granted Washington naval rights in Pearl Harbor.

Expansionist pressure for annexation during mid-century failed to convince the U.S. government, as Americans virtually dominated most aspects of Hawaiian life without the responsibility of formal rule. In 1893, however, an American-supported rebellion deposed Queen Lilioukalana in response to a deepening social and economic crisis in the islands and the queen's efforts to contain American influence. The new government was immediately recognized in Washington, but annexation was heavily debated and ultimately postponed. The prospect of inclusion of a substantial body of "racially diverse" Chinese, Japanese, and native Hawaiians remained a main argument against annexation. Only a few years later, however, changing strategic considerations of control over the Pacific, the fear of Japanese domination of the islands, and the lure of the Asian mainland resulted in the annexation of Hawaii in 1898. The Organic Act of 1900 incorporated the Territory of Hawaii into the United States and granted Hawaiians U.S. citizenship. By the outbreak of World War I, Hawaii had been transformed into a major army and navy base for the protection of America's colonial Pacific empire. *See also* Japanese Empire; Navalism; United States.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903)

A treaty between the **United States** and **Panama** granting the United States the right to build an Isthmian canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Signed on November 18, 1903 by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay and Panama's Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate on February 23, 1904, and it was proclaimed February 26, 1904.

After Colombia rejected the **Hay-Herrán Treaty**, Bunau-Varilla, a canal engineer and organizer of the French New Panama Canal Company, organized a Panamanian uprising. American warships prevented Colombian forces from suppressing the revolt, the United States extended recognition three days later, and Bunau-Varilla and Hay quickly signed the new treaty. The treaty gave the United States effective sovereignty over Panama, which granted "in perpetuity" a 10-mile strip across the Isthmus. The United States also secured the right to construct and operate a canal across the Isthmus and use or control Panama's inland waterways and other Panamanian territory. Panama could not tax the canal, equipment, or workers. The United States was to pay \$10 million plus \$250,000 annual rent, beginning nine years after ratification, and pledged to maintain Panama's independence and the canal's neutrality. Finally, Washington agreed to purchase the assets of the canal company for \$40 million.

The revolution and treaty highlighted American hemispheric power. The United States effectively ran Panama until a 1936 agreement cancelled the most interventionist features of the 1903 treaty. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Navalism; Roosevelt Corollary.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Hay-Herrán Treaty (1903)

A treaty granting the **United States** the right to build a canal across **Panama**. Signed by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay and Colombia Foreign Minister Tomás Herrán on January 22, 1903, and ratified by the U.S. Senate on March 17, 1903, the treaty was rejected by Colombia's congress on August 12, 1903.

By the late nineteenth century, the geopolitical necessities of international trade and a two-ocean navy combined to convince American policymakers of the need for a U.S.-controlled Isthmian canal. Through intense lobbying, agents of the bankrupt French New Panama Canal Company convinced Congress to select the Panama route. Negotiations with the Colombian government commenced shortly thereafter. The treaty provided that the canal company could sell its property to the United States, which received a 90-year lease on a six-mile strip across the Isthmus. The United States would pay \$10 million and, after nine years, an annual rental of \$250,000, with an option to renew the lease.

Colombia rejected the treaty, saying that it infringed on Colombian sovereignty and set an unacceptably low price for canal rights. Refusing to renegotiate, the United States allowed or assisted a revolution resulting in Panamanian independence and then quickly negotiated the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901)

Named for U.S. Secretary of State John Hay and the British Ambassador at Washington, Lord Pauncefote, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty guaranteed free passage for the ships of all nations through the Panama Canal. The treaty superseded the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, which had effectively committed both powers not to construct an isthmian canal.

The first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was signed in 1900. It stipulated that equal tolls would be charged to ships of all nations using the new canal, and that it should not be fortified. The Senate then amended the treaty so as to exclude the second restriction; Britain rejected the amendment. A Second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was therefore negotiated and signed on November 18, 1901, which was worded so as to permit an interpretation allowing the fortification of the canal. Following, as it did, the resolution of the Venezuela crisis of 1895 and being succeeded immediately by the 1903 treaty providing for arbitration of the Canada-Alaska border, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was an important step in ending the Anglo-American tensions that had marked the nineteenth century, and in bringing the two powers closer to the alliances of the twentieth century. *See also* Panama; United States.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831)

A German idealist philosopher, Georg Hegel was born in Stuttgart, Germany, on August 27, 1770. Through his schooling years Hegel mastered English, Greek, French, and Hebrew; obtained a master's degree in philosophy in 1790; and spent the years 1788–1793 as a theology student in nearby Tübingen. There he formed lasting friendships with Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) and Friedrich von Schelling (1775–1854), both of whom became major figures of the German philosophical scene in the first half of the nineteenth century. All three witnessed the unfolding of the French Revolution and immersed themselves in the emerging criticism of the idealist philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

Hegel belongs to the period of German idealism in the decades after Kant. He was fascinated by the works of Benedictus de Spinoza, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and by the French Revolution. As the most systematic of the post-Kantian idealists, Hegel effectively elaborated a comprehensive and systematic ontology from a “logical” starting point throughout his published writings as well as in his lectures. He is best known for his teleological account of history, an account that was later taken over by Marx and inverted into a materialist theory of an historical development culminating in communism. Hegel’s famous philosophy is his theory of the dialectic. According to this logic, thesis inevitably generates antithesis, its dialectical opposite, and in the next stage the interaction between thesis and antithesis creates a new condition, defined by Hegel as the synthesis. In time, this resultant synthesis transforms into another negative element leading to a more comprehensive synthesis. The final result in this process is the Hegelian “absolute” or the perfect whole. As an absolute idealist, Hegel used this theory to read nature and events through history.

Hegel’s conception of history stressed the concept of monarchy as the highest and most permanent situation in society. He distinguished world history into four categories: the Oriental Empire based on absolute monarchy, the Greek Empire where the monarchy was replaced by the republic, the Roman Empire in which the individual is reduced to obedience, and the Germanic Empire in which individual and state are effectively harmonized. Correspondingly, in his studies on aesthetics, Hegel distinguished three periods: the Oriental, the Greek, and the Romantic. In extension he describes architecture’s difference from related arts in terms of the externality of function in the architectural work. Further, his three stages of art and architecture are organized around their relation to function: symbolic architecture appearing before any posited separation of function and means, classical architecture achieving a perfect balance of the two, and romantic architecture going beyond the dominance of function.

Hegel’s views were widely taught in Germany and elsewhere. His followers were divided into two groups, right wing and left-wing Hegelians. Right-wing followers had a conservative interpretation, and the other group offered a free, frequently controversial, understanding of Hegel. This group included Feuerbach, Bauer, Friedrich Engels, and Karl Marx. Hegel’s philosophies also influenced other philosophies that developed in Europe in the nineteenth century such as post-Hegelian idealism, the existentialism of Kierkegaard and Sartre, the socialism of Marx and Lasalle, and the instrumentalism of Dewey.

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MANU P SOBTI AND MOHAMMAD GHARIPOUR

Heligoland, Battle of (1864)

A naval engagement of the Schleswig-Holstein War. When war broke out between Denmark and Austria and Prussia in early 1864, the Danish navy blockaded German

ports in the North and Baltic Seas. The only German naval power of note was Austria. A small fleet of two Austrian frigates under the command of Captain Wilhelm von Tegetthoff arrived in the North Sea at Cuxhaven at the end of April. Accompanied by three small Prussian warships, Tegetthoff's makeshift fleet sailed to challenge the Danish fleet of two frigates and a corvette. Although the Austro-Prussian fleet had more ships, the Danes possessed superior firepower. On May 9, the two sides met off the island of Heligoland and exchanged fire for several hours, neither side losing a ship. Tegetthoff withdrew his battered fleet to Cuxhaven. Although the Danes had inflicted heavier damage, they withdrew their forces from the North Sea and did not reestablish the blockade. *See also* German Empire.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty (1890)

Also known as the Anglo-German Heligoland Treaty, the agreement was an attempt to solve territorial disputes in Africa. Heligoland, an island in the North Sea north of the German port of Bremerhaven, was seized by the British in 1807, and kept during the post-1815 peace. In 1890, under the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty, Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany in exchange for German recognition of its protectorate of Zanzibar. Some lands in East Africa also changed hands, largely to Britain's advantage. Lord Salisbury's government calculated that Heligoland was in wartime indefensible and so of little practical use. Zanzibar was valued as a base for antislavery operations in Africa, as a naval base, and as an entrepôt for British trade in the region. German recognition reduced conflict over the German claims on the continent behind it, which became Tanganyika.

On the other hand, Germany sought control over Heligoland as a guard for the western end of the Kiel Canal. The agreement represented an instance of cooperation between two increasingly adversarial powers, but the calculations behind it reinforced the perception that Britain and Germany were natural antagonists. The treaty has gone down in history as a small but initial step toward the collision of 1914. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Anglo-German Treaty.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Herero Revolt (1904–1907)

The bloodiest and most protracted colonial war in **German Southwest Africa**, the Herero Revolt resulted in the death of two-thirds of the Herero and half the Nama peoples. The origins of the Herero Revolt date to the mid-1890s when pastoralist tribes in Southwest Africa, now Namibia, came under pressure from business

interests and growing numbers of German settlers who wanted their cattle, land, and labor either for railroad construction or the creation of white-owned ranches and farms. This pressure intensified in 1897 as a result of the outbreak of a Rinderpest epidemic that decimated the region's cattle population and led the German colonial administration to seize tribal lands and relocate the inhabitants onto reservations. Although billed as a means of containing the Rinderpest epidemic, the administration's sale of seized property made it clear that in reality the creation of the reservation system was little more than an effort to provide cheap land and cattle to settlers. The resultant African hostility over the loss of their property was soon compounded by rapidly increasing debt incurred in an effort to rebuild their lost herds, perpetually low wages on white owned farms, and a growing awareness of racial inequalities within the legal system.

This long-simmering resentment finally erupted into violence in January 1904, when the Herero, under the command of Chief Samuel Maherero, rose up and attacked and killed more than 100 German settlers near the town of Okahandja. Thereafter, superior numbers and the inexperience of their opponents enabled the Herero to roam at will until the June 1904 arrival of 15,000 German reinforcements under the command of General Lothar von Trotha, an experienced officer who had seen service in German East Africa and China's Boxer Rebellion. Shortly after his arrival in the colony, von Trotha engaged and defeated the main Herero force at the Waterberg River in August 1904, driving the survivors into the desert where many died of starvation. Two months later a new uprising by the Nama broke out in the southern portion of the colony. Although their traditional rivalry prevented the Nama and the surviving Herero from joining forces, during the next several years both tribes fought a running guerilla war against the German colonial forces. Determined to suppress both rebellions, von Trotha unleashed a genocidal reprisal campaign that quickly decimated both the Herero and Nama peoples, eventually provoking a public outcry that led to both his recall to Berlin in 1906 and the **Dernburg reforms** that unfolded the next year. *See also* German Empire, Maji-Maji Rebellion.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Herzl, Theodor (1860–1904)

The founder of political **Zionism**, Theodor Herzl was born in Budapest, Hungary. Herzl grew up in the spirit of the German-Jewish Enlightenment. In 1878, the family moved to Vienna and Herzl studied law, graduating in 1884. Rather than pursuing a career in law, Herzl became a playwright and a journalist. His early work was of the feuilleton order and in no way related to Jewish matters.

In 1891, he became Paris correspondent for the *New Free Press*, an influential liberal Viennese newspaper. He still regarded the Jewish problem as a social issue

and wrote a drama, *The Ghetto* (1894), in which assimilation is rejected. In Paris, Herzl witnessed anti-Semitism, which resulted from the trial of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer, who was falsely convicted of treason in a humiliating ceremony in 1895. The trial triggered a wave of anti-Semitism in the cradle of European liberal democracy. Herzl resolved that the only solution to the Jewish problem was the exodus of Jews from their places of residence. He eventually realized that a national home in Palestine was the answer.

In 1896, Herzl published a pamphlet, *The Jewish State*. Herzl declared that the Jews could gain acceptance only if they ceased being a national anomaly. The Jews are one people, he argued, and their plight could be transformed into a positive force by the establishment of a Jewish state. He saw the Jewish problem as an international question to be dealt with in the arena of international politics. Reaction to his plan was mixed. Many Jews rejected it as too extreme; others responded with enthusiasm and asked Herzl to head what was to become the Zionist movement. He convened the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, on August 29–31, 1897. This first interterritorial gathering of Jews on a national and secular basis adopted the Basel Program and established the World Zionist Organization to help create the economic foundations for a Jewish state as a socialist utopia. Herzl was elected president of the organization. He met with world leaders trying to enlist financial and political support and collected funds from Jews around the world. He died in 1904 before his ideas could become reality.

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MARTIN MOLL

Hesse-Cassel

A German principality and, since 1803, an electoral state, Hesse-Cassel was one of the more powerful middle-ranking powers in central Germany. Between 1850 and its dissolution in 1866, Hesse-Cassel found itself at the center of Austro Prussian antagonism. Although the **Holy Roman Empire** already lay in agony and disappeared only three years later, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was at last awarded the status of elector in 1803. Soon after, he fled from invading French forces and went into exile. In 1807, Napoleon occupied Hesse-Cassel, made it the capital of the newly founded Kingdom of Westphalia, and installed his brother Jérôme as king in the capital Cassel.

After **Napoleon's** downfall, the *ancien régime*, which was reinstated at the Congress of Vienna, frustrated hopes for a more liberal future. In November 1831, Hesse-Cassel decided to participate in the *Zollverein*, thus ending widespread smuggling of goods along the Prussian border, which had damaged relations between the two states. Two years later, the Landtag granted Jewish emancipation. In the meantime the elector and his conservative ministers tried largely in vain to slacken the pace of democratic and economic reform. The apex of the struggle between the two camps, however, was reached with the German Revolution of 1848–1849. Initial success of the progressive forces compelled the new elector Frederick William I to reassert

and extend the constitution of 1831. However, when the Paulskirche parliament disintegrated in 1849, in Hesse-Cassel, as everywhere else, reactionary forces tried to turn back time.

By now the kingdom was following a policy of its own with the aim of a German union under Prussian leadership. These ambitions predictably aroused the suspicion of Austria, and armies from the two states met near Fulda in the south of Hesse-Cassel. A clash was averted, but on November 29, 1850, Prussia was forced by Russia and Austria to sign the humiliating Punctuation of Olmütz and had to renounce her plans of German political unity for the time being. Prussia also reacknowledged the Frankfurt Diet, the legislative organ of the **German Confederation**. When war between Austria and Prussia finally erupted in 1866, Hesse-Cassel had occupied a central position between the two Great Powers. Against the advice of his ministers and contrary to the opinion of the overwhelming majority in the Landtag, Frederick William faithfully stood by Austria and her south German allies. Prussian troops invaded and occupied the electorate during the Seven Weeks' War. Shortly thereafter, the Hessian army took their orders from the Prussian military command. When Prussia annexed Hesse-Cassel, there was little resistance from the people, and its history as an independent state came quietly to an end. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; German Empire.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Hesse-Darmstadt

A central German state that formed a customs union with Prussia in 1828 but sided with Austria in the Seven Weeks' War and became a constituent member of the **German Empire** in 1871.

In response to Napoleon's successful military campaigns, Hesse-Darmstadt sought to come to terms with Europe's new hegemonic power and consequently entered the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806. As a reward, the state was raised to the status of a grand duchy. When the tide turned against Napoleon in 1813, Hesse-Darmstadt joined the triumphant allied forces. After the territorial readjustments made between 1806 and 1815, membership in the Prussian customs union as the first of the south German states in 1828 further increased the prospects for economic growth. Moreover, Hesse-Darmstadt's accession as one of the larger central German states paved the way for the formation and future enlargement of the *Zollverein*.

The grand duchy nonetheless signed an anti-Prussian convention with her traditional ally Austria in 1866. After the end of the Seven Weeks' War, victorious Prussia treated most of the defeated southern states with general benevolence, and Hesse-Darmstadt was the only southern state that had to cede considerable parts of her territory north of the Main River. Although she did not form part of the

emerging North German Confederation, the grand duchy later signed a military pact with Prussia and joined the war against France on Prussia's side. In 1871, Hesse-Darmstadt became one of the constituent states of the German Empire. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; Confederation of the Rhine.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Hindenburg, Paul von Beneckendorff und von (1847–1934)

Prussian General Field-Marshal and Chief of the General Staff Paul von Hindenburg began his career with entry into a military school at the age of 12. Hindenburg participated in the German Wars of Unification and served in the German General Staff and the Prussian Ministry of War. His active military service ended in 1911 at the age of 63.

His later military career began in World War I, when he was recalled on August 22, 1914 to command the Eighth Army after its disastrous performance on the Eastern Front. Together with his Chief of Staff Erich Ludendorff, he achieved fame and admiration as the victor of the Battle of Tannenberg, and was subsequently one of Germany's most popular military leaders, rivaling the kaiser in popularity. His military successes included the occupation of large parts of Russian Poland and the Baltic states. Hindenburg and Ludendorff's intrigues against Chief of the General Staff Erich von **Falkenhayn** finally paid off in August 1916 when Hindenburg replaced Falkenhayn and formed, with Ludendorff, the Third Army High Command, which increasingly resembled a military dictatorship. The Hindenburg-Programme aimed at expansion of armament production and the economy for the war effort. The "Hindenburg Line" was the name given to the area of the Western Front where Ludendorff had effected a strategic retreat, and the far-ranging demands he planned for a victor's peace were known as the "Hindenburg-Peace." Hindenburg supported the declaration of the Kingdom of Poland, the unrestricted submarine warfare that brought the United States into the war, and the intrigues against Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg and other politicians. As the kaiser's popularity waned, Hindenburg's only increased. After Germany's defeat, Hindenburg's popularity continued, but Ludendorff was blamed for the Third Army High Command's shortcomings. Although his military career was finally over upon his second retirement at the age of 71, Hindenburg was to be recalled once more, in April 1925, this time to head the Weimar Republic as its president. It was in that role that he proclaimed Adolf Hitler German Chancellor in January 1933. *See also* Schlieffen Plan; Strategy.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Hindustan

Hindustan, meaning “Land of the Hindus,” derives from the word “Hindu,” which is the Persian form of “Sindhu,” the Indus River. Hindustan is considered one of the earliest historical names for the nation of Bharat or **India**. Although occasionally used to mean all India, historically it refers to northern India, in contrast to the Deccan, or South.

The British East India Company, formed in 1600, made great advances at the expense of the Mughal Empire, seething with corruption, oppression, and revolt and crumbling under the despotic rule of Aurangzeb between 1658 and 1707. Although still in direct competition with French and Dutch interests until 1763, the British East India Company was able to extend its control over almost the whole of the subcontinent in the century after the subjugation of Bengal at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. English and French trading companies had been competing to protect commercial interests against one another for more than a century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the content of battle changed from “commerce” to “empire.” During the Seven Years’ War, 1756–1763, Robert Clive, the leader of the Company in India, defeated a key Indian ruler of Bengal at the decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757, a victory that ushered an informal British rule in India. Still nominally the sovereign, India’s Mughal Emperor increasingly became a puppet ruler, unable to contain the spread of anarchy. Waiting for an appropriate opportunity, the company stepped into political battle field as a policeman of India.

The transition to formal imperialism, characterized by Queen Victoria being crowned “Empress of India” in the 1870s, was a gradual process. The first step dated to the late eighteenth century. The British parliament, disturbed by the idea that a great business concern, interested primarily in profit, was controlling the destinies of millions of people, passed acts in 1773 and 1784 that gave itself the power to control company policies and to appoint the highest company official in India, the governor-general. This system of dual control lasted until 1858. By 1818, the East India Company had become the master of India. Some local rulers were forced to accept its authority; others were deprived of their territories. Some portions of the subcontinent were administered by the British directly; in others native dynasties were retained under British supervision.

Until 1858, however, much of the subcontinent was still officially the dominion of the Mughal emperor. Anger among some social groups, however, seethed under the governor-generalship of James **Dalhousie**, who annexed the Punjab in 1849 after victory in the Second Sikh War; annexed seven princely states on the basis of lapse; annexed the key state of Oudh on the basis of misgovernment, and upset cultural sensibilities by banning Hindu practices such as *sati*. The 1857 Indian Mutiny, or Sepoy Rebellion, was the key turning point. After fierce fighting the revolt was crushed. One important consequence of the mutiny was the final collapse of the Mughal dynasty. The mutiny also ended the system of dual control under which the British government and the British East India Company shared authority. The government relieved the company of its political responsibilities, and in 1858 the company relinquished its role. Trained civil servants were recruited from graduates of British universities, and these men set out to rule India. Lord **Canning** was appointed governor-general of India in 1856. When the government of India was transferred from the company to the Crown, Canning became the first viceroy of India.

The core logic of British colonialism—the extraction of natural resources and creation of captive market place—resulted in the modernization of certain sectors of Indian economy. The spread of railroads from 1853 contributed to the expansion of business, and cotton, tea and indigo plantations drew new areas into the commercial economy. The removal of import duties in 1883, however, exposed India's emerging industries to unfettered British competition, provoking another quite modern development, the rise of a nationalist movement. The denial of equal status to Indians was the immediate stimulus for the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. Congress was initially loyal to the empire, but after 1905 showed an increased commitment to self-government and by 1930 supported outright independence. The “Home charges,” payments transferred from India for administrative costs, were a lasting source of nationalist grievance, although the flow declined in relative importance over the decades to independence in 1947. Although majority Hindu and minority Muslim political leaders were able to collaborate closely in their criticism of British policy into the 1920s, British support for a distinct Muslim political organization from 1906 and insistence from the 1920s on separate electorates for religious minorities, is seen by many in India as having contributed to Hindu-Muslim discord and the country's eventual partition. *See also* East India Company; Indian Mutiny; Sikh Wars.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Hobson, John Atkinson (1858–1940)

John Hobson, an economist, political commentator, and activist, formulated what has been probably the single most influential theory of **imperialism** in his volume *Imperialism: A Study* (1902).

Hobson was the son of a Derbyshire businessman and newspaper owner. He was educated in Derby and at Lincoln College, Oxford, before becoming a school-teacher and contributor to his father's newspaper in the 1880s. In his youth, he was a Liberal Unionist, which is to say an opponent of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and a supporter of the generally more conservative side of the post-1886 **Liberal Party**. After the death of his prosperous father, Hobson had a modest private income, which allowed him the freedom to travel and write on social, economic, and political topics. Motivated by a work ethic and perhaps a sense of guilt derived from his northern, middle class but privileged beginnings, Hobson's lifetime output was prodigious. Peter Cain, one of the foremost Hobson scholars, has gone so far as to say that he wrote too much. From these relatively conservative, middle class beginnings, Hobson, an inveterate questioner of established verities, moved rapidly leftwards.

By the late 1880s, Hobson had become one of a number of so-called new Liberals, questioning the earlier dogmas of classical *laissez-faire* political economy. Motivated by continuing lower class poverty and endemic unemployment, Hobson began to question the idea that the minimally taxed and relatively unregulated free

market economy of Gladstonian England would or could provide full employment or economic well-being to the mass of the population. Hobson's first book, *The Physiology of Industry*, co-written with his friend the businessman A. F. Mummery and published in 1889, was an attack on the classical economic dogma that production could not outstrip consumption. Contending that the economy as then structured created unusable surpluses of capital in the hands of the rich, Hobson and Mummery argued for taxes on savings and an increase in consumption through a higher minimum wage. They also questioned the fiercely defended dogmas of free trade and called for reductions in working hours and controls on immigration to help raise wages. Hobson did not hold to all these ideas throughout his life, but his lack of faith in the automatic economic balance mechanism of Adam Smith's famous "invisible hand," and his perception that problems of consumption rather than production could be the key to persistent economic imbalances anticipated the insights of John Maynard Keynes a generation later, as Keynes himself recognized.

Hobson continued his attack on traditional economics in two subsequent books, *Problems of Poverty* in 1891 and *The Problem of the Unemployed* in 1896. Hobson also produced a more conventional, relentlessly empirical, much reprinted, and still quite useful economic history, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism: A Study of Machine Production*, in 1894. As the titles of his books indicated, Hobson was centrally concerned with problems of poverty and unemployment. Throughout his life, he evinced a very liberal concern for personal autonomy and for the development of the full potential of each human being. Hobson shared fully the sensibility that had led John Stuart Mill, the central figure in British liberalism, to call for a maximum diversity of "experiments in living." But Hobson, unlike many liberals, observed that industrial conditions in his society minimized the life choices of many, and arguably most, people, and set about asking why this was. Hobson insisted throughout his career on the social character of human beings and always insisted, with some element of paradox, that the realization of individual potential required an intelligent understanding of the "organic" (one of his favorite words) character of society.

Hobson's attack on classical political economy ran strongly counter to the ingrained ideas of the period, and he never secured fulltime academic employment. As Hobson and Mummery noted, it was at the time considered "positively impious" to question the moral and economic benefits of saving, two categories that ran together in the minds of many Victorians. But despite his attack on these economic dogmas, Hobson always remained a very Victorian man: a deep moral sensibility, and a Gladstonian talent for moral outrage, runs through all his writings. He believed that reason could guide man to a better and more just future. He also believed implicitly that progress toward such a future was the natural direction of history, and so any reversion to earlier, less rational and more coercive social conditions attracted the full weight of his very Victorian moral outrage.

These moral concerns were evident in his first writing on imperialism, an 1897 article entitled "The Ethics of Imperialism" in the short-lived *Progressive Review*, a journal he participated in founding. In that article, he compared the ethics of imperialists to those of thieves grabbing as much land and wealth as possible. In 1898, Hobson published an article in the *Liberal Contemporary Review* linking capital export to imperial expansion. In 1899, Hobson was sent to South Africa, the scene of crises that culminated in the Second Boer War of 1899–1902, as a correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. A book of essays resulting from that journey, *The War*

in *South Africa* (1900) developed that moral theme. In 1901, Hobson published a small volume, *The Psychology of Jingoism*, which analyzed the ideology of imperialism. Hobson synthesized his earlier analyses of the economic distempers of the time, the politics of imperialism in South Africa and elsewhere, and the ideology of imperialism in his volume of 1902.

Imperialism: A Study was a systematic examination of what Hobson called “the new Imperialism,” by which he meant the rapid expansion of European empires in the previous two or three decades, with particular emphasis on the British Empire. Hobson began by dealing with what were then prominent pro-imperial arguments. He argued that, contrary to the popular late Victorian slogan that “trade follows the flag,” recent imperial acquisitions, largely in Africa, were of little commercial significance. He also argued that such territories were unlikely to support large numbers of British emigrants. The Empire, however, did serve the interests of powerful classes, among them the aristocracy, the related military and diplomatic services, arms makers, and traders with colonial connections, who in alliance with conservative domestic interests had been able to persuade the nation that imperialism served the national interest. In making these charges, Hobson echoed a long tradition of radical complaint that British foreign policy was, in the famous words of John Bright, “neither more nor less than a gigantic program of outdoor relief (Victorian term for welfare) for the aristocracy of Great Britain.”

But Hobson did not stop there. The decisive factor, “the economic taproot of Imperialism,” as he called it, was the role of investors and speculators in pushing overseas expansion. Here, he came to his particular *bête noire*, the role of the diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes and his **British South Africa Company** in pushing the expansion of the British Empire in southern Africa and in provoking the Anglo-Boer War. Building on ideas that he had first developed in his books of the previous decade, Hobson argued that the lightly taxed capitalism of his time accumulated surpluses of capital in the hands of the wealthy that could not profitably be invested in the domestic economy. These surpluses were therefore exported, thus creating pressure for imperial expansion to safeguard foreign investments in unstable regions of the globe. There were numerous forces driving the rapid imperial expansion of the time, but Hobson held that financial capital was “the governor of the imperial engine.”

Rhodes’s South Africa Company, with its vast sovereign holdings in Africa, its control of much of South Africa’s “Rhodesian” press, its prominent aristocratic and Tory government connections, and its dubious stock exchange manipulations, appeared to Hobson and many others to be the epitome of capitalist imperialism. Hobson also pointed to the alleged role of J. P. Morgan and other capitalists in provoking the advent of overseas U.S. imperialism at the time of the **Spanish-American War** of 1898. Hobson’s solution to the problem of imperialism and its wars abroad was intelligent redistribution of the nation’s wealth at home, raising working class living standards and thereby diffusing the surpluses of investment capital that were understood to drive imperialism.

Hobson’s *Imperialism* did not meet with an immediate success—it was praised in the Liberal and radical press, and ignored in the Tory and imperialist press—but it was reprinted in a slightly revised edition in 1905 and became one of the standard textbooks of anti-imperialism in subsequent years. Lenin drew heavily on Hobson’s *Imperialism* in his *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* of 1916,

thereby significantly distorting the memory of Hobson's essential liberalism, and the reformist, social democratic character of his prescriptions, and leaving many to think of Hobson as a proto-Marxist and an economic determinist.

Hobson's later works included *Towards International Government* of 1915, which advocated a variety of liberal internationalism that led to the League of Nations, and he played a role in the antiwar internationalist group the Union of Democratic Control, although he was rapidly disappointed by the reality of the League of Nations. In 1938, Hobson published a brief autobiography, *Confessions of an Economic Heretic*, which remains among the best sources on his life, and in which he reproved his earlier self for having been too economically deterministic in his *Imperialism* of 1902.

A.J.P. Taylor said of Hobson that, "it was no mean achievement for Hobson to anticipate Keynesian economics with one flick of the wrist and to lay the foundations for Soviet foreign policy with another. No wonder that he never received academic acknowledgment or held a university chair." Taylor might have added that Hobson also played a large role in framing the liberal internationalism championed by President Woodrow Wilson after 1918. Hobson's thought was central to both the crusading internationalisms of the twentieth century, the Leninist, and the Wilsonian, and anticipated in many respects that century's most significant economic innovations. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Jingoism; Lenin, Vladimir; Liberalism.

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MARK PROUDMAN

Hohenlinden, Battle of (1800)

The last victory of Republican French armies over the Austrians in Germany. Fought in the forests 16 miles east of Munich, Bavaria, on December 3 between General Moreau with 56,000 men and 61,000 Austro-Bavarian troops led by 18-year-old Archduke John. The armistice was terminated by the French on November 28, but John won the opening action at Ampfing on December 1. On December 3, the Allied army advanced in four columns from Haag through the forest toward Hohenlinden, where Moreau was concentrating his army to counterattack as the allied columns emerged from the woodland. At dawn as snow fell, the central Allied column opened fire on French positions, but the side columns were three hours behind, marching along woodland tracks. The fighting raged along the main road, but it was stalemated around the entrance to the Haag Forest until about 11 A.M., when Feldmarschalleutnant Kollowrat's center column had to give ground as it ran out of reserves. The two Allied northern columns had arrived, however, and they engaged the French left wing under General Grenier, but they were forced to withdraw as the advance of the French center threatened their line of retreat.

In the south, Feldmarschalleutnant Riesch's column was even more delayed and was halted around St. Christoph by two French divisions under General Decaen. The French center, led by Generals Ney and Grouchy, steadily advanced down the forest road as Generals Grenier and Richepanse advanced along the northern

tracks, throwing the retreating allied army into increasing disorder. With losses of 12,000 troops, John hastily withdrew at 6 P.M. and an armistice was concluded at Steyr on December 25. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Hohenzollern Dynasty

The ruling house of Brandenburg-Prussia from 1415 to 1918 and of imperial Germany from 1871 to 1918. Originating in southwestern of Germany and traceable back to the eleventh century, the family took its name from the German word *Zöller*, meaning watchtower or castle, and in particular from the Castle of Hohenzollern, the ancestral seat, today in the German state of Baden-Württemberg. Around 1200, the family split into the Swabian and the Franconian line. From the latter all the branches surviving into modern times derived.

In 1415, Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund made Frederick VI of Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg. He and his successors had the right to participate in the elections of the German kings. Brandenburg, becoming the center of Hohenzollern power, was one of the most important principalities in the **Holy Roman Empire**. In 1525, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights Albert of Brandenburg secularized the order's domains as the Duchy of Prussia. Joachim II, who reigned from 1535 to 1571, converted to Lutheranism. In 1614, the acquisition of Cleve, Mark, Ravensburg, and the Duchy of Prussia marked the Hohenzollern rise as a leading German power. With the help of France and England, the dynasty rose further after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Frederick William, the Great Elector obtained Pomerania, the secularized bishoprics of Cammin, Minden, and Halberstadt. His reign brought centralization and absolutism to the still scattered Hohenzollern lands. In 1701, Frederick III of Brandenburg secured from the Roman Emperor the title "King in Prussia." The change to "King of Prussia" was not formally recognized until 1772. The Prussian royal title was a new symbol of the unity of the family holdings. The Prussian kings retained their title of electors until the dissolution of the **Holy Roman Empire** in 1806.

Frederick William I, on the Prussian throne from 1713 to 1740, was the real architect of Hohenzollern greatness through his administrative, fiscal, and military reforms. His son Frederick II, called "The Great," seized Silesia and acquired West Prussia in 1772. By 1800, Germany included nearly 2,000 separate entitles, among which were several dozen territories ruled by the Hohenzollerns. They were subject to the Roman emperor in the western part of their domains and had been subject to the Kingdom of Poland in the east. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars resulted in the end of the old empire and the creation of a **German Confederation**. The **Congress of Vienna** settlement of 1814–1815 resulted in a substantial extension of Hohenzollern territory in the west, and the period between 1815 and 1866 was marked by the struggle of Hohenzollern-Prussia against Habsburg-Austria for domination of Germany. The question of whether there should be a unified Germany was one of the most contentious issues over this entire half century.

Frederick William IV, whose reign began in 1840, was a draftsman interested in both architecture and landscape gardening and a patron of several great German artists. Frederick William was a staunch Romanticist, and his devotion to this movement was largely responsible for his developing into a conservative at an early age. Upon his accession, he toned down the reactionary policies enacted by his father, promising to enact a constitution. In March 1848, Frederick William was overwhelmed by the revolutionary movement that shook Germany and much of the rest of Europe. He offered concessions, promising to promulgate a constitution and agreed that Prussia and other German states should merge into a single nation. When the revolution collapsed, conservative forces regrouped and gained the support of the king. The king nonetheless remained dedicated to German unification, leading the Frankfurt Parliament to offer him the crown of Germany on April 3, 1849, which he refused, saying that he would not accept a crown from the gutter.

In 1857, Frederick William suffered a stroke that left him mentally disabled. His brother William took over as regent and became King **William I** upon his brother's death on January 2, 1861. The new monarch was often in conflict with the liberal Prussian Diet. A crisis arose in 1862, when the Diet refused to authorize funding for a reorganization of the army. The king's government was unable to convince legislators to sanction the budget, and the king was unwilling to give in, so the deadlock continued. William resolved that **Otto von Bismarck** was the only politician capable of handling the crisis, and in September 1862 appointed Bismarck minister-president of Prussia. It was thereafter Bismarck who effectively directed politics, interior as well as foreign. On several occasions he gained William's assent by threatening to resign. Under Bismarck's direction, Prussia's army triumphed over its rivals Austria and France in 1866 and 1870–1871, respectively. On January 18, 1871, William was proclaimed emperor of a unified Germany. He accepted the title "German Emperor" grudgingly; he would have preferred "Emperor of Germany," which, however, was unacceptable to the federated monarchs. In his memoirs, Bismarck describes William as an old-fashioned, courteous, polite gentleman, whose common sense was occasionally undermined by female influences.

In 1829, William had married Augusta of Saxony-Weimar and had two children, Frederick and Princess Louise of Prussia. Upon his death on March 9, 1888, William I was succeeded by Frederick III. In 1858, Frederick had married Princess Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. By the time he became Emperor in 1888, Frederick had incurable cancer of the larynx, which had been misdiagnosed. He ruled for only 99 days before his death on June 15, 1888 and was succeeded by his eldest son **William II**.

A traumatic breech birth left William with a withered left arm, which he tried with some success to conceal. Additionally, he may have experienced some brain trauma. Historians are divided on whether such a mental incapacity may have contributed to his frequently aggressive, tactless, and bullying approach to problems and people, which was evident in both his personal and political life. On several occasions, he publicly offended foreign statesmen and countries. His personality certainly damaged German policy, most notably in his dismissal of Bismarck in 1890. The emperor was accused of megalomania as early as 1894 by German pacifist Ludwig Quidde, and his reign was noted for his push to increase German military power. He also sought to expand German colonial holdings, and under the **Tirpitz Plan** the German navy was built up to challenge that of Great Britain. Despite these policies it is misleading to say that he was eager to unleash World War I, although

he did little to prevent it. During the war, he was commander-in-chief but soon lost all control of German policy.

After Germany's defeat, William could not make up his mind to abdicate. He was still confident that even if he were forced to renounce the German throne, he would still retain the Prussian kingship. Thus his abdication both as emperor and king of Prussia was announced for him by Chancellor Prince Max von Baden on November 9, 1918. The next day William fled into exile in the Netherlands where he died on June 4, 1941.

The Hohenzollern Swabian line remained Catholic at the Reformation. Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became prince of Romania in 1866 and king as Carol I in 1881. Ferdinand succeeded his uncle in Romania in 1914, where his descendants ruled until 1947. There are currently no reigning Hohenzollerns left. *See also* German Empire; *Weltpolitik*.

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MARTIN MOLL

Holland

See Netherlands, Kingdom of the

Holy Alliance

A compact signed by Austria, Prussia, and Russia in the wake of the **Napoleonic Wars**. Tsar **Alexander I** of Russia, acting under the influence of the religious mystic, Baroness von Krüdener, drew up a document declaring that the actions of European sovereigns ought to be guided by the principles of justice, peace, and Christian charity. Specifically, that it was “their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity and Peace, which . . . must have an immediate influence on the councils of Princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying the imperfections.” To this lofty goal, on September 26, 1815 the tsar put his name, together with King Frederick William III of Prussia and Emperor Francis I of Austria. Practically every other Christian ruler—significant and insignificant—later followed suit, although there were three notable exceptions to the list of adherents: the British prince regent refused on constitutional grounds, although he recognized the solemnity and importance of its sentiments; the sultan of Turkey, not being Christian, was not invited to sign; and Pope Pius VII refused to sign it on grounds that it would associate him with Protestants. The Holy Alliance was innocuous at best and meaningless at worst—indeed, both Viscount **Castlereagh** and Prince Klemens **Metternich** dismissed it as verbal nonsense—and it became synonymous with reactionary autocracy for the subsequent generation, although it exercised little if any effect on the policies of those who had promised to govern according to its principles.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Home Rule

In British history, home rule signified the idea that the separate countries of the United Kingdom should have separate parliaments. Home rule in the Victorian era normally referred to Irish Home Rule, which is to say to the restoration of a separate but subordinate parliament at Dublin. In 1873, the Protestant lawyer, Isaac Butt, formed the Home Rule League, the first Irish party fully independent of the British parties. In the 1890s, there were relatively minor movements for Scottish and Welsh Home Rule, but they had little immediate consequence. The Liberal governments of William Gladstone attempted to pass Home Rule Bills for Ireland in 1886 and 1893 but failed in both instances. The issue was rejoined in 1912, after the Parliament Act of 1911 had trimmed the power of the House of Lords. In 1914, the third Home Rule Bill was in its third reading, and Ireland on the cusp of civil war over it, when the July Crisis eclipsed all other events. Irish Home Rule waited until 1921. *See also* Act of Union.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Hong Kong

A village at the mouth of the Pearl River on the southern coast of China until 1841, when it was seized by Britain during the First Opium War as a resettlement site for British merchants expelled from Guangzhou and Macao. In 1842, the British forced the Chinese to sign the Treaty of Nanking, which stipulated that Hong Kong would remain a British possession in perpetuity. The next year, Hong Kong was proclaimed a British crown colony. In 1860, the colony was expanded by the Convention of Peking and in 1898 reconfigured again to take in an area named the New Territories enclosing more than 360 square miles. It was then leased to Britain for 99 years.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Hudson's Bay Company

A British trading company established by Royal Charter in 1670 to explore and develop northern Canada. Henry Hudson first entered the bay that was later named after him in 1610 in search of the Northwest Passage. This led to a realization of the wealth to be attained through the fur trade, which the French, based in Montreal, then held the monopoly. Two French fur traders, Médard Chouart, sieur de Groseilliers (1618–1696) and his brother-in-law Pierre Esprit Radisson (1632–1710),

who felt they had been cheated in Montreal, turned to the British and argued that Hudson Bay would be a good place to establish a trading center. This argument appealed to traders and "The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay" (the Company) was given its charter to trade on May 2 by King Charles II. It established a monopoly of the Indian trade, especially the fur trade, in the area fed by all the rivers and streams that drained into Hudson's Bay, 1.5 million square miles encompassing more than one-third of Canada and parts of the United States. This territory was named Rupert's Land after Charles's cousin, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who became the first governor of the company. The company controlled the fur trade throughout much of North America from its headquarters at York Factory on Hudson's Bay.

After the Treaty of Paris of 1763, when the British acquired New France, Scottish, English and American traders arrived in Montreal to take advantage of the new opportunities. In 1784, they established the North West Company and, operating through the Great Lakes and bypassing Hudson's Bay, the Nor'Westers became a serious rival to the company, which had established 97 trading posts in the west by 1870. The company and the Nor'Westers both built forts along the Saskatchewan River and competed for furs. Nor'Westers were the first to reach the Pacific. In 1816, Lord Selkirk of the company established the Red River colony at Winnipeg, Manitoba to compete with the North West Company. The colony was attacked by Métis on June 19, 1816, in the "Seven Oaks Massacre" when 21 people were killed. The result was that the two companies were merged by the British government in 1821 but retained the company's name. This extended the company's territory to the Pacific.

George Simpson (1786–1860), who was knighted in 1841, had become the governor of the company in 1820, and he was to direct and dominate the affairs of the merged company until his death. A ruthless and efficient governor who acquired the nickname "The Little Emperor," he reduced the number of employees from 2,000 to 800 but awarded traders a share of the profits to ensure their loyalty and productivity. He substituted Indian canoes with sturdier York boats based on an Orkney design 30 feet long. The greatest threat to the company came from the American Mountain men coming from the Oregon Country along the Platte and Snake Rivers from Saint Paul. Simpson decided on a scorched earth policy by trapping out the entire area from northern California to Nevada. In 1846, the United States and Great Britain set the boundary between the United States and Rupert's Land at the 49th parallel, and Simpson relocated the company's West Coast headquarters to Vancouver Island where it became the *de facto* government in the west.

In 1867, the Dominion of Canada was formed and three years later the company was forced to give up Rupert's Land to the Dominion in exchange for land, cash, and property around its trading posts. By the 1870s, the company had lost its monopoly of trade, the beaver hat went out of fashion, and furs from other areas of the world had taken over the market. The company turned increasingly to retail merchandising, especially through its department stores. York Factory finally closed its doors in 1957.

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ROGER D. LONG

Huerta, José Victoriano (1854–1916)

President of Mexico (1913–1914), Victoriano Huerta rose to the rank of general and fought against both the Mayan people of the Yucatán and the rebel Emiliano Zapata. After the revolution of 1910, Huerta was officially loyal to the new government of Francisco Madero yet plotted simultaneously, with the knowledge and cooperation of the **United States**, to overthrow Madero. The ensuing power struggle saw Huerta emerge triumphant as the provisional president of Mexico in February 1913. He established a dictatorship, which provoked from U.S. President Woodrow **Wilson** a demand for democratic elections. When Huerta refused, Wilson sent American forces to seize the Mexican port of Veracruz. This united Huerta's enemies against him, and, after a series of military defeats, he resigned the presidency and went into exile. *See also* Monroe Doctrine.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Hugo, Victor (1802–1885)

Among the greatest French writers of the nineteenth century and a major contributor to French national mythology, Hugo was born on February 26, the son of Léopold Hugo, a general in **Napoleon's** army and Sophie Trébuchet. Hugo's mother ensured that he received an excellent education in the classics and languages. To a significant extent, Hugo determined the directions of French literature during the nineteenth century and contributed to the intellectual milieu of his time, with his wide-ranging ideas on politics, religion, poverty, capital punishment, and social injustice. He is largely regarded as the leader of the romantic movement, whose essence is mostly captured in his poetry. Apart from poetry, Hugo also wrote novels, as well as plays, including the famous masterpiece, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Hugo lived in exile in the Channel Islands for his anti-Bonapartist political beliefs. While there he wrote *Les Misérables*, later made into a musical play. Hugo died in May 1885. His funeral procession was extremely long, leading to the Panthéon as the French mourned the death of the respected French literary artist.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Human Zoo

A public exhibit of human beings, as ethnological displays, that became increasingly popular after the 1870s. Facilitated by the possession of overseas colonies, human zoos were common, either in their own right or as an integral feature of international exhibitions, in major cities of most of the Great Powers. The German zoo entrepreneur Karl Hagenbeck organized a traveling exhibit of wild animals and

Nubians from the Sudan, which was a hit in Berlin, London, and Paris. The 1889 Parisian World's Fair featured 400 colonial peoples. The format varied from the simple display of human beings in cages to elaborate dioramas of entire villages with primitive peoples in their "natural" setting. *See also* Racism; Social Darwinism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Hungary

Hungary is a country of Eastern Europe that, following the Battle of Mohács in 1526, became part of the **Ottoman Empire** until its conquest by Austria in 1687, when the crown of Hungary fell to the Habsburgs. The Hungarian nobility strived to defend its political privileges, while modern nationalism resulted in a movement of cultural self-assertion and political reform that culminated in the revolution of 1848–1849 and Hungary's unsuccessful attempt to break away from Habsburg rule. The Hungarian opposition finally negotiated the **Ausgleich** of 1867 with the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph, which stipulated the restoration Hungary's political autonomy within the framework of Austria-Hungary until 1918, when the Habsburg Empire collapsed. The Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia was a semi-autonomous part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Among Hungary's leading politician in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Count Gyula **Andrássy**, Ferenc **Deák**, Kálmán **Tisza**, and István **Tisza**. *See also* Austria-Hungary; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Huskisson, William (1770–1830)

William Huskisson was a British Tory politician, president of the Board of Trade, and probably the first man in history to die in a motor vehicle accident. Raised in enlightenment circles in Britain and France, he became in 1790 secretary to the British ambassador at Paris and witnessed many of the events of the revolution. Huskisson entered Parliament as a Pittite in 1796. Appointed to posts at the War Office and the Treasury, Huskisson developed a reputation as a financial expert. After the death of Pitt, he became a follower of Canning, who brought him into Lord Liverpool's government in 1814. Huskisson had much to do with framing the **Corn Law** of 1815, and was also an energetic supporter of a return to a bullion-based currency after the Napoleonic wars. Influenced by the teachings of Smith and Ricardo, Huskisson saw that Britain's future was as a manufacturing country and worked for the rationalization and reduction of tariff barriers and the reform of the navigation laws during his tenure of the Board of Trade from 1823 to 1827. He nevertheless supported preferences for imperial goods.

Huskisson, a so-called liberal Tory, did not get along with the Duke of Wellington, and did not last long in the latter's 1828 government. Huskisson sat in the Commons for Liverpool, and in 1830 traveled there for the opening of the first public railway, the Liverpool and Manchester. Getting off his train, he was struck by an oncoming engine and died as a result of his injuries. Huskisson became a model for future financial reformers such as Peel and Gladstone, whose roots were also in liberal Toryism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN


Hyderabad

Among the largest of the Princely States of **India**, Hyderabad was a virtually independent state under the Nizam dynasty of Asaf Jah between 1724 and 1748. Thereafter, Britain and France were rivals for influence with his successor, with the British finally prevailing in the person of Nizam Ali. In 1798, it became the first Indian princely state formally to ask for British protection and proved to be useful British ally during the **Maratha Wars**.

Hyderabad was also the proximate site of a battle fought in March 1843 between an Anglo-Indian force of 5,000 led by General Charles Napier against 26,000 Baluchis led by Amir Shir Muhammad on the east bank of Indus River in present-day Pakistan. The battle was a spectacular victory for Napier, producing 270 casualties among Napier's men against 6,000 of the Baluchis.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE



Ibn Saud (1880–1953)

Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud, commonly known as Ibn Saud, united most of the Arabian Peninsula through decades of astute political maneuvers and military campaigns, resulting in the foundation of the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Al-Saud family had long been leaders in the north-central Najd region of Arabia. In the late nineteenth century, the Al-Sauds were exiled to Kuwait as a result of a power struggle with the rival Al-Rashid clan. In 1902, however, a young Ibn Saud led 40 loyalists of the puritanical Wahhabi sect of Islam in wresting control of Riyadh away from the Al-Rashids, a first step in the eventual reestablishment of Al-Saud control of the Najd.

Throughout the hostilities the Al-Rashids had nominal Ottoman support, but the Turks did not trust their ambitions and never sufficiently supported them militarily against Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud staved off Ottoman intervention through a constant stream of correspondence to Istanbul feigning loyalty to the sultan. He also conducted a guerrilla campaign against Turkish interests to discourage aid to Al-Rashid and sought assistance from the British in the event the Turks did intercede more forcefully.

By 1916, Ibn Saud had gained British recognition of his control of the Najd and Al-Hasa as well as a promise of protection if attacked. Within a decade, he had taken the southern portions of modern Saudi Arabia and expanded throughout the remaining Al-Rashid controlled northern regions. In 1925, he made a move on the religiously important Hijaz province, decisively beating Hashemite King Hussein ibn Ali and taking control of Mecca and Medina. In doing so, he had completed his consolidation of nearly all of Arabia and became the king of the Najd and king of the Hijaz.

In 1932, the formation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was officially declared and recognized internationally. Soon after, Ibn Saud began to tap Arabia's petroleum wealth, inviting American oil companies to the country to develop the industry. Much of the country's future oil wealth went to the Al-Saud family; however, Ibn Saud lived a relatively austere life and used some funds to improve the infrastructure and public institutions of his country. *See also* British Empire; Ottoman Empire; Wahhabis.

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BRENT D. SINGLETON

Ibrahim Pasha (1789–1848)

The eldest son of **Mehmet Ali Pasha** of **Egypt** and an Egyptian general, Ibrahim Pasha conducted largely successful campaigns against the **Wahhabis** in Arabia between 1816 and 1819. He fought against the Greeks, but the European coalition defeated him in **Navarino**, and he was forced to withdraw from the country. Ibrahim conquered Palestine and Syria in 1832–1833. His attempts to apply to Syria and Palestine the reforms that his father had introduced in Egypt caused a series of disorders. In 1839, Ibrahim fought again against the Ottomans, but European intervention on behalf of the **Ottoman Empire** compelled Ibrahim to evacuate back to Egypt. In 1848, he was regent of Egypt during his father's insanity.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Iceland

Iceland is a large volcanic island in the North Atlantic Ocean that was thought by many scholars to have been reached first by monks from **Ireland** in the eighth century. It was certainly reached and taken by Vikings in the ninth century under whom Iceland established the *Althing*, the oldest continuous parliament in the world. Along with Greenland and the Faeroe Islands, Iceland became a Danish possession after **Denmark's** conquest of Norway in 1380. As a consequence of volcanic eruptions, disease, and neglect, Iceland atrophied as a colony until the eighteenth century, when cottage industries and fishing began to flourish. As of 1854, Iceland became a **free trade** area. Nineteenth-century change in Denmark also brought reform to Iceland. The *Althing* was reestablished in 1843, and a constitution provided for limited Home Rule in 1874. Iceland became autonomous in 1918 but did not sever its ties to the Danish crown until 1944.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Immigration Restrictions

Laws passed during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by most self-governing colonies in the British Empire to restrict the immigration

of Asians, mainly from **China**, **India**, and **Japan**. The European settlers in these colonies, having taken the land from the indigenous inhabitants, sought to avoid the arrival of non-Europeans, whom they perceived as racial inferiors and economic competitors.

The first immigration restriction laws were passed during the Australian gold rush. A small but steady flow of Chinese, mostly from Guangdong and Fujian provinces, had been arriving in eastern **Australia** during the 1840s, but this number increased with the discovery in 1854 of rich gold fields in the colony of Victoria. In 1855, the Victorian parliament limited the number of Chinese migrants a ship could carry to one person per 10 tons of ship's weight and levied a poll or head tax of £10 on each arrival. The neighboring colonies of South Australia and New South Wales passed similar laws to prevent Chinese landing in their territory and then traveling overland to Victoria. When the gold rush declined in the 1860s, all three colonies repealed their legislation.

Chinese immigration to the west coast of North America led the U.S. Congress to pass the *Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1881. **British Columbia** likewise enacted a series of racist laws from 1878. Some of these laws were struck down by the government of **Canada**, but then in 1885 Ottawa passed an act to restrict Chinese immigration and introduced a head tax. By 1903, this tax had been increased to \$300 per person, and in 1906 Newfoundland established a similar levy. The American legislation led the Australian colonies to fear that the American ban on Chinese arrivals would lead to an influx to Australia. During the 1880s, the Australian colonies reintroduced poll taxes and limits on the number allowed to be landed per ship's tonnage. Western Australia enacted immigration restrictions for the first time, but still allowed Chinese to land in the underpopulated north of the colony.

European settlers in the southern African colony of Natal targeted their immigration restriction laws against Indians. In 1896, the government stripped Indians of voting rights on the grounds that the country they came from did not have a parliament (there is no record that this argument was used to similarly prevent Russian migrants from voting). In 1897, Natal introduced a law requiring migrants to be able to pass a dictation test in a European language. The dictation test soon became the accepted method to restrict non-European migration throughout the British Empire. In 1902, neighboring **Cape Colony** copied the Natal legislation. **British Columbia** had done the same in 1900, although again the Canadian government disallowed the law. **New Zealand** adopted the dictation test in 1907.

The creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 enabled the passing of national laws to enforce the "White Australia" policy. The Immigration Restriction Act was passed in 1901, although it was not, as has sometimes been suggested, the first law created by the federal parliament. Once introduced, the dictation test rarely had to be enforced, as it deterred most Asian migrants from even attempting to sail to a country where it was in place.

The Republic of **Transvaal** and **Orange Free State** had introduced immigration restrictions toward Indians while they were independent states, and these remained in place after British annexation. After the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, more anti-Indian laws were passed. Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi began his career of civil disobedience by leading the protests against this legislation, and eventually forced the government of **South Africa** to compromise.

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JOHN CONNOR

Imperial Conferences

Initially known as colonial conferences, imperial conferences were meetings of representatives of the British government and the governments of the self-governing colonies of the **British Empire**. The first was held in London in 1887 during Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrations. The conference took place as advocates of the Imperial Federation called for formal political structures linking the United Kingdom and the self-governing colonies, but these sentiments would never gain widespread support. Defense, trade, and communications were discussed and some decisions were made. The British government agreed to fortify Simon's Town naval base in **Cape Colony**, and the Australian colonies and **New Zealand** agreed to contribute 5 percent of the cost of maintaining a squadron of Royal Navy warships on the **Australia Station**. The next conference in 1894 was unique in that it was held in Ottawa, **Canada**, and was the only meeting that did not deal with defense issues. A resolution was passed supporting Imperial tariff preference, although this would not become a reality until a later economic conference was held in Ottawa at the height of the Great Depression in 1932.

Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee provided the backdrop for the 1897 Colonial Conference in London. Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain proposed the creation of an Imperial Council, but this was firmly rejected. The issue of anti-Asian **immigration restriction** laws was discussed, as was the laying of a **telegraph** cable across the Pacific from Vancouver to Sydney, which was completed in 1902.

The 1902 Colonial Conference was held to coincide with King **Edward VII**'s coronation. During the recently concluded South African War, colonial forces had been hastily created to serve alongside the British army. New Zealand Prime Minister Richard Seddon proposed that this *ad hoc* response should be regularized with the creation of an "Imperial and Colonial Reserve Force," but this met with Canadian and Australian opposition. The conference agreed to meetings on a regular basis.

During the 1907 conference, hostility to the term *colonial* led to the self-governing colonies being renamed *dominions*, and the creation within the Colonial Office of a Dominions Department. Henceforth the meetings would be known as the Imperial Conference. Defense issues dominated the conference with a British proposal for an Imperial General Staff, which was established in 1909, and Canadian and Australian calls for the creation of dominion navies. The *Dreadnought* Crisis led to a conference in 1909 to discuss naval issues. This was the first meeting to hold closed sessions and laid the basis for the establishment of dominion navies, although the Royal Australian Navy was the only one to be created before World War I.

The 1911 Imperial Conference, which was held alongside King **George V**'s coronation, was the first to circulate an agenda before the meeting. New Zealand Prime

Minister Sir Joseph Ward proposed the creation of an Imperial Parliament, but attracted no support from the other dominions. The conference discussed whether the British and dominion governments should communicate through British-appointed governors or through dominion-appointed high commissioners. The most significant part of the conference were the closed sessions on defense and foreign affairs. In the Committee of Imperial Defense, Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey briefed the dominions on the decline in Anglo-German relations. Imperial military cooperation in the event of war was discussed in meetings at the Admiralty and the War Office. The dominion representatives refused to make definite commitments, saying this was a decision to be made by the government of the day; but Australia, Canada, and New Zealand all began making plans for expeditionary forces. These plans became the basis for the Australia and New Zealand expeditionary forces on the outbreak of World War I, although Sam Hughes, the quixotic Canadian defense minister, threw out the Canadian scheme for an improvised scheme of his own creation.

Imperial conferences continued to meet. During World War I, an Imperial War Conference convened during 1917 and 1918. After the war, Imperial conferences were held in 1921, 1923, 1926, 1930, and 1937, coinciding with the coronation of King George VI. The changed relationship between the British government and the dominions was evident when the next meeting in 1944 was renamed the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Meeting. Since 1961, the conferences have been known as Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGM).

These conferences never became the vehicle for the **Imperial Federation** that some had hoped for, but by creating an atmosphere of loose cooperation among states developing their own independence, they established the means by which the British Empire would evolve through decolonization to become the Commonwealth of Nations. *See also* Commonwealth; Dominion; Navalism; South Africa.

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JOHN CONNOR

Imperial Federation

Imperial Federation, a term used to define a multitude of political schemes that promoted closer union between the **British Empire's** various constituencies, was an idea that gained support in Great Britain in the late nineteenth century. Its most vocal proponent was The Imperial Federation League, a pressure group that drew support mainly from conservatives and **liberal imperialists**. Lionel Curtis, a co-founder of the imperial pressure group, the Round Table, proposed an actual imperial federation, with a central imperial parliament in London with representatives from the white settlement colonies. Other schemes were less formal, envisioning an imperial federation working through informal imperial conferences—the first such conference was held in 1887—common economic policies, a customs union similar to the German *Zollverein*, or simply the strengthening of social and cultural ties among what some historians have retroactively termed *the British world*. The motivations for imperial federation were varied. Some advocates of imperial federation wanted

to improve imperial defense, some to relieve legislative congestion at Westminster, others still to prevent the secession of colonies after they received responsible government. All, however, shared a desire to strengthen the British Empire as a single geopolitical unit.

Imperial federation had been discussed periodically from the 1820s, and attracted the attention of writers such as E. A. Freeman and J. A. Froude from the 1850s to the early 1870s. The idea began to attract broader attention in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, reflecting imperial concerns about the rise of new imperial rivals such as the United States and Germany. Both challenged, and sometimes surpassed, Great Britain's economic supremacy in various sectors, calling into question the British Empire's position of international hegemony. Supporters of imperial federation argued that Britain could best resist its rivals by more fully mobilizing the resources of empire through closer political union. They also worried about Britain's increasing isolation from continental affairs and the potential for imperial rivalries to cause war. The latter fear only increased as the "Scramble for Africa" began in earnest in the 1880s. The Imperial Federation League was formed in 1884, with branch associations in the dominions.

Despite the lobbying efforts of supporters, however, imperial federation never achieved significant political support. While the settlement colonies continued to be loyal to the Empire, they were also developing a separate sense of what the writer Richard Jebb termed "colonial nationalism," a separate sense of independent identity that precluded membership in a formal political union. In Britain itself, critics were leery of the potentially onerous financial and military responsibilities imperial federation might entail. The Imperial Federation League itself broke up in 1894 over the question of an imperial tariff. The idea of imperial federation continued to have its advocates, notably those members of Alfred, Lord Milner's "kindergarten," his group of his young assistants in South Africa, which included Curtis. Imperial federation, however, never received popular support and was never adopted by any major political party. Ultimately, imperial federation was not feasible because the empire was too multifaceted, too diverse, and too widespread to be encompassed in any single, coherent political structure. Imperial federation received no serious discussion in the twentieth century; still, weaker notions of imperial unity did exist, as reflected in large-scale migration within the empire and a shared loyalty to the crown. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Commonwealth; Dominion.

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DANIEL GORMAN

Imperialism

A word of polemical power, analytical imprecision, and historically variant meaning, the term *imperialism* is used in this volume to describe the period of rapid European expansion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Imperialism is thus not merely a policy but also a tendency, a period, and even a civilization. The shifting meanings and connotations of the term have themselves been influenced

by, and been influential on, the history of imperialism. The word *imperialism* is a noun derived from the word *imperial*, itself the adjectival cognate of *empire*. Imperialism might, and often does, denote the policy or the belief in the desirability of the policy of conquering territories and constructing empires. Indeed, the terms *empire* and *imperial* are both derived from the Latin *imperator*, and that term was for the Romans purely military in significance and was adopted by the Emperor Augustus precisely because its meaning was limited. To insist, however, on the directly etymological use of imperialism to denote military conquest alone would neglect the fact that over a century of invective has indelibly tainted the term with various competing meanings. A purely nominalist understanding of language might assert the possibility of defining any sign in any way; with political language this is obviously not possible, because however one may insist on some precise and limited meaning, the affective and polemical residues of other, earlier meanings and associations linger. *Imperialism* has become a particularly encrusted term.

Before the late 1870s, the term referred in English specifically to the politics of Napoleonic France, or alternatively to despotic government in general. Imperialism first entered the English language in something like its present sense in the late 1870s, when it was used to describe the ostentatious and allegedly aggressive imperial policies of the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. It became a synonym for Beaconsfieldism—a reference to Disraeli's title from 1876, the Earl of Beaconsfield—which the Earl of Derby described as a policy of “occupy, fortify, grab and brag.” The term thus named a policy of aggressive expansion, but also had clear connotations of the celebration of empire for partisan purposes. *Jingoism*, from a bellicose music hall song that boasted “we don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do/we got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too”—was a contemporary term for the bombastic and vainglorious spirit which critics associated with imperialism. The Liberal leader and four-time Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone in particular attacked the “theatrical displays and tricks” of Beaconsfield's foreign and imperial policies as much as their aggressive character. The term *imperialism* thus denoted a policy orientation, but also had connotations of vainglory and specious or unsound partisanship. The historian of empire Sir John Seeley used the term in this sense when he referred in 1883 to Cromwell's West Indian expedition as an attempt to establish an empire “prematurely and on the unsound basis of imperialism.”

The term was shortly taken over by advocates of imperialism, be they those who wanted to expand the empire or merely to consolidate and strengthen it. In the 1890s, theorists of imperialism began to find social Darwinist and philanthropic reasons for the programmatic expansion of European, British or Anglo-Saxon empires. The acquisition by the United States of overseas colonies as a consequence of the Spanish American War of 1898 provoked a particular flood of advocacy, including most famously Rudyard Kipling's poetic injunction to “take up the white man's burden . . . to seek another's profit, to work another's gain.” The idea that imperialism was good for humanity rather than merely for a particular nation was a relative innovation, as was the air of moral sanctimony that surrounded imperialism in many minds. But that air of morality ensured that imperialism as a policy commanded wide support in this period, as was indicated by the fact that mainstream Liberal leaders such as H. H. Asquith and the Earl of Rosebery—both prime ministers at different points and leaders of the so-called **Liberal Imperialists**—felt it necessary to distance themselves from their anti-imperialist “little Englander” cohorts.

The positive moral valence of imperialism was not uncontested. Many of those “little Englanders” argued that it was little more than theft on a grand scale, and the revival in the 1880s of the institution of the Chartered Company—a private company given sovereign or legal powers over a territory—increased suspicion of the philanthropic claims made for imperialism. The most (in)famous such company, Cecil Rhodes’ British South Africa Company, known for its stock-exchange manipulations and its African wars, fed the charges of those like J. A. Hobson who denounced, “the moneylending classes dressed as Imperialists and patriots.”

Hobson made that charge in the context of the South African War of 1899–1902, which saw the deployment of a quarter of a million British troops against two small agricultural republics, and which, after some initial victories, degenerated into an ugly and expensive counterinsurgent campaign. This took the shine off the policy of imperialism, and by the 1905 edition of his *Imperialism: A Study*, Hobson—the canonical radical theorist of economic imperialism—was speaking of imperialism in the past tense. The **British Empire** of course still existed, covering its famous quarter of the globe, but the policy and the period of programmatic and bombastically celebrated expansion initially designated by the term was thought, not inaccurately, to be over. Simultaneously, by insisting on the economic dynamics of capital export that he argued motivated imperialism, Hobson and his followers gave the term a specifically economic significance: imperialism came to connote not merely conquest but conquest in the interests of finance capital, or in more vulgar accounts, in those of the propertied classes.

V. I. Lenin redefined imperialism as the “highest stage of capitalism.” Borrowing many of his figures and much of his argument from the liberal Hobson, Lenin argued that the final stage of capitalism was so inherently expansionist that it could be renamed “imperialism.” The argument had been widely anticipated by other Marxists such as the American H. G. Wilshire, the Austrian Rudolph Hilferding and—Lenin’s particular *bête noir*—the German Karl Kautsky. But Lenin had done something important to the meaning of the term: he applied it not to a policy but to a stage of history, and of course for a Marxist, a stage of history is a part of an inevitable process largely immune to individual agency. Imperialism definitely retained, in Leninist hands, its pejorative connotations, but it simultaneously acquired a systemic or structural denotation and came to be used as the name for a period of history and a stage of the historical process rather than for a given policy. Lenin’s polemical redefinition of the term has been both influential and confusing: those who accept Leninist theory and those who merely assimilate its ways of speaking can now show with the air of deductive rigor that Marxists once liked that any capitalist power, no matter what its foreign policy, is by definition imperialist. Simultaneously Leninist powers cannot, again as a matter of dogmatic necessity, be imperialist, even if they are expansionist by policy. They are instead described by terms such as *hegemonist*, a dogmatic nicety that was scrupulously observed even when Communist China and Communist Russia were at nuclear daggers drawn.

If, by insisting that imperialism and the highest or last stage of capitalism were synonymous, Lenin made specific speech difficult, he also made an ideological move of great eristic power: he associated the increasingly discredited practice of colonial conquest with the Marxists’ class enemies and the associated Western democratic powers, and did so in a way that made it difficult to speak of the two separately. Polemical power can flow from analytical conflation. After Lenin, and influenced

by the immense quantity of invective produced by Marxist parties and their camp followers, imperialism and its cognates became almost entirely pejorative terms and were often used as insults without much positive content.

Scholars of imperialism still use the term, however, and it is of course possible to speak intelligibly of Roman, Ottoman, or eighteenth-century imperialism, using the term in its etymological or late Victorian sense. But simultaneously, other scholars have followed Lenin in applying the term to either a global economic structure or a historical period. World systems theorists see it as a structure evolving over centuries. Analysts of third world poverty can speak of “imperialism without colonies.” Leftist scholars define imperialism as any world system producing a rich north and a poor global south. The term *imperialism* has become completely divorced from its military and even political implications; its essence is considered to be purely economic and structural, and no demonstration of policy intent is needed to show the existence of imperialism.

The term is not always used in a purely economic sense. It has become common to hear of “cultural imperialism,” which can describe phenomena from the use of the English language to the sale of a hamburger. Any kind of international power or influence, however indirect or even apparently consensual, can be defined as imperialist. It is also possible to speak of “ecological imperialism,” meaning the spread of one species at the expense of others. In such usages, the term retains its systemic or structural connotations, while abandoning much of the specific economic arguments used by more orthodox Marxists.

As imperialism has acquired a structural meaning, it has simultaneously expanded temporally. Lenin, like Hobson and like the advocates of imperialism, used the term to describe a relatively brief period of post-free-trading capitalism, running from approximately 1870 forward. Recent scholars, including the editor of this volume, use the term to describe the entire period of European global preeminence, dated back to about 1800. Edward Said, possibly the most influential recent academic analyst of imperialism, defines it as the “unprecedented power” on a global scale of European civilization, which he dates to about 1800, implying that the imperialist period is not yet over. Other recent scholars have backdated imperialism to Christopher Columbus, and in some accounts to the crusades. As imperialism has shed its specific policy denotation and acquired systemic and civilizational connotations, it has also expanded in time.

Imperialism therefore began as a largely pejorative term, but acquired and then rapidly lost positive moral and philanthropic connotations. It was initially primarily military and political in significance, but acquired economic overtones as its philanthropic and patriotic claims were questioned. It was initially used to describe a policy, but in the hands of Lenin and many since has come to denote an economic structure largely independent of the volition of any one actor. Where the term once had an air of specious braggadocio, it now more often names a deep structure, and for many scholars it is a structure inclined to hide rather than to advertise the reality of its power. Imperialism has in recent scholarship been expanded from the brief period of decades analyzed by Hobson and Lenin, and now for many denotes the entire period of Western global exploration and expansion.

As the Euro-American civilization created by imperialism—in the long-term structural sense—has lost confidence in itself, writers within that civilization’s chief ideological establishments have decided that imperialism, by which they mean their

own culture's power, is almost wholly a bad thing; in the process they have in a period of a little more than a century changed its meaning along moral, economic, structural, intentional, and temporal axes. The historian of British imperialism, W. K. Hancock, is said to have complained that "imperialism is not a word for scholars," but it is not going to go away. It should be used with care. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; Bonaparte, Napoleon; Colony; Great Power; *Weltpolitik*.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Imperial Preference

Ideas for a British imperial tariff that became popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ideas for Imperial Preference took many specific forms, but in general imports from outside the Empire would be taxed at a higher rate than those from within the imperial tariff wall. Most famously advocated by the then-colonial secretary and enthusiastic imperialist Joseph Chamberlain in a speech of May 1903, the idea had support primarily in Tory circles. For many supporters, an Imperial *Zollverein* on the German model would serve as a precursor to closer imperial integration, possibly including imperial political and representative institutions. The doctrine of free trade, however, had an almost iconic status in British politics, and proposals to set up a British tariff wall excited great opposition, particularly but not solely among Liberals and Laborites. It caused deep fissures even within the Tory party, and contributed to the marginalization of Chamberlain in his later years. The idea of Imperial Preference had some impact on politics in the **Dominions**, although colonial statesmen were jealous of local control of trade policy for both revenue and protective purposes. Imperial Preference became something of a standby at interwar **Commonwealth** conferences, but the practical difficulties in the way of reconciling local autonomy with a centrally administered tariff policy were insuperable.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Impressionism

Impressionism was an artistic movement that developed among French painters between 1870 and 1885. Leading practitioners include Claude Monet, Edgar Degas, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir. The new movement consciously rejected the rigid rules

of the French Art Academy concerning canvas size, subject matter, composition, and technique. Rather than paint historical scenes or moral allegories, the impressionists preferred landscapes, intimate portraits, and middle class entertainments made possible by the Industrial Revolution. Above all, the impressionists sought to capture a fleeting moment in time. As a result, they worked quickly and abandoned the fine details prized in academic circles in favor of loose, broken brushwork and a brighter palette of unmixed paints. Inspired by the influx of Japanese prints made possible by the 1853 American expedition to open Japan to Western trade, impressionist paintings also adopted a revolutionary new compositional style that employed unexpected angles of vision and cut off portions of their subjects. By the mid-1880s, impressionism was gradually replaced by a younger generation of postimpressionist artists like Paul Gauguin and Georges Seurat who used strong, unnatural colors and distorted perspective to convey an emotional response to the industrial changes of late nineteenth-century Europe. *See also Belle Époque; French Empire; Japanese Empire.*

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

India

The most valued colonial possession of the **British Empire**. The Mughal Empire (1526–1857) had been broken, as a unified political entity to be reckoned with, for competing British and French commercial interests in India by the early eighteenth century. By 1761, moreover, the British had managed to reduce France's role in India to that of tertiary commercial presence alone, and over the next century the subcontinent came slowly but relentlessly under British commercial and political dominance. Between the 1760s and 1858, nonetheless, the principal vehicle of British power was the **East India Company**, established in 1600. As the company established a monopoly over the opium trade and salt production, it simultaneously brought more Indian territory under its control by persuading or forcing the small successor states to the Mughal Empire to accept its protection and authority. In the effort, the company fought four wars against the Muslim rulers of Mysore and the Hindu rulers of Maratha. Although the company had pacified most of India by 1818, its appetite for territory had not been sated, so it expanded into Sind between 1838 and 1842 and waged two campaigns against the Sikhs of the Punjab in 1845 and 1849 before it was able to annex the region to its other Indian possessions. Under the direction of James **Dalhousie**, it built **railroads** and **telegraph** networks. As the company slackened its control over missionary activity, however, Hindu traditions such as *sati* and *thuggee* came under criticism from English custom and legal attack by officials such as Lord William **Bentinck** and Thomas Babington **Macaulay**. The company's hold on India snapped entirely, when indigenous resentment of foreign rule and the destruction of India's textile industry by the cheaper imports produced by industrializing Britain evolved into the **Indian Mutiny** of 1857.

The ultimate defeat of the rebellion also brought with it the overthrow of the last Mughal emperor who had sided with the rebels. In the **India Act** of 1858, the British

Parliament then transferred authority in India from the company to the Crown, thus beginning the era of the British *Rāj*, which lasted until India's independence in 1947. Between the passage of the India Act and the onset of the European crisis in 1914, India became a unified political and administrative entity again, this time endowed with the rudiments of a modern infrastructure. While trade boomed and an Indian posting became one of the most prestigious to which a British civil servant could aspire, a period of rapid progress was accompanied by a succession of famines, claiming tens of millions of lives, as the priority of commercial agriculture for export depleted local food supplies. Thus, the middle class of educated administrators from among the Indian population who ran the day-to-day affairs of British India found themselves in the service, although not in possession, of a fledgling Indian state even as the mass discontentment caused by human catastrophe nurtured a political base for the nationalist cause of independence. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 by liberal nationalists who sought progress toward independence within the framework of British rule. In 1907, the Congress split between moderates who sought **dominion** status and radicals who demanded immediate independence. In the meantime, a separate Muslim League was founded under the leadership of Dr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In 1905, violent protests against the partition of **Bengal** by the Marquis of **Curzon** created a tentative unity of Hindu and Muslim nationalists, in large part because the partition was itself viewed as a divide-and-rule response to the independence cause. The extremists overplayed their hand and were imprisoned or driven into exile, which left Congress forces under the control of moderates. They created the All-India Congress Committee as a centralized executive body of elected delegates. The passage of a series of Indian Councils Acts in 1861, 1892, and 1909 introduced and then increased the indirect election of Indians to recommending bodies that provided a generation of nationalists with training in government.

During World War I, India supplied more than a million men to the British cause and was transformed by the conflict. The war also increased pressure for reform and independence, to which the India Acts of 1919 and 1935 responded but not to the satisfaction of the nationalists. It was remarkable not that Indian independence waited until the conclusion of another world war but rather that the British hold on the country endured, remarkably, until 1947. *See also* Afghan Wars; Anglo-Burmese Wars; Dalhousie, James; Great Game; Hyderabad; Maratha Wars; Sikh Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

India Act (1858)

An act of the British parliament abolishing the **East India Company**, which had conquered a large Indian empire, and replaced its rule with that of a viceroy directly responsible to the British government. The East India Company, originally formed

in 1600, had acquired, often through force of circumstance rather than policy, a large territorial empire, an empire that had the not unintended effect of enriching many of its owners and employees. Indian government became controversial in the eighteenth century more because of the feared influence of its wealth upon Parliament than because of concerns about the government of India itself. William Pitt's India Bills of 1784 and 1793 established a board of control, whose name made it clear that the object was to control the company rather than to govern India.

Throughout the early nineteenth century, successive India bills renewed the company's charter on a 20-year basis, the final one being in 1853. Each bill reduced the company's powers and patronage under the vague idea that it ought eventually to be abolished entirely and under the influence of those like Thomas Babington Macaulay who held to the then relatively novel doctrine that English government in India could be justified only if it served the good of India. The systematizing and progressive Victorian mind felt it increasingly anomalous that a commercial organization should simultaneously exercise sovereign powers.

The Indian **sepo**y mutiny of 1857–1858, perceived to have been the result of company misgovernment, crystallized support for this view. An India bill introduced by Lord Palmerston commanded such bipartisan support that when his government fell on an unrelated matter, it was reintroduced in much the same form by Benjamin Disraeli, acting for the new administration of Lord Derby. The Government of India Act established the post of secretary of state for India, who sat in the cabinet, advised by an Indian council, and communicated with a viceroy at Calcutta. It brought the company's armies under crown control and paid off its owners and creditors. Lord Stanley, later the fifteenth Earl of Derby, became the first Indian secretary of state, and Lord Canning the first viceroy. *See also* Indian Mutiny.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Indian Mutiny (1857–1858)

A serious attempt by rebellious Indian elements in the army of the British **East India Company**, supported in some areas by civilians, intended to expel the British from the subcontinent. There were a number of underlying causes, but the mutiny was sparked off by the issuing to **sepo**y troops the Minié rifle cartridge, greased with pork and beef fat, and offensive to Muslims and Hindus, respectively. The mutiny began at Meerut in May 1857 and quickly spread across northern and central India, leading to the general massacre of British troops and civilians. After the initial shock, the British marched to besiege Delhi, taken by the rebels, and to relieve Lucknow, which contained a small British military and civilian garrison. Sir Henry Havelock, with 2,500 troops, reached Lucknow on September 25, but was unable to relieve the city until Sir Colin Campbell arrived with reinforcements in November. The small British force before Delhi, despite constant rebel sorties and intense heat, managed to maintain a loose siege of the capital before successfully

storming it in mid-September. All but sporadic fighting ended with General Rose's victory at Gwalior in central India in June 1858. Harsh British repression and reprisal followed. *See also* Bentinck, Lord William; Macaulay, Thomas; Missionaries.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Indian Wars

The name commonly given to conflict between indigenous North American peoples, referred to almost uniformly as "Indians," and European settlers encroaching on their territory, starting in the sixteenth century and lasting into the late nineteenth century. In the United States clashes of either settlers or soldiers with various Indian peoples over enormous tracts of territory in the American interior were almost continuous between the 1840s and 1890s, but most accounts of American history set the period of the Indian Wars between the conclusion of the **American Civil War** in 1865 and the Battle of Wounded Knee in December 1890, the last major engagement between the United States Army and indigenous American peoples.

The most storied campaigns were those waged against the Apache, Comanche, Cheyenne, Modoc, Navajo, Nez Percé, and Sioux tribes, many of them organized by General Philip H. Sheridan, a veteran commander in the Union army during the Civil War and commander of the entire U.S. Army between 1883 and 1888. There was immense savagery on both sides and, as most of the campaigns were badly reported or ignored altogether by the press, an equally immense popular mythology constructed about the nature and nobility of the relentless campaign to bring ever more territory under white settlement.

A parallel campaign took place in Canada to the north. Although the scale of westward settlement was smaller and the reaction less violent, where resistance to settlement became an inconvenience, force was routinely used to effect the "resettlement" of tribes such as the Cree, Crow, and Blackfoot by frontier constabularies such as the Northwest Mounted Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The most famous of these was the Red River Rebellion of 1869–1870, actually a rising of Métis people of mixed French-Canadian and Indian ancestry led by Louis Riel, to this day a hero of French-Canadian and Métis history.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Indirect Rule

The administration of a colony through a local intermediary. The use of an indigenous leader with a traditional base of authority and legitimacy among the colonial

population was usually far less costly than the assumption of direct authority, the posting of troops, and the adjudication of local quarrels. Equally, indirect rule could be defended as a liberal form of colonial administration, because it permitted Africans to retain their traditional authority figures while African customs could be codified and used as a basis for settling disputes. Indirect rule was difficult to maintain, as competition among European imperial power intensified, especially during the Scramble for Africa, but colonial governors such as Frederick Lugard nonetheless developed indirect rule in theory and practice, particularly in Nigeria.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Indochina

Derived from *Indochine française*, a common label for French territories in Southeast Asia, Indochina included present-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. French interest in the region dated to the establishment of the *Compagnie de Chine* in 1660. In 1787 the Annamite ruler Nguyen Anh gave France a monopoly of trade in return for military security. In the mid-nineteenth century, French interest in the region intensified, partly as a result of the rise of the silk industry in France and partly in response to competition from Britain to the south, in Hong Kong and Singapore, and from the United States in the form of Commodore Perry's visit to Japan in 1853. The French were also keen to gain access to the Chinese market without being hindered by the British, so they concentrated their energies on colonizing Indochina during the 1860s and 1870s primarily for economic reasons and a desire to reclaim national glory wounded by defeat in the Franco-Prussian War.

Indochina was nonetheless to be a problematic area in the French colonial project. French Indochina was a federation comprised of Annam, Tonkin, and Cochin China. Only Cochin China became a full colony; the remainder became the protectorate of Annam-Tonkin. After the Sino-French War of 1883–1885, Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China came under French control. But the war with China involved some embarrassing setbacks that brought down the government of Jules Ferry before secret talks with the Chinese produced an acceptable outcome in the Second Treaty of Tientsin.

In October 1887, Cambodia was added, and in 1893 Laos, too, became part of the federation. Its capital was Hanoi. While Annam, Tonkin, Laos, and Cambodia functioned as a protectorate, the kings of Luang Prabang and Cambodia and the Emperor of Vietnam were allowed to retain their positions. This was only a façade, as a substantive authority was in the hands of the French governor-general. The control of military and naval forces was his alone. To boost national morale and prestige in the metropole, the government presented French presence in Indochina as benign and admirable through active propaganda. Artifacts from Indochina were exhibited in the grand expositions in Paris, popular during the *belle époque* to illustrate the grandeur of French *mission civilisatrice*. See also French Empire.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Inkerman, Battle of (1854)

An engagement of the **Crimean War** fought on November 5, 1854. Inkerman became known as the “soldier’s battle,” for, with a heavy mist shrouding the field, officers were unable to direct their troops and the fighting was left to the ordinary ranks armed with muskets and bayonets. Inkerman was the last of three attempts by the Russians under Prince Menshikov to raise the Allied siege of the Black Sea port of Sevastopol by British and French forces. The brunt of the fighting fell to the British infantry, which, in a confused and bloody action, held the Russians at bay until French reinforcements arrived to shift the balance in the Allies’ favor. The Russians withdrew with losses of 12,000 to the Allies losses of 3,300, mostly British. *See also* Balaklava, Battle of; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Inkiar Skelessi, Treaty of (1833)

Also spelled Hunkar-Iskelesi and Unkiar-Skelessi, this defensive alliance between the **Ottoman Empire** and the **Russian Empire** was signed on July 8, 1833. The Ottomans had been forced to turn to the Russians for aid when earlier appeals to the French and British for assistance against the Sultan’s own overly ambitious vassal, Mehmet Ali, the governor of **Egypt**, were rebuffed. Egyptian troops led by Mehmet Ali’s son, Ibrahim, had conducted an extraordinarily successful campaign against Ottoman forces in the province of Syria during 1832, inflicted a defeat on a numerically superior Ottoman army in Konia in Anatolia, and were on the verge of occupying Constantinople itself by late January 1833. The Ottoman sultan, Mahmud II, turned to his traditional foe, Tsar **Nicholas I** of Russia for aid.

The Russians, on the premise that a weak and beholden Ottoman Empire as a neighbor was preferable to a newly invigorated Egyptian Empire under Mehmet Ali or a great power scramble for territory should the Ottoman Empire dissolve, sent naval forces through the Bosphorus in February 1833 to shield the city. The forces were soon reinforced by troops sent ashore in Constantinople itself. Faced with Russian intervention, Mehmet Ali accepted the Peace of Kutahia, which gave him the governorship of an additional four Ottoman provinces in Syria in addition to Egypt, and in return he regained the status of nominally loyal vassal, and Ibrahim withdrew the Egyptian forces south of the Taurus Mountains. To cement their newfound position with the Ottoman Empire, the Russians negotiated the Treaty of Inkiar Skelessi. Officially both the Ottomans and Russians agreed to guarantee the territorial integrity of one another’s domains, but in an attached secret clause, the Russians relieved the Ottomans of any obligation to render them military aid

in return for an agreement to close the Dardanelles to the warships of any other nations. The treaty had a term of eight years, at which time it was subject to renegotiation.

The secret clause of the treaty was interpreted by the British and French, who soon got wind of it, as granting the Russians a virtual protectorate of the Ottoman Empire. The Russians, on the other hand, claimed that the treaty violated no existing agreements with regard to the straits and simply reaffirmed the “ancient custom” that the straits were to be closed to the warships of all foreign powers in time of peace. During the eight years it was in force, the Treaty of Inkjar Skelessi was a point of major concern within the context of the Eastern Question, and ultimately it was another crisis involving **Mehmet Ali** and the Ottoman Empire that began in 1839, which brought about the treaty’s replacement. That occurred when the treaty was superseded by the terms of the London Straits Convention of 1840. *See also* Eastern Question; London Straits Convention.

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ROBERT DAVIS

Intelligence

Intelligence, in the military sense, is knowledge about actual or potential enemies in peace and war that is possibly of decisive advantage when coherently and imaginatively interpreted and acted upon. Carl von Clausewitz noted that information obtained in war was often contradictory and more often than not mostly false. He added to this that “the timidity of men acts as a multiplier of lies and untruths.” Yet when combined with “firm reliance in self,” he conceded, accurate intelligence could make a critical difference. Horatio Nelson is generally regarded as a first-class intelligence analyst. His ability to filter through facts in search of probabilities enabled him to calculate in August 1798 that he would find the French fleet in **Aboukir Bay** at the mouth of the Nile and, with the element of surprise, he was able to destroy it. Based in large part on the experience of British colonial conflicts, C. E. Callwell cited the absence of trustworthy information to be an inherent characteristic of small wars in remote areas.

Another British hero of the Napoleonic Wars, the Duke of Wellington, was able to overcome this problem during his command of armies in **India**, 1799–1804, simply by adopting the *harkara* system invented by the Mughal Empire of writers and runners who carried news reports over long distances and difficult terrain. Kipling’s *Kim* is a creature of the **Great Game**, itself in large part an intelligence contest between the British and Russian Empires. The arts of intelligence were romanticized in the *Kim* tradition by writers such as John Buchan in thrillers such

as *Greenmantle*. The attempt to transform intelligence work into science over the course of the nineteenth century—an era of telegraph and railroad—meant that by far the greatest labors were committed to the gathering of masses of information to improve the quality of intelligence in the service of the calculation behind peacetime diplomacy. Still, conflict stimulated innovation. The United States created a Bureau of Military Information in 1862 during the American Civil War, a conflict in which rail transportation and telegraph brought significant advantage to the Union cause.

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, cable and wireless communication increased the speed and range in the transmission of information even as global imperial competition and a gathering naval arms race increased the demand for actionable intelligence exponentially. When the British government created the Secret Service Bureau in a joint venture of the Admiralty and the War Office in 1909, it was merely answering a deeply felt need of its national security—a need felt strongest perhaps in the status quo power but nonetheless shared by enemies and allies alike. In 1917, the British effort paid off, when the admiralty intercepted and deciphered German diplomatic efforts to prompt Mexico to attack the United States, an intelligence coup now famous as the Zimmerman Telegram that helped to draft American arms to the Allied cause.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Internationalism

Internationalism is the idea that nations should cooperate to solve common problems and prevent national disputes, rather than pursue primarily their national interests. Internationalism became an increasingly strong ideology as the nineteenth century progressed and has become a dominant ideology of the twentieth century. Modern internationalism can trace its roots to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, when thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, Voltaire, and Rousseau argued for the universalism of human values and interests. Kant even envisioned a form of world government. Romantic nationalism, which emerged in the early nineteenth century as a reaction to the materialism of many Enlightenment thinkers, also played a role in advancing internationalism. Following the example of the French Revolution, many Europeans sought to form their own nation-states, where a single ethnic population would have its own political state. German and Italian nationalism were notable examples. The widespread revolutions of 1848, however, also reflected a broad, or international, desire for nationalism. These movements, many of which eventually succeeded as the nineteenth century wore on, helped create a larger community of nations, which eventually became the basis for an international community. Conflicts between nations were common,

but so, too, was a desire to cooperate and preserve peace. These were the goals of the Concert of Europe, the agreement struck amongst the victorious powers after the Napoleonic Wars to regularly consult each other on issues of perceived common interest. They were also the goals of the new international organizations that began to form in the 1860s and 1870s, including the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraph Union.

Internationalism also gained strength below the state level. International organizations such as the International Olympic Committee and The International Red Cross, the latter formed in 1864 through the inspiration of the Swiss doctor Jean Henri Dunant, were private organizations that, although they worked with national governments, reflected a spirit of individual amity. Working people also embraced internationalism as a new and potentially revolutionary ideology. The First International, also known as the International Working Men's Association, was founded in London in 1864 under the leadership of Karl Marx. Its aim was an international socialist revolution, and it worked to generate cooperation between socialist groups in different nations. The First International attracted both communist and noncommunist socialist organizations, but it eventually split up over the question of whether revolution was a short- or long-term goal, a division mirrored in the personal animosity between Marx and Mikael Bakunin, the Russian anarchist and fellow leading international socialist. The Second International was formed in Paris in 1889, and pursued more reformist goals. It broke up in 1914 over the war, with members choosing nationalism over internationalist goals. The Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin formed the Third International in 1919, representing the international goals of communism. International socialism represented a major ideological challenge to imperialism during the half-century before World War I.

Internationalism also entailed the unprecedented relations of trade and social interaction that marked especially the period from 1870 to 1914. This period, sometimes termed "the first era of globalization," witnessed a marked rise in international cooperation and investment. The British writer Norman Angell, reflecting the temper of the age, declared that any future war, regardless of who won, would in fact harm all participants through the mutual damage it would cause to international trade. In the same spirit, European nations pledged support for international cooperation at The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, inspired by the Russian Czar Nicholas II. Internationalism, however, remained stronger as an ideal than a reality. National rivalries remained and were particularly intense regarding imperial competition in Africa and Asia, economic protectionism, and arms production. Internationalism also remained largely a European idea. The United States remained a largely isolationist nation, while much of the rest of the world was excluded because of unequal economic development and colonial paternalism. Nonetheless, although World War I proved a serious setback for internationalism, the idea reemerged after the war in the form of the League of Nations. *See also* Commonwealth; Communism; Globalization; Imperial Federation; Railroad; Telegraph.

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DANIEL GORMAN

International Law

International law, or public international law, is the body of customs, norms, principles, procedures, rules, and standards among sovereign states for the purpose of enhancing peaceful coexistence and cooperation among them. It is generally accepted that the evolution of international law can be broken into two periods: the first between the Peace of Westphalia and World War I (1649–1914), and the second after World War I. During the Age of Imperialism the development of international law was primarily a project of the Great Powers. It addressed matters of war and peace as exemplified in the **Congress System**’s determination to put European diplomacy, “public peace,” on a calculable footing following the Napoleonic Wars—in its more confident moments an innovation referred to as the “Concert of Europe.”

Despite four limited conflicts involving the **Great Powers** in the mid-nineteenth century, tentative progress was made in the articulation of international norms, for example, in the 1856 Declaration of Paris on matters of commerce and conflict. The Paris declaration’s attention to the protection of neutral trade in war, in fact, itself both captured the preoccupations of the Great Powers and expressed the division of modern international law into law of the sea and laws of war. With the progress of industrialization and the rapid increase in international trade, most new norms developed in the second half of the nineteenth century had a wholly practical basis: the International Telegraph Union of 1865, International Postal Union of 1875, and International Conference for Promoting Technical Uniformity in Railways in 1882, all underpinned by treaty or statute in the member states. But issues of moral import were not entirely neglected. The 1864 **Geneva Convention** determined that not only wounded soldiers in the field but also ambulance staff were to be considered neutral and not liable to be taken prisoners of war. It also invented the International Red Cross and gave it a flag, the Swiss flag with colors reversed, to uphold the convention.

In its General Act, the 1884 Conference of **Berlin** not only authorized the colonial partition of Africa but also obliged the signatories to suppress slavery and the **slave trade**. The **Hague Peace Conference** of 1899 was attended by 26 states, that of 1907 by 44; the first sought a systematic codification of the customs of war, and the second furthered this work. It is symptomatic of the intensifying Great Power competition of the time, however, that neither achieved an agreement on arms limitations. The idea of internationalism was much more robust than the substance of international cooperation. The popular nationalism aroused by the July Crisis of 1914 promptly disabused internationalists and pacifists of their roseate outlook. A new day for international law awaited the military outcome of 1918. *See also* Globalization; Internationalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Iran

See Persia

Ireland

Since the Middle Ages, and especially since the late sixteenth century, Ireland was an object of English rule, colonial plantation, and settlement by English and Scottish Protestants against the resistance of an Irish population that had been Catholic since the fifth century. With the **Act of Union** passed by the government of William Pitt the Younger in 1801, Ireland was incorporated into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and subsequently required to bear part of the burden of Britain's serial wars against Napoleon **Bonaparte**.

Until 1829, Catholics were barred from serving in parliament. This constitutional exclusion laid a political foundation for Irish nationalism, and despite Catholic Emancipation, the continuing ill treatment of the rural population by Protestant landlords gave it deep social and cultural roots. The **Irish Famine** of the 1840s further deepened Irish resentment, so that the **Home Rule** movement led by Charles Parnell starting in the 1860s enjoyed broad support, and more violent manifestations of Irish nationalism eventually prompted the Coercion Act from the British Parliament in 1881.

In 1902, the owner of the weekly newspaper, *United Irishman*, founded a political organization dedicated to Ireland's complete independence, *Sinn Féin*, "Ourselves Alone." Protestants in the northern province of Ulster began to campaign to defend the Union, fearing that in a sovereign Ireland they would be a small and hated minority. William Gladstone's successive attempts at Home Rule failed, and Irish nationalist stepped up agitation during World War I, climaxing in the Easter Rebellion of 1916 by the Irish Republican Brotherhood. *See also* De Valera, Eamon.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Irish Famine (1845–1850)

A disaster for **Ireland** when disease destroyed the potato crop in 1845–1849. A fungus rotted potatoes in other parts of Europe, too, but the blight affected Ireland most severely because potatoes were the staple food for agricultural laborers and small tenant farmers. Almost a million men, women, and children died of starvation or related diseases. Hundreds of thousands emigrated, either to nearby England and Scotland or to distant North America in so-called coffin ships, aboard which many steerage passengers died.

In the worst year, 1846, the British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel responded by repealing the **Corn Laws** to encourage the importation of cheap foreign wheat. In practice this did the starving Irish little good, as they lacked the means to buy any kind of food. Lord John Russell's Whig government, succeeding Peel's Conservative ministry, was ideologically rigid. Out of local Irish taxes, Russell provided

some ill-paid employment at public works for a minority of starving peasants, but in accord with the principle of *laissez-faire*, the Whigs believed that only private charities should provide food relief. During the famine the civil servant Charles Edward Trevelyan defended the export of grain and livestock from Ireland to Britain. In the crisis years, the small Quaker denomination showed the greatest generosity. There also was a British Relief Association, helped by Queen Victoria's appeal for contributions.

The potato famine had long-term consequences. Ireland may be unique among European countries to have a smaller population in the twenty-first century than in the mid-1840s. Estimated at 8 million on the eve of the famine, it had fallen to about 5 million at the 1850 census. With less competition for land, small farmers were better off after the famine than before. The population continued to fall during decades of relative prosperity. The age of marriage rose, and the habit of emigration strengthened, particularly among young women. For instance, in the **United States** during the mid and late nineteenth century, Irish Catholic immigrants became numerous. Bridey (for Bridget) became the stereotypical housemaid, while Paddy (for Patrick) the stereotypical unskilled laborer. The overseas Irish helped fund **Fenian** violence and, after World War I, IRA violence. The famine both intensified bitterness toward Britain in the Irish Catholic diaspora and greatly enlarged its numbers. *See also* Act of Union.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Irish Land Acts (1870–1909)

British legislation passed between 1870 and 1909 to benefit Irish tenant farmers. As a result of wars, confiscations, and anti-Catholic laws, **Ireland's** wealthy landlords almost always were Protestants of English descent. Fewer than 800 families owned half of Ireland. Except in the northeast, tenant farmers were mostly Roman Catholic. Tenants argued that their insecure status discouraged them from making improvements on their land such as draining marshes. Landlords might respond by imposing higher rents and evicting tenants unwilling to pay them. Economic historians have questioned that many landlords extracted the maximum or rack rent.

In 1870, William Gladstone, Britain's Liberal prime minister, persuaded Parliament to pass the first of his Irish land acts. It safeguarded the tenant from arbitrary eviction and compensated the tenant who made improvements. Unfortunately, cheap imports from North America depressed agricultural prices in the 1870s. Frustrated tenants flocked to the National Land League, organized by Michael Davitt. In a context of agrarian violence and intimidation, Gladstone passed a second land act in 1881. It put on the statute book the so-called three Fs that already were customary practice for tenants in Ulster: fair rent, fixity of tenure, and freedom of sale (of the tenant's lease to a new tenant). A land commission established what qualified as fair rents. The 1881 legislation created what was virtually dual ownership by landlord and tenant, but the agenda of Irish land reform quickly

moved on to a new demand: land purchase. Conservative ministries played the decisive role. First, in 1885 Parliament passed the Ashbourne Act that provided a loan fund to help tenants buy the land that they leased. The Congested Districts Board, established in 1891, also helped smallholders acquire land. Most important, in 1903 Parliament adopted the Wyndham Act. It reduced the interest rate that tenants paid loans and offered bonuses to landlords who agreed to sell. After the Liberals returned to power, they made sale compulsory in 1907 and reduced the landlord bonuses in 1909.

By 1921, when Ireland was partitioned and an Irish Free State created, two-thirds of land belonged to working farmers and big landlords were rare. Political motives explain this rapid transfer of ownership. Both Liberal and Conservative politicians hoped to restrain Irish nationalism by appeasing small farmers in a mostly agricultural country. *See also* Irish Famine.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Irredentism

The policy of a state to “liberate” or “redeem” an ethnic minority belonging to its own nation and the territory in which it lives from the domination of another state. In its moderate form irredentism aggressively defends that minority’s rights and interests.

The term is derived from the Italian *terra irredenta*, unredeemed land, and was first used to refer to the Italian-speaking areas under Austrian rule after 1866. Italy, after achieving unification, fought Austria repeatedly in order to annex Trentino, Trieste, Istria, Fiume, and parts of Dalmatia. Agitation took place both inside Austria-Hungary and in Italy itself. The liberation of *Italia irredenta* was perhaps the strongest motive for the entry of Italy into World War I. By this time, however, the term had lost much of its initial meaning because many Italian acquisitions were not “unredeemed lands” but rather strategic acquisitions, like the Orthodox Christian- and Muslim-inhabited Dodecanese Islands. Nevertheless, in 1919 the Treaty of Versailles satisfied most of the Italian irredentist claims.

The term irredentism has, by extension, been applied to nationalist agitation in other countries, based on historical, ethnic, and geographical reasons, for the incorporation of territories under foreign rule. The best examples of these nationalist irredentist movements before World War I were in the Balkans. Greece sought to resurrect the “Greece of the Five Seas”—a new Byzantine Empire on the ruins of the Ottoman. Bulgaria and Serbia also sought “greater” empires at the expense of the **Ottoman Empire** and its neighbors. *See also* Balkan Wars.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Isandhlwana, Battle of (1879)

A major Zulu victory over British forces led by Frederic Thesiger, Viscount Chelmsford, in the Zulu War of 1879 in South Africa. In January 1879, Chelmsford led an army of 5,000 British troops and 8,000 Africans in an invasion of Zululand, where Zulu strength was estimated to be 40,000. Chelmsford had requested and been denied additional troops but was nonetheless confident enough to divide his army into three invasion columns that were ultimately to converge on the Zulu capital at Ulundi. Commanding the center column himself, Chelmsford was camped near a hill called Isandhlwana when he received word that a scouting party had made contact with the Zulu. He then compounded imprudence with recklessness by dividing his force and taking half of it in support, leaving 1,800 men behind at Isandhlwana under an inexperienced command. A disciplined force of 20,000 Zulu was able to approach the British camp at Isandhlwana by stealth and overrun its poorly deployed defenses. Only 55 Europeans and 300 Africans survived. The defeat registered shock all over Britain and temporarily brought the invasion of Zululand to a halt. It was partially redeemed at **Rorke's Drift** before Chelmsford won a decisive victory over the Zulu at Ulundi. *See also* Zulu Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Italo-Abyssinian War (1887–1896)

An imperial African misadventure of the newly unified Italian state. Having secured a foothold on the coast of Abyssinia during the 1870s, Italy in the 1880s sought to add to its territory either by purchase or conquest. In 1887, the Abyssinian chieftain of the Shoa defeated a small Italian force at Dongali, and by the spring of 1888 more than 20,000 reinforcements had arrived from Italy. There was only scattered fighting, but after the Italians redeemed themselves at Gallabat in March 1889, **Menelik II** signed a treaty with them giving Italy the coastal colony of **Eritrea**. A dispute over the wording of the treaty led to a new round of conflict in which Italian forces under Oreste Baratiera were initially successful but then overplayed their hand and were beaten at Amba Alagai in late 1895.

The stage was thus set for a showdown when in February, 1896 Baratiera's army was reinforced and set out to attack Menelik's much larger force established in a strong defensive position in mountainous terrain near **Adowa**. The engagement was a disaster for Italy and led ultimately to the Treaty of Addis Ababa in which Abyssinian independence was acknowledged and Italian efforts for territory beyond Eritrea abandoned. *See also* Ethiopia; Italo-Turkish War.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Italo-Turkish War (1911–1912)

A conflict between **Italy** and the **Ottoman Empire** over the Ottoman North African province of **Libya**. Italian imperialists had long wanted to acquire Tunis, already home to a substantial number of Italian émigrés. Surprising the Italians, however, the French occupied the city in 1881, humiliating Italy and forcing it to seek compensation in **Abyssinia**. The defeat at the Battle of **Adowa** dashed these hopes as well and marred Italian prestige until growing economic prosperity inspired a new generation of imperialists. In parliament these Nationalist deputies urged Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti to seize the Ottoman provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to restore Italy's lost military honor. Other politicians wanted the government to address the emigration problem by turning Libya into Italy's "Fourth Shore," an agricultural colony where its excess population would not be lost to the economic benefit of foreign states.

The Ottomans maintained a system of **indirect rule** over their two provinces, which encouraged political instability and independence among the Arab tribes. According to Rome this endangered the region, hurt Italian interests in Tripoli, specifically the Bank of Rome, and might entice France to occupy the two provinces being so close to Tunisia. On September 28, 1911, Italy demanded the surrender of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica on the grounds that the Ottomans were incapable of governing. The Turks naturally refused, so Italy declared war the next day expecting to quickly defeat the Turks and liberate the Arabs. In the first week of October, Italian naval forces attacked and seized the provinces' ports. The Italian army then began a limited advance toward the highlands and desert, as the Turks retreated and drew support from the Arab tribes, which dragged the fighting out well into the next year.

The Italians expanded the war with naval attacks against Turkish ports in the eastern Mediterranean, Aegean, and Red Seas, the occupation of the Dodecanese Islands, and a quick raid into the Turkish Straits. Peace negotiations lingered on into 1912, with continued Arab and Turkish attacks inside Libya, and were concluded only after the Balkan states attacked the Ottomans during the First **Balkan War**. The Treaty of Ouchy in 1912 ended the Italo-Turkish conflict and awarded sovereignty over Libya to Italy. The Arabs, however, continued to resist until 1932, which hindered the exploitation of the colony and forced Italy to maintain a garrison of 50,000 troops. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Tripoli.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Italy

Italy became a fully unified state only after 1870. To this point Italy had been divided into numerous medieval states that lost their independence in the early modern period. When Napoleon crossed the Alps seeking military glory, he brought with him the Enlightenment principles of the French Revolution, which inspired generations of Italians in their long struggle for national unity. Napoleon

Bonaparte annexed portions of the peninsula to the French Empire, ending the pope's temporal power, but also consolidated the rest into the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Naples. He extended constitutions, centralized administration, and introduced a modern legal code based on equality before the law. Napoleon's **Continental System** integrated the Italian economy with the rest of Empire's, and, although often exploitive, provided Italian workers with the technical expertise to sustain a modest industrial expansion. The reforms created a meritocracy that supported the Napoleonic regime for a time but, more important, provided invaluable experience and inspiration to those who later completed Italian unification after the fall of Napoleon.

Napoleonic rule with its onerous conscription, taxation, repression, and economic exploitation alienated many Italians who formed secret societies and started insurrections across the peninsula. One group, the *Carbonari*, the coal-burners, consisted primarily of bourgeois democrats who wanted true constitutional government and pressured Joachim Murat, the king of Naples and one of Napoleon's marshals, into granting them one. Murat refused, but domestic opposition weakened him and his eventual defection to the Allies was one factor in Napoleon's loss of Italy. Interestingly, the former rulers were then returned to power, but Murat kept his throne. Murat hated the Austrians, and when Napoleon returned for the Hundred Days, Murat declared war on Austria asking the Italians to join him in a war of national liberation. They did not. Murat failed miserably, was captured and executed. With him, however, died the hope for unification for the time being.

The Congress of **Vienna** restored the absolutist rulers and extended to them the protection of the **Holy Alliance**, a military agreement between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Prince Metternich of Austria announced that the Alliance would intervene in Italy to stop revolutionary violence and thus suppress liberalism and nationalism. The *Carbonari* returned, joined by other patriots in the movement for national freedom known as the *Risorgimento*, or resurrection. Insurrections again erupted throughout the 1820s, but these were localized and easily crushed. In the midst of the Italian-wide revolutions in 1848, King Charles Albert of Piedmont granted his people a constitution in defiance of Austria. Reminiscent of Murat, he then went to war against Austria on their behalf but also failed.

In 1831, the *Carbonari* had given way to a more ideological group, **Young Italy**, led by Giuseppe **Mazzini**. Mazzini believed the *Risorgimento* should first concentrate on deposing the Italian monarchs, including the pope, to encourage the growth of republics, and Young Italy was involved in several plots against Charles Albert. The violence alienated moderate supporters who hoped the pope and the king would both cooperate in freeing Italy. Pope Pius IX was sympathetic to liberalism but rejected its adherence to secularism and anticlericalism, and the violent methods of Young Italy distressed him. The reasonable leadership remaining for the *Risorgimento* was with Piedmont.

Prime Minister Count Benso di **Cavour** of Piedmont believed only a unified state could make the necessary political, military, and diplomat preparations to defeat Austria. He reformed the finances and trade policies, built railways, enlarged the army, and concluded a military alliance with France. In June–July of 1860, the allies drove the Austrians from northwestern and central Italy, which were then annexed to Piedmont by plebiscites. Southern Italy, except for Rome, was similarly disposed of after Giuseppe **Garibaldi** wrestled Sicily and Naples from the Kingdom of the Two

Sicilies. Once the plebiscites were finished, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in March 1861, although Venice, Rome, and Trieste were not incorporated until 1866, 1870, and 1919, respectively.

The consequences of the Risorgimento emerged over the next several decades and lingered well after 1914. State and Church relations were marked by mistrust and hostility. The Papal *Non Expedit* forbade Catholics from participating in politics, thus denying the new state a natural constituency. In return, Italy passed the Law of Guarantees in 1870 that allowed the pope to occupy the Vatican and granted him diplomatic rights but withheld compensation for the loss of the papal states. Second, the unification alienated reactionaries, republicans, and socialists many of whom remained outside of politics with a minority embracing violence. In 1900, an anarchist killed King Umberto I, an event the political right tried to use to end constitutionalism. The new King Victor Emmanuel III came out strongly in favor of democratic reforms.

During this period aristocratic, monarchial, northern, and agricultural interests dominated parliament under the rubric of the right. Its members had fought in the Risorgimento, not out of nationalist sentiments but out of loyalty to the king. The right supported limited constitutional government, but feared social revolution and favored those policies that enforced stability. Although most members of the right were believers, they wanted the State to control secular life, not the Church. Finally, the right supported free trade, balanced budgets, and fiscal stability. Unification had rendered the political left divided between radicals who advocated violence and rejected parliamentarianism, and constitutional liberals and moderate republicans, socialists, and Catholics who were committed to the democratic process but who were excluded from it. The left agreed with the right on secularism and was hostile to ecclesiastical interests. It supported the expansion of civil rights, universal male suffrage, and opposed militarism. Finally, the left believed in state intervention in economics and social welfare. The *Statuto* that Charles Albert had issued for Piedmont and which Victor Emmanuel II had extended to the rest of country formed Italy's basic law. It established a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament chosen by a limited male franchise, and had certain civil rights protections. Integration, however, was accomplished by weakening the traditional local governments that undermined any balance to central authority. The constitution also failed to establish an independent judiciary, civil marriage, and divorce, which were the prerogatives of the Church, or a common penal code.

Giovanni Giolitti, prime minister from 1903 to 1915, was exactly what Italy needed to address these frustrations. He pushed through universal male suffrage, an extensive welfare system, and pledged state neutrality in labor disputes. Giolitti, however, manipulated parliamentarians through the practice of *trasformismo*, which relied on political patronage to buy the loyalty of deputies regardless of ideology. Corruption was rampant, people distrusted the democratic process, and the government's politics had angered major population groups—Catholic, Socialist, and Liberal—leaving Giolitti unable to stop a vocal minority who then convinced parliament to enter World War I in 1915.

Italian foreign and colonial policies were conservative in scope. Under Prime Minister Francesco Crispi, who served from 1887 to 1891 and again 1893 to 1896, Italy began to construct an overseas empire, by acquiring Eritria but then overreaching in Abyssinia and suffering humiliation at Adowa in 1896. Italy was also a member

of the **Triple Alliance** with Austria and Germany, which brought stability with the Austrians following the wars of the Risorgimento. Irredentist desires to acquire Italian-populated areas of Austria, remained a dead issue for the government. Anglo-Italian relations were cooperative because Italian colonialism was limited. Changes began to occur after 1910 when segments of the population demanded a more activist foreign policy in line with Italy's growing prosperity. At that time Giolitti was trying to court Catholic and Nationalist deputies against the Socialists, and agreed to their demands to implement imperialism, which led to war against the Turks for Libya.

Industrial expansion, which was slow before 1903, became more evident by 1910. Steel, railroads, ships, and automobile production became major segments of the industrial economy. The country had enough workers, its population was approximately 30 million, to sustain further growth. But Italy lacked necessary raw materials, such as coal, and a modern infrastructure: roads and railroads. Millions of Italians also emigrated to work outside the country. Education was problematic because technical subjects were not taught and mandatory education ended at grammar school. Social and cultural unity proved even more difficult. Italians shared a common religious tradition but little else. Each region had its own traditions, dialects, and practices that it sought to maintain after unification. Before 1914, Italians thought of themselves as Florentines, Neapolitans, or Romans, with the government doing little, except increase conscription, to build a common identity. Certainly the acquisition of Rome, which became the capital of Italy after 1870, provided a common historical reference, but the state did little to develop it. In the south, banditry was rampant and in the north irredentism led a minority of intellectuals to criticize Rome for ignoring the plight of Italians still living under Austrian occupation.

The great struggle for unification was completed, but its legacy took time to solve. Modern Italy entered World War I as a unified state but not a united nation. Although it was independent, it was also underdeveloped and torn by deep social and economic fissures.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLLO

Itō, Hirobumi (1841–1909)

The preeminent Japanese statesman of the Meiji period, Hirobumi Itō served as prime minister on four occasions (1885–1888, 1892–1896, 1898, 1900–1901). While studying in Europe as a young man, Itō became convinced of the need for Japan to abandon its insularity and modernize. Returning to Japan, Itō was instrumental in establishing the political institutions of the **Meiji Restoration**. From 1883 to 1889, he supervised the drafting of Japan's first constitution. In 1885, he created a modern civil service, established a cabinet and became the first prime minister of the Japanese empire. Itō supported the **Sino-Japanese War** and negotiated the Treaty of **Shimonoseki**, but subsequently failed to negotiate a peaceful settlement with Russia.

In 1906, he was appointed resident-general in Korea. In 1909, Itō was assassinated by a Korean nationalist while visiting Manchuria, and the military used the pretext of his death to annex Korea to the empire. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Izvol'sky, Alexander (1856–1919)

A Russian diplomat and foreign minister from 1906 to 1910 under Nicholas II. Izvol'sky's nationalist tendencies led to his involvement in a potentially disastrous episode of foreign diplomacy in 1908. In a meeting between Izvol'sky and the Austrian foreign minister, Count von Aehrenthal, the two agreed to support each other in the following way: Austria would annex Bosnia, and Russia would declare the Straights of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles as open to Russian ships.

Izvol'sky did not, however, inform his superiors of this agreement. When the arrangement was made public, it nearly brought Europe to war. The Serbs, who had long considered Bosnia-Herzegovina their own, started to prepare for action, and Austria moved troops to the Serb border. Britain came to the support of Russia; Germany supported Austria. In the end, both sides backed down, but Austria retained its new territory and Russia got nothing. Following this embarrassment, Izvol'sky began to actively support Serbian nationalism. *See also* July Crisis; Russian Empire; Serbia.

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LEE A. FARROW

J

Jackson, Andrew (1767–1845)

An American nationalist and military leader, Andrew Jackson was the seventh president of the United States (1829–1837). Jackson was the last president to have fought in the American Revolution—he was captured by the British at age 13—and the first to be a product of the frontier. He was born in western South Carolina, but in 1787 moved west of the Appalachian Mountains, becoming a prosperous attorney and political leader. When Tennessee was admitted to the Union in 1796, Jackson became the state's first congressional representative; he became a senator the next year.

By 1801, he was a judge of the state's supreme court and the leader of the state's militia. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, Jackson was appointed a general in the U.S. Army, and given command in the southwest, in present-day Alabama and Mississippi. In this role, he led the war against the Creek Indians in 1813. After winning a decisive victory over the hostile Creeks, he imposed a harsh treaty on both the hostile Creeks and the "friendly" Creeks who actually worked with him during the campaign. In 1815, as commander of the American garrison at New Orleans, he won a smashing victory over a British invasion force made up of veterans from the Napoleonic Wars. This victory made Jackson a national hero.

Two years later, he again commanded a military expedition, this time against the Seminole Indians who had been attacking settlers in southern Alabama and Georgia. In the process of fighting the Seminoles, he also invaded Florida, then a Spanish possession, occupied Pensacola, and executed two English nationals he accused of helping the Indians. The extent to which his actions exceeded his orders from President Monroe is unclear, but he was certainly supported by the president after the fact. Spain was coerced into ceding Florida to the United States. As military leader and governor of Florida, Jackson continued to impose harsh treaties on the Indians in the region, coercing agreements turning over as much as three quarters of what is now Alabama and Florida, as well as parts of neighboring states.

Jackson ran unsuccessfully for president in 1824. He accused the winner, John Quincy Adams, of stealing the election through a "corrupt bargain" with a third candidate, Henry Clay, whom Adams appointed secretary of state. In 1828, Jackson

overwhelmingly defeated Adams to become president. His presidency saw much the same spirit of confrontation, bullying, authoritarianism, and occasional extralegality as his years as a military commander. During the course of his eight years, he repeatedly ignored congressional legislation and Supreme Court rulings. He threatened to invade South Carolina to enforce an unpopular tariff law.

One of the most enduring legacies of his presidency was his policy toward the Indians. Put simply, he did everything in his power to expel them west of the Mississippi. By the late 1820s, the major tribes in the south, the Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, Seminole, and, especially, the Cherokee, had largely assimilated the ways of the white Europeans. They controlled distinct territories stretching from the southern Appalachians into what is now Mississippi. They had established farms, towns, organized governments with written constitutions, and, in the case of the Cherokee, a written language.

Nevertheless, the whites wanted their land. In 1830, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which authorized Jackson to negotiate land-exchange treaties with tribes living within the boundaries of existing U.S. states. Later that year, the State of Georgia attempted to enforce its laws in Cherokee territory. The Cherokee fought back in court, eventually winning a U.S. Supreme Court determination that Georgia had no jurisdiction. Jackson and the Georgians ignored the decision and continued to pressure the Indians to leave. By 1836, a small faction of Cherokees, selected by the U.S. government, had signed a treaty ceding the eastern land for land in what is now Oklahoma. In 1838, Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren, ordered the army to begin an involuntary removal. Anywhere from 2,000 to 8,000 people died among the approximately 17,000 Cherokees—along with their approximately 2,000 black slaves—during the forced march, known as the “Trail of Tears.” Each of the other civilized tribes were forced into similar exoduses, starting with the Choctaw in 1831. The Seminoles resisted fiercely, fighting against the army from 1835 to 1837, when Osceola was tricked into being captured while negotiating a truce. Most of the Seminoles accepted exile, but some withdrew into the Everglades, where they continued to resist until the 1840s. Approximately 17,000 Creeks in 1835, and the Chickasaw in 1837, were also expelled. Each of the tribes suffered their own “Trail of Tears” during the relocations.

Jackson's attitude toward the Indians was paternalistic and patronizing. He probably genuinely believed they were “children” in need of guidance and believed the removal policy was actually beneficial to the Indians. In the 1820s and 1830s, most Americans assumed the nation would never expand much beyond the Mississippi River, so removal to “Indian Territory” would save the Indians from the depredations of whites, allowing them to govern themselves in peace. *See also* Anglo-American War; Indian Wars; Manifest Destiny.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

Jadidism

A Muslim educational reform movement of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The term derives from the word for the new method of teaching

the Arabic alphabet. This movement was started by Ismail Bey **Gaspıralı** (or Gasprinskii) during the 1880s in the Crimea. Gaspıralı first articulated the reform ideas of Jadidism in his newspaper *Tercüman*. Jadidism drew a particularly large following among the populations of the Crimea and the Volga-Urals, as well as the intellectual populations of Turkestan.

Jadidism took on many forms among Muslim peoples of Central Eurasia, but the general contours of the movement were similar: reformed education that combined Islamic principles with modern techniques and curricula; creation of a pan-Turkic unity both culturally and politically; and the creation of a common Turkic literary language. Jadidism can be seen historically as a reaction to Russian imperialism and modernization. The movement strived to reconcile elements of the past while adapting to the present and future of Muslim peoples living under Russian imperial rule. *See also* Russian Empire; Tatars.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Jamaica

Jamaica, a large island in the Caribbean Sea, was originally colonized by the Spanish, but conquered by the British in 1660. Along with many smaller islands, it was often referred to simply as the “sugar islands,” sugar, along with its by-products rum and molasses, being a great source of wealth. From the period of the Napoleonic Wars, coffee was also grown. By the late eighteenth century, it was estimated that the capital invested in the West Indies amounted to four times that invested in India. All of Jamaica’s exports were grown on slave-worked plantations. Its nonwhite population included “maroons,” descended from escaped slaves, who lived in the mountainous interior; although the Maroons often cooperated with the British, encouraged by the example of Haiti, they rose unsuccessfully against the crown in 1797.

Jamaica’s representative institutions were dominated by the white planter class, and that class and its London representatives energetically opposed the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade in the **British Empire**, the Jamaican assembly going so far as to contest the right of Parliament to enact abolition. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 marked the beginning of a decline in West Indian influence in London. Growing pressure from abolitionists and their evangelical supporters made it clear that slavery could not long survive. A slave rebellion in 1831, occasioned by confused rumors about the emancipation policy of the new reforming government in London, probably had little effect on the eventual abolition of slavery throughout the empire in 1833. The introduction of a system of “apprenticeship”—in effect indentured labor—in 1835 was intended to address the fact that former slaves often refused to work on plantations, but it occasioned many problems, and was abolished in 1838. The movement for free trade in England led to an end to preferential treatment for West Indian sugar, and compounded the island’s economic difficulties. An attempt to overcome labor problems by importing indentured workers from India failed. The domination of Jamaican politics by a tiny white planter electorate did not prevent the conflicts between the local legislature and the colonial executive familiar throughout the empire in this period; if anything they were more

vituperative than usual, and Jamaica's economic problems in the wake of abolition led some planters to muse about joining the **United States**.

At the same time American slaveholders held up Jamaica as an example of the problems consequent on abolition. At Morant Bay in 1865, riots among the black population killed about 30 people; official reprisals ordered by Governor Edward Eyre killed several hundred, and a colored member of the legislature was hanged after a dubious trial. This led to the recall of Eyre and a long controversy in Britain between his supporters led by Thomas **Carlyle** and emancipationists led by J. S. **Mill**; this issue displayed in sharp relief both sides of Victorian attitudes to race. In the wake of the massacres, the Jamaican assembly was disbanded. The Jamaican constitution of 1885 created a semi-representative government, but it did not work well. By 1899, the island was close to bankrupt and the Colonial Office imposed direct rule. Some improvement in Jamaica's fortunes followed in the Edwardian period. The age of high imperialism thus saw one of the original and most profitable of colonies fall into a state of relative unimportance.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Jameson Raid (1895)

Occurring in December 1895, the Jameson Raid was an armed incursion into the territory of the South African Republic, also known as the Transvaal, by a battalion-size force of British South Africa Company Police under the command of Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, a close associate of Cecil Rhodes. Jameson and others in South African imperialist circles imagined that the large number of discontented British subjects, most of whom were attached to the gold mining industry, living in the Afrikaner-ruled Transvaal would rise in rebellion against the government of Paul Kruger, if offered support from an outside force.

No rising occurred, however, and Jameson's force ignominiously surrendered to Transvaal forces. The raid was important from four points of view, in roughly declining order of importance: it hardened Afrikaner attitudes to the British in the run-up to the South African War of 1899; it provoked the Kaiser's congratulatory telegram to Kruger of January 1896, thereby increasing Anglo-German antagonism; it called into question the close links between Cecil **Rhodes**, chairman of the British South Africa Company and at that point also prime minister of the Cape Colony, and Tory ministers, among them Joseph **Chamberlain**, in London, leading to the resignation of Rhodes; finally, the absence of the company's police from Rhodesia helped to provoke rebellions on the part of the African tribes in that colony, thereby leading to the Second Matabele War of 1896. Without the ill-advised and impetuous Jameson Raid, undertaken on the initiative of Jameson and with the connivance although without the immediate permission of Rhodes and Chamberlain, the South African War of 1899 might well have been avoided. *See also* Boer Wars; British South Africa Company; Matabele Wars.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Jammu and Kashmir, State of

See Kashmir

Janissaries

Created in the fourteenth century as a personal bodyguard by Sultan Orkhan (1326–1360) and named in Turkish *jeniçeri*, meaning “new militia,” Janissaries were the elite soldiers of the **Ottoman Empire**. The Janissaries became the first regular infantry unit maintained in constant employment by any European ruler. Composed of recruits from the European parts of the empire, Christian prisoners of war, and even slaves, the Janissaries were also the first Ottoman troops to be trained in the use of firearms. They became politically as well as militarily powerful, demonstrating on many occasions a capacity to depose sultans and dictate Ottoman policy. By the nineteenth century the Janissaries became a law unto themselves. In 1825, Sultan Mahmud II created the *eshkenjisa*, a new military unit based on European standards, and attempted to reform the Janissaries along similar lines. They revolted, were defeated by the *eshkenjisa* on June 15, 1826, and then hunted down and slaughtered by the civilian population of Constantinople. Between 6,000 and 20,000 were massacred, their bodies tossed in to the Bosphorus.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Japanese Empire

Japan was the only non-Western nation to construct an empire in the Age of Imperialism. Modeled in large part upon European empires, the Japanese Empire by 1914 included Taiwan, the adjacent Pescadore Islands, Korea, southern Sakhalin Island, and nearly 1,400 islands in the Marshal, Mariana, and Caroline Island chains in the South Pacific. In China, Japan occupied 1,300 square miles of territory in South Manchuria (Guandong) and 200 square miles of land in Kiaochow Bay, Shandong. The Guandong leasehold included the South Manchuria Railway, a first-class naval base at Port Arthur, and Dairen, one of the best ice-free ports on the coast of Northeast Asia. The Kiaochow lease included another first-class naval base and commercial port, Qingdao, and rights to the Shandong Railway.

Japan acquired the Guandong lease and Kiaochow Bay from Russia and Germany, respectively. But Japanese empire-builders themselves were responsible for constructing much of the modern infrastructure of Taiwan, Korea, southern Sakhalin, and the South Pacific Islands. A renewed spurt of empire building from 1931 added enormously to the geographic scope of the Japanese empire. But military defeat in 1945 stripped Japan completely of her overseas territories.

A Timeline of Japanese Expansion

The modern expansion of Japanese borders began during the Tokugawa Shōgunate between 1600 and 1868. The nominal authority of the Japanese archipelago was the *shōgun*—the strongest warrior in the land—whose government was headquartered in Edo, present-day Tokyo. In 1807, the *shōgun* assumed administrative control of the northern-most of the four main Japanese islands, Ezo, present-day Hokkaido. The Treaty of Shimoda, concluded in 1855 with Russia, added the southern half of the Kuril Island chain up to Iturup to Japan's northern border and recognized joint Russo-Japanese occupation of Sakhalin Island in the Sea of Okhotsk. To the south-east, the *shōgun* dispatched immigrants and established administrative control over the Bonin Islands in 1861.

The geographic scope of Japanese rule expanded apace with the emergence of modern Japan after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In 1875, another treaty with Russia traded Japanese interests in Sakhalin Island for ownership of the entire Kuril island chain. To the west, Tsushima Island became part of Nagasaki Prefecture. To the south, the Ryukyus, present-day Okinawa, were incorporated into the new state in 1879. In 1880, the Bonin Islands became part of the Tokyo metropolitan prefecture. Japan acquired her first formal colonies after her successful participation in three modern wars. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), Tokyo received title to Taiwan and the Pescadore Islands; as a result of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), Japan acquired its first foothold in China in the former Russian leasehold in southern Manchuria. By 1913, almost 90,000 Japanese lived in the leasehold, including a division-strength garrison of the Japanese Army at Port Arthur—named in 1919 the Guandong Army—and six battalions of special guard troops in the Railway zone. In 1905, Japan also received full title to the southern Sakhalin Island of Karafuto and preponderant political and economic influence in Korea. More than 42,000 Japanese resided in Korea in 1905, when Japan established a protectorate there, and she annexed the peninsula formally in 1910. In the first month of World War I in 1914, the Japanese navy chased the German East India Squadron out of the Marshal, Mariana, and Caroline Islands, establishing Japan for the first time as a Pacific empire. In November of the same year, Japanese troops ejected German forces from Qingdao, China.

The Japanese Empire and Western Imperialism

Although commercial activity between the Matsumae fiefdom in southern Ezo and the Ainu peoples who inhabited the rest of the island steadily expanded Japanese political and economic reach in the eighteenth century, the modern expansion of Japanese borders came overwhelmingly in response to the growing imperial activity of the Western powers in Asia. The *shōgun* authorized a geographic survey of Ezo and explorations of the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin Island in response to several intrusions by Russian ships in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Administrative control of the Bonin Islands in 1861 followed earlier claims to the islands by Britain in 1827 and the United States in 1853.

The immediate context for the founding of modern Japan was the renewed Western imperial thrust to the east after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Seeking an expansion of the highly lucrative tea trade, London abolished the British East India Company monopoly of trade with China in 1813 and in 1834

dispatched an official representative of the British crown, a superintendent of trade at Canton, to oversee a liberalization of commerce. When Beijing attempted to eradicate opium, Britain's principal currency of exchange for tea, a fleet of 16 British warships set sail for China. China's crushing defeat in the **Opium War** transformed the balance of power in East Asia. The Chinese had for more than 80 years confined trade with the Western maritime powers to Canton and maintained a tight control on foreign commerce. After 1842, Beijing was forced to conclude a series of "unequal treaties" with the Western powers that opened several Chinese ports to foreign commerce and residence and deprived China of its ability to set its own tariffs or to try foreign nationals in domestic courts.

Just 11 years after China capitulated to British firepower, U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into Uraga Bay outside of present-day Tokyo to make similar demands of Japan. Like China, Japanese leaders were compelled to conclude a series of treaties, beginning with the Treaty of **Kanagawa** with the United States in 1854, which opened Japanese ports to foreign commerce and residence on disadvantageous terms. Yet unlike China, the capitulation incited a civil war that brought down the shōgunate and spurred the founding of modern Japan.

Modern Japan's founders understood the projection of power as an integral symbol and prerogative of a modern nation. Just one year after the **Meiji Restoration**, influential statesmen urged an invasion of Korea in response to Seoul's refusal to normalize relations. By 1873, a "Conquer Korea" debate among the Japanese ruling circle had rejected invasion in favor of industrial development at home, but in 1874, Japan nonetheless sent 3,600 samurai warriors to Taiwan in retaliation for the massacre of 54 shipwrecked Ryukyuans by Taiwanese aborigines. Originally aimed at colonizing eastern Taiwan, Tokyo soon abandoned the scheme for fear of war with China and possible intervention by the Western powers. In the Peking Treaty of 1874, China instead agreed to pay an indemnity to the Ryukyus, thereby weakening Chinese claim to suzerainty over the Ryukyus and paving the way for incorporation of the islands into the Japanese empire.

Although the Korea debate of 1873 had rejected an immediate invasion, Japanese policymakers continued to seek Korean recognition of Japan's newfound status as a modern nation, and Japanese warships made periodic forays to the Korean coast after 1873. In 1875, Japanese troops seized a Korean fort on Kanghwa Island, south of Seoul, after being fired on by Korean shore batteries. The next year, Tokyo sent an emissary with military support to demand a normalization of relations. On the model of Commodore Perry's 1854 "opening" of Japan, Kuroda Kiyotaka forced Korea to conclude the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876, which, like earlier treaties forced on China and Japan by the Western powers, compelled Korea to open its ports to international commerce on disadvantageous terms.

The Kanghwa treaty marked the beginning of a long-term Japanese interest in Korea that would bring Japan to successive blows against two other regional rivals, China and Russia. First, having upset Korea's traditional deference to Chinese regional hegemony, the treaty marked the beginning of almost two decades of Sino-Japanese jockeying for position on the peninsula. Although Tokyo had negotiated the Kanghwa treaty directly with Seoul, a new Chinese Imperial Commissioner for Northern Ports concluded the remainder of Korea's treaties with the Western powers in the early 1880s. From the late 1870s through the early 1890s, Japan and

China allied with rival Korean political factions to vie for political, economic, and diplomatic influence in Seoul. By 1882, Japan had 700 and China 1,500 troops stationed permanently in the Korean capital to safeguard their burgeoning interests.

Japan's military defeat of China in 1895 marked the end of Chinese regional hegemony. It also spelled the beginning of a new round of Great Power competition that would noticeably expand the influence of a formidable new Western presence in Asia, that of Russia. After the initial conquest of Siberia in the seventeenth century, Russian pressure in Northeast Asia eased until after the Second **Opium War**, when St. Petersburg joined the powers in the unequal treaty regime imposed on Beijing. Most conspicuously, the Supplemental Treaty of Peking in 1860 granted the tsar almost 400,000 square miles of territory in the Maritime Provinces northeast of Manchuria and Korea. The start of construction on a **Trans-Siberian Railway** in 1891 confirmed St. Petersburg's commitment to colonization of the Russian Far East. By 1895, Vladivostok, the proposed terminus of the railway, had become a substantial port city. Having amassed a fleet of 29 warships there, Russia confidently initiated the Triple Intervention in that year, allying with France and Germany to force Japan to relinquish claims to the Liaodong Peninsula in south Manchuria at the peace conference with China. By the Treaty of Li-Lobanov in 1896, China permitted Russian construction of a railway through north Manchuria, the Chinese Eastern Railway, shortening the route of the Trans-Siberian Railway to Vladivostok.

One year later, using the murder of two German missionaries in Shandong province as a pretext, imperial Germany began a scramble for "spheres of influence" in China, whereby the powers vied for exclusive rights to build railways, mines, and fortified ports in strategic areas throughout the continent. By 1898, Germany had acquired a leasehold in Kiaochow Bay, the British in Weihaiwei and Kowloon near Hong Kong, the French in Kwangchow near the border of French Indochina, and Russia in the Liaodong Peninsula. Japan obtained only a simple pledge from Beijing not to grant special rights to any other power in Fujian province, across the straits from Taiwan.

The growing Russian presence in Northeast Asia also placed new pressure on Korea. Forever in search of a warm-water port in the Pacific, St. Petersburg had sent a warship to Tsushima Island in 1861 and proceeded to build permanent shore facilities. Although two British men-of-war foiled the mission, Russia began making demands for trade at the Korean border after the 1860 acquisition of the Maritime Provinces. The tsar joined the unequal treaty regime in Seoul with the 1884 Russo-Korean Treaty. Japan therefore moved aggressively after the Sino-Japanese War to consolidate its position in Korea. But in 1895, when the new Japanese minister in Seoul supported a plot to assassinate the Korean queen, the crown prince sought asylum in the Russian legation. During the year that the prince remained with the Russians, he looked to St. Petersburg for substantial political, economic, and military advice. In 1896, Russia received mining and timber rights near the Russo-Korean border, in North Hamgyong province and the Yalu Basin and Ullung Island, respectively. The Li-Lobanov Treaty between Russia and China also outlined mutual military assistance in the event of a Japanese attack on either signatory or Korea.

American, French, German, and British concessionaires joined the Russians after the Sino-Japanese War in the rush to construct and finance railway, mining, electricity, and waterworks projects in Korea, just as they proceeded in China. Initially, Russian pressure excluded Japanese interests from this competition. In 1898, how-

ever, Russian demands for a coaling station at Deer Island in Pusan Harbor in southern Korea provoked a backlash from the Western powers that spelled opportunity for Tokyo. In the same year, Japanese interests received rights to finance and construct two rail lines in Korea, from the capital to Pusan on the south coast and to Inchon on the west coast. The Nishi-Rosen Agreement concluded with Russia in the same year barred both signatories from direct interference in Korean internal affairs yet recognized Japan's preferential economic and commercial position in Korea.

Like the Sino-Japanese War, the **Boxer Insurrection** (1899–1901) transformed the balance of power in East Asia. Responding to the penetration of Western missionaries into rural China after the 1858 Treaty of Tianjin, the Boxers United in Righteousness arose in northwest Shandong province in 1898 and in 1900 laid siege to the foreign legation quarters in Beijing. The Great Powers dispatched a combined force of 20,000, 8,000 of whom came from Japan, to liberate their respective countrymen. But like the Sino-Japanese War, the Boxer disturbance sparked a renewed scramble for position among the intervening powers. In the south, the Japanese civilian administrator in Taiwan plotted an expedition to seize the principal port of Fujian province, Amoy, across the straits from the Japanese colony. Tokyo eventually vetoed the scheme for fear of upsetting Great Britain, a potential ally in the accelerating rivalry with Russia. In the north, Russia had used the outbreak of the Boxer uprising to flood Manchuria with 200,000 troops. This dramatic new military presence became the immediate catalyst for the **Russo-Japanese War**, in which Japan's spectacular victories on land at **Mukden** and at sea in the Straits of **Tsushima** marked its coming-out as a power of the first rank.

Japan again followed military victory in 1905 with swift efforts to consolidate control in Korea. With no remaining regional rivals after Russia's defeat, the door now stood open to Japanese hegemony on the peninsula. Even before the Treaty of **Portsmouth** ended the war, the United States concluded an executive agreement with Tokyo recognizing Japanese "suzerainty over Korea," the Taft-Katsura Agreement of July 1905. Four months later, Japan compelled Korean officials to sign a Protectorate Treaty, calling for a Japanese resident-general in Seoul. The new executive head possessed sweeping powers to supervise Japanese officials and advisers in Korea, intervene directly in Korean decision making, issue regulations enforceable by imprisonment or fines, and use Japanese troops to maintain law and order. Seoul continued to resist Japanese encroachments, but the assassination of Resident General Hirobumi Itō in 1909 led to formal incorporation of the peninsula via the 1910 Treaty of Annexation.

One month after the Protectorate Treaty with Korea, China confirmed a new position for Japan in South Manchuria. Japan had been shut out of the scramble for spheres of influence in China after the Sino-Japanese War, but the Sino-Japanese Treaty of December 1905 now recognized the transfer to Japan of Russian rights and leases in Liaodong Peninsula. The **South Manchuria Railway**, Dairen, Port Arthur, and the Guandong Army would become the backbone of Japanese power and influence in China until the end of World War II.

In light of the country's steady expansion through successive wars, Japan's leadership looked to the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 as another opportunity. By November 1914, Japan had made two notable additions to her burgeoning empire: the Japanese navy occupied German Micronesia—the Marshal, Mariana,

and Caroline Islands—while Japanese troops ejected German forces from Kiaochow Bay. Although Tokyo formally returned its Shandong possessions to China in 1922, the islands of German Micronesia remained in Japanese hands as Class C mandates under the League of Nations covenant through 1945.

Japanese Empire through Western Inspiration and Aid

If the Japanese Empire grew largely within the context of Western imperialism in Asia, it was also inspired by the same principals that underlay the rapid expansion of Western power in the late nineteenth century. The first full Japanese-language translation of Henry Wheaton's 1836 classic, *Elements of International Law: With a Sketch of the History of the Science*, appeared in 1869 and became a critical guide for Japan's crusade to behave and be treated like a "civilized" nation. Herbert Spencer's evolutionary theories came to Japan through the University of Tokyo, where Toyama Masakazu, who had become devoted to Spencer after several years of study at the University of Michigan, began lecturing in 1876 on Spencer's ideas on biology, psychology, and sociology. At the same time, American Ernest Fenellosa taught philosophy at Tokyo University through a distinctly Spencerian lens. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* and Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* were both translated into Japanese in the early 1880s.

Although Japan did not enjoy the racial disparity with its subject peoples typical of Western colonialism, Japanese empire-builders shared with their Western counterparts a faith in human progress and the universality of the principles defined by international law, a belief in the "survival of the fittest" and a conviction that they, as members of a "civilized" race, possessed both the right and responsibility to uplift their less enlightened neighbors. In 1875, Fukuzawa Yukichi, a Japanese man of letters, published the wildly popular *Outline of Civilization*, which defined civilization as intellectual and moral progress. Just one year earlier, Japanese policymakers had contemplated the colonization of eastern Taiwan to bring civilization to an area where China exercised no legal jurisdiction. Kuroda Kiyotaka was dispatched to Korea in 1876 to negotiate a treaty based on the "law of nations." And on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan demanded of Seoul the removal of "old, deep-rooted abuses," which "endangered peace and order."

Taiwan, South Manchuria, southern Sakhalin, Korea, and German Micronesia were eventually incorporated into the Japanese empire in the name of civilizing the "lesser peoples" of Asia. Japanese statesmen meticulously established legal title to all territories through internationally recognized treaties, and they exported to their colonies those institutions that had, by their introduction into Japan in the late nineteenth century, come to define a modern nation: a modern bureaucracy, national education, taxation, policing, and a new industrial infrastructure of railroads, telegraphs, and factories. Even the physical layout of Western capitals and colonial territories that had made their way to Japan in the nineteenth century were reexported to Japanese colonies in the form of large, Western-style stone buildings with imposing columns and arches and wide, tree-lined boulevards.

In its initial forays into colonial governance, Japanese imperialism clearly looked West for much of its inspiration. Early efforts to raise Japanese influence in Korea through railway construction and loans identified British Egypt as a suitable model. The first Japanese civilian administrator of Taiwan and later head of the South

Manchuria Railway, Goto Shinpei, encouraged his subordinates to read widely about British colonialism and commissioned a Japanese translation of Sir Charles Lucas' *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*. Having spent several years of study in Germany in the 1880s, Goto also avidly subscribed to German ideas of "scientific colonialism."

If Japanese empire-builders referenced the same literature on international relations and colonial governance as their Western counterparts, they equally received critical direct guidance from leading Western practitioners of empire building. The Japanese policymakers who had advised against the invasion of Korea in 1873 did so after close observation of the West. During a 22-month sojourn to the United States and Europe, these men had surveyed every trapping of modern national power: parliaments, factories, foundries, and shipyards. And they listened intently as the leader of a powerful newcomer to the international stage, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck, advised them to build up and rely on Japan's own strength. When conversely Japan's young leaders decided in 1874 to send a military expedition to colonize eastern Taiwan, they did so on the advice of former U.S. consul to Amoy Charles LeGendre. A French legal adviser to the Japanese government, Gustave Boissanade, aided the 1874 negotiations with China that recognized *de facto* Japanese suzerainty over the Ryukyus. And the conversion of Japan's modern army from small-scale garrisons to a large, mobile force capable of projecting Japanese military strength was facilitated by the Prussian officer, Major Klemens Meckel, who in 1885 began teaching at Japan's new army staff college that Korea was a "daggar pointed at the heart of Japan." In 1895, Japanese negotiators at the peace conference with China followed the guidance of veteran American legal adviser to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Henry W. Denison. Four years later, Denison helped arrange the transfer from American to Japanese interests of a concession to build the Seoul-Inchon rail link in Korea.

Japanese imperialism also received inspiration and direct guidance from abroad, often relying on Western technical and material support. Through advice and help from the Netherlands, the only Western power with which the Tokugawa regime engaged in active trade, Japan had already constructed Western-style ironworks, steam engines, and dockyards by 1868. In the waning years of the Tokugawa era, Russian interests advised the construction of a series of Western-style sailing vessels, and French technicians helped build the Yokosuka Foundry and Shipyards.

Western technical support swelled with the advent of modern Japan and the arrival of more than 6,000 foreign technical experts in the late nineteenth century. In 1876, the Japanese government employed more than 100 British engineers and technicians to advise the construction of a modern rail system. Until 1912, all steam locomotives running on Japanese rails came from foreign factories, and two of the six ships that comprised Kuroda Kiyotaka's show of strength to Korea in 1876 were piloted by foreign captains. British engineers helped construct the first Japanese integrated ironworks in the late 1870s and, in 1901, German know-how produced Japan's first modern steelworks. Japanese technicians regularly received training in major Western armaments firms, such as Vickers and Krupp. By the turn of the century, Japanese arsenals and dockyards used sophisticated imported techniques. Nonetheless, all four Japanese battleships in the Japanese armada that decimated the Russian Baltic fleet in the Battle of Tsushima Straits in 1905 came from British

shipyards. British diplomatic and financial support, facilitated by the **Anglo-Japanese Alliance** of 1902, also played a critical role in Japan's victory over tsarist Russia.

The Japanese Empire as an Anomaly

Although the Japanese empire fit comfortably within the late nineteenth-century scramble for colonies and strategic position initiated in the West, certain factors distinguish Japan from its Western counterparts. Most fundamentally, as a former victim of Great Power imperialism, Japan's rise in international status lagged behind that of the other industrial nations, and Japanese empire-building through 1914 remained an exercise in catch-up. Heavy reliance on Western models, and technical and material support was an important consequence of the particular timing of Japan's emergence on the world stage, as was the intensely political and top-down quality of Japanese expansion. Japan remained primarily an agricultural economy until the eve of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, whereas emigration to subject territories did not lead but rather followed the Japanese flag.

Another fundamental contrast with Western colonialism, geographic proximity to new territory, facilitated Japanese expansion. Whereas most European powers vied for influence in the far reaches of the globe, Japanese policymakers had the luxury of expanding into contiguous territory. Although Japan lagged behind the other powers in the level of industrial maturity, military capacity, and capitalization, it greatly benefited from lower transportation costs, rapid communications, and familiarity with the climate and cultures of its subject territories. Cultural affinity would become the foundation of an entirely new Japanese imperial enterprise from 1931 to 1945. The architects of empire in 1930s Japan built on earlier territorial acquisitions. The Manchurian Incident, which inaugurated the new era, sprang from an explosion on the South Manchuria Railway, and during the 14 years of war that followed, Tokyo tightened its control of its original territories in Taiwan, South Manchuria, Korea, Karafuto, and German Micronesia.

The new Imperial Japan at its farthest reach dwarfed the scope of the original empire. By 1942, in addition to the original territories, Tokyo controlled all of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, the entire Chinese coast and industrial centers, most of Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific to the Solomon Islands. More important, the new Japanese Empire grew not as an expression of compliance with international legal norms but as an explicit rejection of Western imperialism in Asia. Rather than seek open association with the Western powers and distinct detachment from "lesser" Asian neighbors, Japanese expansion in the 1930s unambiguously played on the historical and cultural affinities enjoyed with many of its subject peoples to call for "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity." *See also* Chrysanthemum Throne; Mutsuhito, Emperor; Restoration War; Satsuma Rebellion; Taisho Democracy; *Zaibatsu*; Z-flag.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Java

The most populous inland of present-day Indonesia, Java was of interest to sixteenth-century Portuguese traders, who were promptly followed by the Dutch **East India Company** and the establishment of the port of Batavia in 1619 as an entrepôt for inter-Asian trade. When the Dutch Republic was invaded by Napoleonic armies in 1795, the company dissolved and a governor-general appointed, Herman Willem Daendels, who established an administrative system on the French model and constructed a postal road in large part with forced labor. In 1810, Napoleonic France then annexed the Netherlands outright, thereby making all Dutch colonies of strategic interest to Britain in its war with Napoleon. In 1811, a British invasion fleet arrived in Java, and Batavia surrendered shortly thereafter. The British controlled Java until 1816, when it was returned to the Netherlands. During the British occupation, the lieutenant-governor of Java, Thomas Stamford **Raffles**, applied a “forward policy” in Java, claiming Borneo, the Celebes, the Moluccas, Java, and Sumatra, much to the annoyance of the British East India Company whose directors were skeptical of Java’s profitability. Raffles also conducted the first population census of Java and attempted economic, fiscal, and land tenure reforms—along with the abolition of slavery—but with little success before Java was returned to the Dutch.

Through the introduction of the infamous “cultivation system,” whereby the Dutch government produced agricultural goods in Java for sale at auction back in Amsterdam, hundreds of millions of guilders flowed into the coffers of the Dutch treasury. Some reforms were introduced in response to violent rebellions between 1825 and 1830, but the population of Java suffered enormously under a system geared to the demands of Dutch consumers and negligent of the most elementary needs of Javanese producers. Central Java was struck by famine in 1849–1850. Incremental reforms were introduced starting in 1848, but it was not until the 1860s that most forced cultivation was phased out. *See also* East India Companies; Napoleonic Wars; Netherlands.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826)

Thomas Jefferson was an American founding father, author of the Declaration of Independence, minister to Paris, secretary of state, and third president of the **United States** (1801–1809). Jefferson was born on April 13, 1743, to wealthy landowners,

Peter Jefferson and Jane Randolph. He attended the College of William and Mary where he also participated in the secret Flat Hat Club. He studied law and philosophy and headed the American Philosophical Society.

As president, Jefferson accomplished many things that benefited the United States. He authorized the Lewis and Clarke expedition to the Pacific and negotiated the **Louisiana Purchase** in which Washington purchased in 1803 from Napoleonic France 529,911,680 acres of land for \$15 million, doubling the size of the country and thereby expanding, in his own words, “the empire of liberty.” The purchase was in part facilitated by the conflict in Europe. Spain’s transfer of territory in North America to France closed the Mississippi and prompted a call for war from Congress. Jefferson’s decision to send James Monroe to both France and Spain to negotiate a peaceful settlement was more astute than he could have guessed, as Napoleon’s decision to make war against England encouraged him to part with overseas territory of no use to him in the impending struggle. Monroe came home with much more than he had sought and, due to circumstance, at a bargain price. He also responded to the slave revolt in **Haiti** by sending rebellious American slaves to Haiti, thereby in effect aiding the rebellion there while forestalling it at home. He also engaged in a prolonged but worthwhile struggle with the **Barbary States**, 1801–1807, over their commerce raiding in the Mediterranean. By neglecting the maintenance of the navy constructed by his predecessor, John Adams, he made the American effort more difficult, but he nonetheless thought it imperative that a trading nation reach out to chastise the insolence of piracy.

Yet in 1807, Jefferson also unnecessarily harmed relations with Britain by transforming his insistence of rights of neutral states into a policy of embargo against both Britain and France, now properly at war. Anglo-American relations were equally damaged by the British policy of seizing American crews for service in the Royal Navy, but the embargo damaged the maritime economy of the New England states, benefited the **Continental System** of Napoleon, and set American affairs on a course that led ultimately to the **Anglo-American War** of 1812. *See also* Manifest Destiny; Napoleonic Wars.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Jellicoe, John Rushworth (1859–1935)

British naval officer and commander of the Grand Fleet at the Battle of Jutland in 1916. Small in stature but academically brilliant, Jellicoe joined the Royal Navy as a cadet in 1872 and rapidly climbed the officer ranks. He served in the Egyptian expedition of 1882 and subsequently became chief of staff to John Fisher at the naval gunnery school, HMS *Excellent*. He remained close to Fisher throughout his career. He served with distinction in the **Boxer Insurrection** in 1900, being severely wounded in action. He played, under Fisher as First Sea Lord, a part in the development of the *Dreadnought*. Jellicoe was placed in command of the Grand Fleet in 1914, thanks to Fisher’s influence. The long-expected battle with the Germans arrived on May 31, 1916. After an initial clash of battle-cruiser squadrons in which

British losses were significant, Jellicoe succeeded in engaging the main body of the German High Seas fleet in favorable circumstances, and inflicting significant damage. But when the Germans retreated, Jellicoe did not aggressively pursue, in part because of his fear of torpedoes, and therefore did not win the second Trafalgar that many had hoped for.

The Royal Navy in the pre-World War I period has been accused of becoming a rigidly hierarchical and conservative organization far removed in spirit from the initiative and risk-taking of the age of Nelson. Jellicoe's critics accuse him of exemplifying these faults, pointing to both his love of detail and his caution at Jutland. Characterized by Churchill as the only man who could lose the war in an afternoon, his caution was not unjustified. It is the case that the German fleet remained in harbor for the rest of the war, making Jutland a strategic victory even if it was not a tactical one. *See also* Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Tirpitz Plan.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Jena, Battle of (1806)

Often referred to as Jena-Auerstädt, one of two battles fought on the same day, October 14, 1806, in which the French decisively defeated the Prussians. Napoleon, initially with 46,000 men but later rising to 54,000, plus 70 guns, engaged Prince Friedrich von Hohenlohe, with 55,000 men and 120 guns. Advancing at a rapid pace, Napoleon maneuvered his army around the Prussian left flank, putting himself between Berlin and Hohenlohe's forces. Moving toward the west, Marshals Davout and Bernadotte sought to sever the Prussian lines of communication, while the remainder of the French under Napoleon proceeded in the direction of Jena. The Prussians turned around to face their opponents and divided their forces in two, with 63,000 men under the duke of Brunswick marching to Auerstädt, 15 miles to the north. Napoleon opened an assault at dawn. The Prussians counterattacked, but when their offensive began to waver under heavy French musket and artillery fire, Napoleon ordered forward three corps, forcing their opponents back. The French lost only 4,000 killed and wounded, as compared to the Prussians' 25,000 killed, wounded, and captured.

The significance of Jena cannot be understood without reference to its counterpart fought at Auerstädt, where Davout found himself assailed by the bulk of the Prussian army. The French commander, with 26,000 men and 44 guns, held his position against more than twice his strength—50,000 Prussians and 230 guns under Brunswick—who was mortally wounded in the course of the fighting. The Prussians launched a series of small-scale attacks over the course of six hours, but when news of the defeat at Jena began to circulate in the ranks, Prussian morale began to wane and caused troops to retire on both flanks, thereby exposing the center to enfilading fire from the French artillery. Prussian cohesion soon faltered, and after 20,000 fresh French troops arrived and pounced on the Prussian rear, the whole of Brunswick's force dissolved into a rout. The French lost 7,000 killed

and wounded, and the Prussians suffered more than 10,000 casualties. Between the two engagements, the French captured more than 200 pieces of artillery. Prussia's twin defeats ended all speculation as to the superiority of the army bequeathed by Frederick the Great and ended all further organized resistance. The French quickly occupied Berlin and mopped up the remainder of Prussian forces in a brilliantly conducted campaign of pursuit and blockade. *See also* Clausewitz, Carl von; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Jhansi, Siege of (1858)

A battle of the **Indian Mutiny** of 1857–1858. The strongest position of the rebels in Central India was the city of Jhansi, 130 miles south of Agra, dominated by a fort. Inside the fort there was a foundry capable of manufacturing cast iron mortars. On March 22, 1858, British General Sir Hugh Rose, commanding the Central India Force, laid siege to Jhansi. When Tantia Tope with 20,000 men attempted to relieve Jhansi, on April 1, Rose defeated him on the bank of River Betwa. On April 3, Rose's troops opened the assault on Jhansi. Once the breaching batteries had blasted the walls of the city, the British troops entered the town. A grim hand to hand struggle broke out in the narrow streets and houses within the city. Jhansi was defended by 1,500 **sepoys** and 9,500 rebels armed with matchlocks, but they failed before the siege guns and professional infantry of Rose. On April 4, the *Rani* Lakshmi Bai, a charismatic woman who led the mutineers of Jhansi—*rani* is Hindi for “queen”—fled and on April 6 all resistance ended.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Jihad

Meaning “On the path of God,” *jihad* is a Muslim doctrine of struggle against unbelievers for the protection or expansion of the realm of Islam. For a believer engaged in *jihad* sins are remitted, whereas death encountered on God's path secures immediate admittance to paradise. The first *jihad* was led by the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century and was integral to the unification of the Beduin tribes of the Arabian Peninsula into an Arab nation. In the nineteenth century, *jihadist* activity was usually defensive or insurgent in nature, such as in that of Janangir against the Qing Dynasty in Turkmenistan in 1821; the serial *jihads* of Abd-al-Qādir against French control of Algeria starting in the 1830s; and the Sudanese Mahdi of Dongola's campaign against the British Empire climaxing in the capture of Khar-toum and the collapse of William Gladstone's government in 1885.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Jingoism

Clamorous and pugnacious patriotism commonly used to describe popular bellicosity leading up to or during foreign wars. “Jingo” is a corruption of the name of Jingū Kōgō, a legendary Japanese goddess credited with subduing the kingdoms of Korea. Its popular use in Britain dates to 1877–1878 when public opinion mobilized in support of Benjamin Disraeli’s dispatch of naval forces and Indian colonial troops to oppose Russia’s invasion of the Balkans and possible seizure of the Dardanelles. Music hall audiences sang that “We don’t want to fight, but, by Jingo if we do, we’ve got the men, we’ve got the ships, we’ve got the money too.”

One of the more noteworthy episodes of jingoism came during the Boer War on May 18, 1900, when news reached Britain of the relief of a British garrison at Mafeking after a seven-month siege. Mobs celebrated the victory by taking to the streets and in some instances attacking the houses of anti-imperialists or reputed “pro-Boers.” The event, in turn, coined a new term: *mafficking*. See also Boer Wars; John Bull; Russo-Turkish War.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

John Bull

The name used to personify the English people and British imperialism. Although first used in the seventeenth century, it was John Arbuthnot, a Scottish writer and Queen Anne’s physician, who popularized it in his 1712 *The History of John Bull*, a political allegory advocating the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. John Bull was an honest, jolly, hot-tempered cloth merchant, embroiled in a lawsuit with his European neighbors.

From the 1760s, John Bull began a long history in the visual media. The *John Bull* newspaper, a Tory organ, was established. By the mid-nineteenth century he was defined as a rotund, usually rural, shabby farmer or squire. John Tenniel’s drawings for *Punch* are the most recognizable version: a portly, ruddy-cheeked and side-whiskered but dignified gentleman, with boots and a shabby hat, usually with a Union Jack waistcoat and a bulldog at heel.

John Bull was in partisan terms neutral, as the Liberal *Punch* and the Tory *Judy* enlisted him with equal credibility. By 1900, John Bull had lost most of his everyman and apolitical character. In 1906, a journalist, swindler, and politician, Horatio Bottomley founded *John Bull* as a weekly journal. Bottomley’s John Bull dressed in a short top hat, riding gear, and crop, and savaged Herbert Asquith’s Liberal government’s fiscal policies. Hereafter John Bull featured mostly on the Conservative side of politics. See also Jingoism.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

July Crisis (1914)

The precipitant diplomatic crisis of World War I, the July Crisis is also referred to as the Mobilization Crisis. The crisis began on Sunday June, 28, 1914 with the assassination of Archduke **Francis Ferdinand**, heir to the Habsburg throne, by Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian Serb fanatic, during a visit to Sarajevo in **Bosnia-Herzegovina** to view the summer maneuvers of the Austro-Hungarian army. During the month of July it proceeded to an Austrian declaration of war on Serbia on July 28, a general mobilization by Russia the next day, French and German mobilization on August 1 and German declaration of war against Russia later the same day, a German declaration of war on France on August 3 countered by a British declaration against Germany on August 4, and, finally an Austrian declaration against Russia on August 6. Between the assassination and Vienna's war note to Belgrade a series of diplomatic and military measures—not one of which made war inevitable, but equally none of which were unequivocally dedicated to its prevention—ushered the situation among the Great Powers from the possibility to the probability to the near certainty of Armageddon.

These began with Vienna seeking German support for an Austrian war to eliminate Serbia as factor in the Balkans. Because the Austrian government had wanted to destroy Serbia in 1912–1913 and had been thwarted, the assassination was viewed in Vienna as an opportunity to revisit the issue. Until now the German government had seen Austria's fear of Serbian nationalism as hysterical, which it was, but the sensation of the assassination moved Berlin to take the Balkan situation more seriously. Under these circumstances in July 1914 it was possible for the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Count Leopold von Berchtold, to obtain what amounted to a “blank check” of support from Germany to undertake against Serbia whatever measures the Austro-Hungarian government deemed imperative. Indeed, Kaiser **Wilhelm II** himself assured Vienna's ambassador, Ladislaus Szögyényi-Marich, of German backing even if Russia intervened on behalf of Serbia. This assurance opened a door between the small regional war Austro-Hungary was preparing to launch against Serbia and a full-out European conflict, unless Russia responded to Serbia's punishment exactly as Berlin and Vienna hoped.

The next step was the Austro-Hungarian 48-hour ultimatum delivered to the Serbian government on July 23. Among other things, it demanded the suppression of publications and organizations engaged in anti-Austrian activities and the dismissal of Serbian officials thought to be involved, directly or otherwise, in such activities; cooperation of Serbian officials with those of Austria in the investigation of the assassination along with legal proceedings against individuals accessory to it; the arrest of Serbian officials found to be involved; and an explanation for the continuing “unjustifiable utterances” of high Serbian officials. The Serbian reply was mostly positive yet rejected outright the demand for proceedings against accessories. Serbia mobilized its forces before even filing the reply; Austria also mobilized and

made hostilities official on July 28. On July 26 the British foreign minister, Edward Grey—a veteran of successful arbitration during the **Balkan Wars**—had proposed an international conference, but only France and Russia had agreed. Vienna rebuffed outright any submission of an issue of “national honor” to the opinion of other governments, an outrageous articulation given that its position was dependent on German steel.

Thus Austria had the war it sought. It was only from this point forward that the mobilization of their armies became an integral factor in the failure of national governments to prevent its rapid evolution to a general conflagration. Tsar Nicholas II initially ordered Russian mobilization against Austria but came under pressure to mobilize against Germany, too, because Russia’s enormous territory made mobilization slow and could put the country at a decisive disadvantage if Germany were to mobilize first. On July 29, this order was temporarily cancelled following a telegram from Wilhelm II with the welcome news that Germany was attempting to restrain Austria. But timely mobilization was actually more critical to Germany, faced with the prospect of war in the east and west against two of the **Entente** powers, Russia and France.

The potential cost of the German blank check was now becoming apparent. A short, sharp Austrian triumph in the Balkans could have altered the European balance of power in favor of the **Triple Alliance** without Germany having to fight. With this calculation now in serious peril, army chief of staff General Helmuth von Moltke urged full Austrian and German mobilization. When Russian mobilization resumed on July 30, Germany delivered a 12-hour ultimatum on July 31 that it stop. In addition, Berlin sought clarification from Paris on France’s attitude to a Russo-German war, while looking to Britain for assurances of neutrality. France’s response was cryptic, and Britain’s was a demand that the neutrality of Belgium be respected—a demand Germany rejected. French and German mobilization orders were then almost simultaneous late on the afternoon of August 1, with the difference that Germany now sought British influence to keep France neutral in return for a promise not to attack. At 7:00 P.M., Germany declared war on Russia. The next day Belgium defied Germany’s demand for a right of passage for its troops through Belgian territory, and the British cabinet decided that its position would be decided over precisely that issue: if Germany violated Belgium neutrality, guaranteed by the Treaty of London in 1839, Britain would be bound to come to Belgium’s aid. When Germany declared war on France on August 3 and promptly launched its invasion of Belgium, therefore, British policy was decided, and the Triple Entente was at war with the Triple Alliance. War was made official on August 4, at which point Austro-Hungary’s Serbian war had, in little more than month, become a continental and finally a global conflict that ultimately was to consume a generation of European manhood and draw in Italy, Turkey, and the United States. The Age of Imperialism was over. *See also* Balkan Crises; Black Hand; Eastern Question; Habsburg Empire; London, Treaty of; Military Conversations; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire; Schlieffen Plan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

July Monarchy (1830–1848)

The reign of the “bourgeois king,” Louis Philippe, on the restored throne of France is known as the July Monarchy. After the **July Revolution** of 1830, Louis Philippe (1773–1850) became the French monarch by invitation from the Chamber of Deputies. His rule was hated by conservatives, liberals, and socialists alike. The overwhelmingly bourgeois regime presided over national prosperity until an economic depression in 1846–1847, but it was bereft of any governing principle. It did not look into the grievances of the working class and violently suppressed their revolts in 1831 and 1834.

The regime’s foreign policy was uninspiring. Differences with Britain arose over the question of Egypt, and military successes in Algeria were derided as pathetic attempts at reviving Napoleonic glory. The growing upsurge of socialism in the 1840s took the July monarchy to its inevitable end; during its final months, Prime Minister François Pierre Guizot failed in his endeavor at reconciling contradictory ideologies—the revolution with the *ancien régime* and authoritarianism with democracy. Discontent against the regime mounted when demands for extension of electoral suffrage were rejected and rioting broke out on February 23, 1848. The next day Louis Philippe abdicated and the Second Republic was established. *See also* Bonapartism.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

July Revolution (1830)

A revolutionary wave of the 1830s that swept over Europe beginning in France, ending the reign of **Charles X**, the successor of Bourbon ruler Louis XVIII. Charles, unlike his predecessor, believed in an absolute monarchy and tried to revive many features of the *ancien régime*. His measures, like giving compensation to émigrés and the removal of many liberal provisions of the constitution, angered the bourgeoisie. In July 1830, he suspended the liberty of press, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and restricted the electoral franchise. An insurrection broke out. Its leaders were from the parliamentary opposition and backed by lower bourgeoisie. After three days of fighting, Charles abdicated in favor of his 10-year-old grandson, the count of Chambord, and then fled to Britain, but he was succeeded by Louis Philippe after the invitation from the Chamber of Deputies. Louis Philippe agreed to rule as a constitutional monarch. Although the July Revolution did not bring lasting political change, its effects were felt in other parts of Europe, including **Belgium**, **Italy**, the German states, Poland, and Switzerland, where conservatives trembled and liberals took heart. *See also* Bourbon Dynasty.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Junker

Derived from *junger Herr*, “young nobleman,” a *junker* was a member of the landed aristocracy of Prussia and other regions of northeastern Germany east of the Elbe River. Descended from feudal nobility, in some cases dating as far back as the eleventh century, nineteenth-century Junker families represented a primary buttress of support for the **Hohenzollern** dynasty and held leading positions in the civil service, the army and the navy of the Second Reich. As a social class, Junkers were affiliated with the German Conservative Party and increasingly associated with reactionary politics and Prussian militarism. In 1808, the Scharnhorst-Gneisenau reforms officially ended a Junker monopoly in the Prussian officer corps by opening it up to talent from other social classes, but Junker influence in the army in particular remained strong right up to 1914, and jealousy concerning Kaiser **Wilhelm II**’s enthusiasm for naval power influenced the Junker attitude concerning what might be risked or salvaged by a European war in that fateful year. *See also* Schlieffen Plan; Tirpitz Plan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

K

Kaffir Wars (1781–1879)

Also referred to as the Xhosa Wars, the Kaffir Wars were a series of conflicts, the precise number of which is uncertain, fought along the eastern border of the **Cape Colony** between settlers of Dutch and British origin and local African peoples, mostly Xhosa and Basuto. The term *kaffir* was initially used by Arab slave traders to refer to non-Muslims, but during the nineteenth century it was increasingly applied by the white population to all Bantu-speaking peoples of southeast Africa. By the end of the century the word *kaffir* was a common racist epithet hurled against black Africans. The wars were fired over competition for grazing land and involved the wanton slaughter of livestock and people. In the 1830s, Boer resentment over how British justice dealt with the conflicts was one of the factors leading to the **Great Trek**. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Kaiser-Wilhelm-Kanal

A strategically important waterway in northern Germany. The first plans to link the Baltic and the North Seas by a canal date from the Middle Ages. After the war with Denmark in 1864, Prussia secured herself the right to build a canal through the duchy of Schleswig. It took another 22 years, however, before the Reichstag eventually adopted the project on March 16, 1886. Although the facilitation of trade played a part in the decision, the canal was primarily built for military purposes. The building of the waterway also gave new strategic importance to the North Sea island of **Heligoland**, which had belonged to Great Britain since 1814. Guarding against a British bridgehead off the German shore and close to the new canal, Chancellor Leo von **Caprivi** succeeded in securing the island for the Reich

in the **Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty** on July 1, 1890 in exchange for Zanzibar and other African territories.

After Wilhelm I had launched the construction works of the waterway on June 3, 1887, **Wilhelm II** inaugurated the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Kanal in dedication to his grandfather on June 26, 1895. As the canal was navigable for ships of the size of up to 135 meters of length, 20 meters of breadth and 8 meters of gauge, big warships could now easily and securely be moved from the Baltic into the North Sea and vice versa: a potentially decisive room for maneuver in naval tactics. Because the post-*Dreadnought* ships were considerably larger, however, the canal required an upgrading only 10 years after its opening. The extension works started in 1907 and were duly completed on July 23, 1914, only weeks before the outbreak of World War I. In 1948, after World War II, the Kaiser Wilhelm-Kanal was renamed Nord-Ostsee-Kanal or Kiel Canal. *See also* German Empire; Navalism; Tirpitz Plan; *Weltpolitik*.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Kálnoky, Gustav (1832–1898)

Count Gustav Kálnoky, Austro-Hungarian foreign minister from 1881 to 1895, was born in December 1832 in Letovice in the Austrian crown land of Moravia. An officer in the Austrian army, he entered the diplomatic service in 1854. He made his diplomatic career in London, Rome, Copenhagen, and St. Petersburg, where he became ambassador in 1880. Kálnoky was appointed minister of foreign affairs in 1881.

The **Triple Alliance** with Germany and Austria's traditional foe, **Italy**, was one of the first of his major achievements. In addition, Romania and Serbia became alliance partners of the Habsburg monarchy. During the 1880s, European Great Power politics was shaped by a series of dangerous crises. Austria-Hungary cooperated closely with Germany and Great Britain and was able to defend her interests on the Balkan Peninsula. But in the early 1890s, relations with Italy deteriorated and there were tensions with Russia. Kálnoky resigned in 1895 and died in February 1898 in Brodek. *See also* German Empire; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Kanagawa, Treaty of (1854)

The treaty of amity and friendship between the **United States** and Japan, signed at Kanagawa, now Yokohama, Japan, on March 31, 1854, shortly after the arrival of the American Commodore Mathew C. Perry. The treaty stipulated which Japanese ports were to be opened to American trading vessels and set forth policies regarding the provisioning of American ships and the treatment of shipwrecked sailors. Finally, the treaty established an American consulate in Shikoda.

The Treaty of Kanagawa symbolized the end to Japan's two-century policy of national isolation, or *sakoku*, "closed country," and the opening of the country to foreign intercourse. It was soon followed by similar agreements between Japan and other foreign powers. The rapid and radical changes soon fostered in Japan as a result of its opening resulted in the overthrow of the country's Tokugawa Shōgunate in 1868 and Japan's embarkation on a path of modernizing reforms. *See also* Japanese Empire; Meiji Restoration.

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DANIEL C. KANE

Kandahar, Battle of (1880)

The decisive engagement of the Second Afghan War. After the defeat of British forces at Maiwand, an Afghan army under Ayub Khan laid siege to the British garrison at Kandahar. A relief force under the command of General Frederick Roberts covered the 313 miles between Kabul and Kandahar in 22 days in one of the most storied marches of British imperial history. Roberts had a force of Gordon and Seaforth Highlanders, Rifles, and Lancers, supplemented by Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Indian cavalry, for a total of just under 10,000 men. He defeated Ayub Khan's army of 11,000 men, inflicting Afghan casualties of 1,200 against 40 British killed and 228 wounded. As the siege and relief of Kandahar had been followed closely in Britain, Roberts was instantly a national hero. Already a recipient of the Victoria Cross, he was showered with further honors. A special Kabul-to-Kandahar medal, subsequently nicknamed the "Roberts Star," was struck and awarded to all who had taken part in the march. *See also* Great Game; India.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Károlyi, Mihály Count (1875–1955)

Hungarian liberal statesman and landed aristocrat, Count Károlyi was best known for presiding over aspects of the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with the end of World War I. Descending from a noble family and owning more than 70,000 acres himself, he seemed an unlikely candidate to challenge the feudal vestiges of the old Austro-Hungarian social and political order. Although lacking reliable political allies, Károlyi's pre-World War I career was by no means obscure. He led the agricultural association of the nobility, then the Hungarian Independence Party, pressed the abandonment of foreign policy in Germany's orbit in favor of a French and Russian orientation, and also came to advocate the enfranchisement of women, land reform, and limited concessions to ethnic minorities.

A combination of a leftward drifting reform program, Hungarian nationalism, marriage ties with the influential Andrassy family, and open support for an early

Wilsonian peace propelled him to leadership in Hungary after a decade-long activity in opposition. A short-lived Hungarian People's Republic emerged under his premiership and presidency, prepared by the nearly bloodless revolution of October 28, 1918, formally proclaimed after the abdication of Charles IV on November 16, and ending with his controversial transfer of power to a coalition of communists and social democrats on March 21, 1919. In addressing the legacy of Magyar subimperialism and belated modernization in the eastern half of the dual monarchy, Károlyi's policies and their ineffective execution satisfied neither left nor right, and his significant armistice concessions at Belgrade met a cold Allied reception. Fallen from favor at home and abandoned by the Great Powers in Paris, he eventually lost his fortune, was branded a traitor, and lived most of the remainder of his life in exile. Having become the scapegoat for the harsh terms of the peace treaty of Trianon that detached two-thirds of the Hungarian Crown's former lands, Károlyi only managed to return to Hungarian public life briefly with the end of World War II as a socialist representative in Parliament and then ambassador to France. *See also* Entente; Foch, Ferdinand; Habsburg Empire; Rumania.

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GÁBOR BERCZELI

Kashmir

A creation of the Hindi Dogra dynasty and of the British government of India, Kashmir comprises three separate regions of the Valley of Kashmir, predominantly Muslim and Kashmiri-speaking, Jammu; predominantly Hindu-speaking Dogri; and Ladakh, populated mostly by Ladakhi-speaking Buddhists. They existed as separate states, although Kashmir became part of the empire of Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) of the Punjab. After the death of Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs became weakened and after a series of wars, the British took over the Punjab. On March 16, 1846, with the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar, Kashmir was sold by the British to the Dogra chief, Gulab Singh of Jammu (1792–1857), and he entered Srinagar on November 9, 1846.

Kashmir became a state with an overwhelming majority of Muslim citizens governed by a Hindu maharaja who ruled it as an independent state with regard to internal affairs because the British did not appoint a resident to exercise greater political control until 1884. With the Sikh population in the Punjab still hostile and with strained relations with Afghanistan, Kashmir was seen as a frontline state and a valuable ally. With a border shared with Tibet, Chinese Turkistan, Russian Turkistan, and Afghanistan, it was a strategic territory. In addition, the British hoped to share in the trade with Central Asia. When Russia captured Tashkent in 1865, and Samarkand and Bukhara in 1868, there was a recrudescence of the **Great Game** in which the British once again become obsessed for the safety of India and the fear of a Russian invasion of India through Afghanistan. During the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton (1876–1880), Britain adopted a “forward policy,” which

determined to establish the defensive line for India on the northern heights of the Hindu Kush. Kashmir again became a frontline state. It was not until 1895 that the British and the Russians agreed to the international border between Russia and Afghanistan.

Gulab Singh was survived by his only surviving son Ranbir Singh (1856–1885) who offered military and financial support to the British during the **Indian Mutiny** of 1857 and the state of Kashmir as a refuge, especially to British women. Pratap Singh (1885–1925) and Hari Singh (1925–1947) succeeded Ranbir. Hari Singh acceded to India rather than Pakistan in spite of the fact that Kashmir was more than 75 percent Muslim and in some areas, more than 90 percent. *See also* British Empire; Russian Empire; Sikh Wars.

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ROGER D. LONG

Kasimov, Kenesary (1802–1847)

Also known as Qasim-uli, Kenesary Kasimov was a Kazakh khan who led one of the most sustained rebellions against Russian colonialism on the Kazakh steppe. Using *guerrilla* tactics of warfare in the northwestern steppe, Kasimov consistently caused problems for the Russian administration, which had enjoyed relatively peaceful relations with the Kazakhs since the late eighteenth century. Kasimov's rebellion lasted from 1837–1846. He also lodged complaints to the imperial administration about the treatment Kazakhs received.

Kasimov garnered widespread support for his rebellion among the Middle Horde Kazakhs. He was the grandson of the famous Kazakh khan Ablai and was born in the Kokchetau area. After leaving the Russian-controlled area of the steppe upon defeat in 1846, Kasimov went south to help the Kyrgyz fight Kokand. He was killed in battle in 1847. Historians have portrayed him as everything from a defender of feudalism and traditional nomadism to a revolutionary and Kazakh nationalist. *See also* Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Kaufman, Konstantin Petrovich von (1818–1882)

Konstantin Kaufman was the first governor-general of the Russian colony of **Turkestan** (1867–1881). During his long tenure as governor-general, he oversaw the conquest or defeat of the Central Eurasian states in **Bukhara**, **Khiva**, and Kokand. The Russian government generally viewed his administration as successful because it established a certain continuity of Russian rule in Central Eurasia.

Kaufman took a hands-off approach to dealing with the Islamic practices of Turkestan's peoples. He was not reluctant, however, to interfere in such institutions as Islamic law when he found it necessary for the benefit of the state administration.

Kaufman's overall political style can be viewed as a mix of libertarian and authoritarian systems of rule. Although there was considerable autonomy at the local level for traditional rulers and for Islamic courts, their decisions could be ultimately overruled by his decree.

Throughout his tenure, Kaufman argued that Turkestan was a unique colony with unique circumstances that required unique administrative measures. This colonial uniqueness justified the intervention on the part of regional leaders into provincial political or juridical affairs. It also allowed him to often stray from the proscribed statute of Turkestan rule, first promulgated in 1867. At the end of his career, a new statute was to be drafted. The commission found that Kaufman's earlier assertion of certain native rights was faulty. Particularly controversial was Kaufman's claim that Turkestan's people should be free from military conscription. Among the other unique rights of individuals that Kaufman claimed were freedom of religion; preservation of marriage, property, and family traditions; and freedom from physical punishment. The Russian government found the military exemption particularly troubling.

Kaufman's Turkestan administration was progressive by the standards of the time. His administration carried out ethnographic surveys of the region, looked into educational reforms, and commissioned aides to identify social problems. He also instituted plans to improve cotton production and agriculture. He even created a forestry section of his administration to plant trees in the oasis cities of Turkestan. Like many other Western colonial administrators, Kaufman was a firm believer that European or Western civilization was far superior to Eastern or Oriental cultures and societies. He firmly hoped that Turkestan's peoples would adopt Russian and European cultural ways. This would ultimately lead to their conversions to Christianity and their spirited support of the Russian imperial state. *See also* Great Game; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Kautsky, Karl (1854–1938)

A noted German-Austrian socialist, Karl Kautsky was born in Prague of middle class Jewish parents. He studied history and philosophy at Vienna University and became a member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in 1875. In 1880, Kautsky moved to Switzerland, where he was influenced by the Marxist writer, Eduard Bernstein. While living in London between 1885 and 1890, he maintained a close relationship with Friedrich Engels. Kautsky founded the journal *Neue Zeit* in 1883. The journal became immensely influential in socialist circles both in Germany and internationally. He joined the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and, in 1891, drafted the Erfurt Program, which committed the SDP to an evolutionary form of Marxism. Kautsky also wrote the official commentary on the program, called *The Class Struggle*. In 1898, he took up the question of colonialism and the nationalities question in *Austria-Hungary*. He did not believe that imperialism would lead to war;

rather, he saw it as a reactionary social phenomenon. He broke with Bernstein after the latter published *Evolutionary Socialism* in 1899. In the book Bernstein argued that the predictions made by Karl Marx about the development of capitalism had not transpired. He pointed out that the wages of workers had risen, and the polarization of classes between an oppressed proletariat and capitalist had not materialized. Kautsky strongly criticized these views.

After initial hesitation, Kautsky opposed the SPD's support of the German effort in World War I. He sided with the left-wing socialists and denounced the government's annexationist aims. In April 1917, left-wing members of the SPD formed the Independent Socialist Party. Kautsky reluctantly became a member; however, he continued to oppose the idea of a violent revolution. In September 1917, the SPD dismissed him as editor of *Die Neue Zeit* for his opposition to the war. *See also* Imperialism.

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MARTIN MOLL

Kemal, Mustapha (1880–1938)

More commonly known as Atatürk, soldier and father of modern Turkey, Mustapha Kemal was born in Salonica in 1880, where a museum at the current Turkish Consulate commemorates his birthplace. His father died when Mustapha was seven, and his mother brought him up. Mustapha studied at the military secondary school in Selânik, where his mathematics teacher gave him the additional name Kemal ("perfection") because of his academic excellence. He entered the military academy at Manastır in 1895, graduated as a lieutenant decade later and was posted to Damascus.

Mustapha joined a small secret revolutionary society of reformist officers in Damascus called "Motherland and Liberty" and became an active opponent of the Porte. In 1907, when he was posted to Selânik, he joined the Committee of Union and Progress commonly known as the **Young Turks**. In 1908, the Young Turks seized power from Abdul Hamid II and Mustapha became a senior military figure. In 1911, he was sent to defend **Libya** against the Italian invasion, and he was stranded there when the first of the Balkan Wars started and was unable to take part. In July 1913, he was appointed commander of the Ottoman defenses of the Gallipoli Peninsula and in 1914 as military attaché in Sofia.

After a brief period of constitutional rule, power became vested in the triumvirate of Mehmet Talat Pasha, Ahmet Cemal Pasha, and Enver Pasha, who, through secretive negotiations, courted a German alliance. When they joined the **Ottoman Empire** to the side of the Central Powers during World War I, Mustapha was posted to Tekirdağ, on the Sea of Marmara. He was then promoted to colonel and assigned the command of a division in Gallipoli. He played a vital role in the battle against the allied forces in April 1915, holding them off at Conkbayırı and on the Anafarta hills. He was promptly promoted to a brigadier general, thus acquiring the title of pasha.

During 1917 and 1918, Kemal Pasha was sent to the Caucasus to fight against the Russians and then the Hejaz, to suppress the Arab revolt. After resigning his commission, he returned to serve in the unsuccessful defense of Palestine. In October

1918, the Ottomans capitulated to the Allies and he became one of the leaders that favored defending Anatolia and withdrawing from territory not dominated by Turks.

Kemal Pasha, seeing that the disintegration and partition of the Ottoman Empire, even in Anatolia, was a serious possibility, arranged to be sent to Samsun, in Anatolia, with extraordinary powers, as an inspector of the Nineteenth Army and started ordering provincial governors and military commanders to resist occupation. In June 1919, he declared that the government at Constantinople held no legitimate authority and a government-in-exile should be established in Anatolia. In April 1920, a parliament, the Grand National Assembly, was formed in Ankara, and Kemal became the president. This body repudiated the Constantinople government and rejected the Treaty of Sèvres. This was a direct threat to Greece, which stood to gain the most, an empire in Anatolia, from that treaty and that country invaded Anatolia. After a series of Greek successes, in January and again in April 1921, İsmet Pasha defeated the Greek army at İnönü. In July, after a third Greek offensive, Kemal took command and routed the Greeks in the 20-day Battle of Sakarya. Victory over the Greeks came in the Battle of Dumlupınar in August 1922 and this assured Turkey's sovereignty and the Treaty of Lausanne delineated the borders. *See also* Balkan Crises; Italy.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Kenya

See British East African Protectorate

Kerensky, Alexander (1881–1970)

Head of the Russian Provisional Government at the time of the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917, Alexander Kerensky was born in Simbirsk in 1881, 11 years after the birth in the same town of Vladimir Lenin, the future Bolshevik leader. He attended law school in St. Petersburg and participated in student demonstrations and other protests, activities that eventually resulted in his suspension from the bar. In 1914, Kerensky was elected to the Fourth Duma and was the leader of the Trudoviks, a socialist peasant party. When war broke out in August, he led the radical faction that refused to support a war budget, and throughout the war he continued to push for more responsible government. When the February Revolution overthrew Nicholas II in 1917, Kerensky was involved in the formation of both the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet.

During the next months, Kerensky's friendly relationship with both the socialist and the liberal camps strengthened his reputation as the only man who could hold the fragile Provisional Government together; consequently, he was chosen as Prime Minister in the summer of 1917. Once appointed, however, Kerensky assumed many of the trappings of the old regime, moving into the Winter Palace and taking over the luxurious quarters of the tsars. These actions exacerbated the

growing unpopularity of the Provisional Government as it faced insurmountable challenges and threats from both the left and the right. The fragility of the Provisional Government became even more evident when recently appointed army commander-in-chief, General Lavr Kornilov, staged an apparent attempted coup d'état. Kerensky was forced to appeal to the Bolsheviks for help, releasing leaders like Lev Trotsky from prison and arming the workers militia, the Red Guard. Kornilov was stopped and captured, but the position of the Provisional Government was greatly weakened by this event. Lenin took advantage of this weakness to press his fellow Marxists for immediate revolution. During the fateful coup d'état, Kerensky escaped the Winter Palace and attempted to amass loyal troops from the northern front to fight the Bolsheviks. He remained in hiding in Russia and Finland until May 1918, when he left for London and Paris in an effort to garner Western support for the creation of a democratic Russia. He spent the next two decades in Paris, working against communism and moved to the United States during World War II. *See also* Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Khalsa

Meaning the “Guru’s Own,” “Khalsa” was the name given by Guru Gobind Singh to all Sikhs who took the initiation of the double-edged sword. In British India, it was the word commonly used to refer to the Sikh army in the Punjab, organized primarily by Ranjit Singh who united the loosely federated Sikh clans of the Punjab and created a European-style force using European officers, usually French veterans of Napoleon Bonaparte’s *Grande Armée* but also British, Americans, Germans, and Italians. The Khalsa was a military fraternity, a superb fighting force, and after Singh’s death almost a government within the Sikh state. After the Khalsa’s defeat at the Battle of Gujarat in the Second Sikh War, the British army began to raise Sikh battalions.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Khan, Emir Muhammad Alim (1880–1944)

Emir Muhammad Alim Khan was the last ruler of the Bukharan state in Central Eurasia. Khan ruled as Emir of Bukhara from 1911 until Bolshevik conquest in 1920. The Bukharans had pledged allegiance to the Russian state and an economic accord in 1868, in the wake of military defeats at Khojand, Samarkand, and other places. Bukhara became an official protectorate of the Russian Empire in 1873. Alim Khan took over rule of the Bukharan state after the death of his father, Emir Abdulahad Khan.

Alim Khan's rule was initially reform-based, but evolved into a more traditionally Islamic administration. Alim Khan's Bukharan state was destroyed during the Basmachi revolt and the ensuing Russian conquest of Bukhara in 1920. The emir saw his regime crumble amid growing support for both Enver Pasha's Basmachis and the opposing Russian Bolsheviks. Alim Khan fled his crumbling regime to Afghanistan in 1920, where he lived until his death in Kabul in 1944.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Khiva Khanate

Also known historically as Khorezm or Khwarezm, an Islamic state in Central Eurasia, the Khiva Khanate was centered at the city of Khiva, in modern-day Uzbekistan. The khanate established its capital at Khiva as early as 1619 and was under Chinggisid rule for most of that time. In the early nineteenth century, the Inakids took power, removing the Chinggisid element. The new rulers delegated more power to city-dwellers, called Sarts. In 1717–1718, Peter the Great sent a delegation of approximately 300 men to Khiva, who were killed at the hands of the Khivan Khan Shirghazi. Russian imperial interest in the khanate increased during the middle of the nineteenth century. The Russians attacked Khiva following their earlier conquest of Bukhara (1868) and annexed the state as a protectorate in 1873. The khanate faced difficult struggles during the war of 1917–1920. In 1920, the Khivan khanate was ended and replaced by the People's Soviet Republic of Khorezm. *See also* India; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Khmer Empire

See Cambodia

Kiaochow

Kiaochow includes the bay and the port of Tsingtao, present-day Qindao, in northeastern China. The port was seized by the German navy, ostensibly in response to attacks on missionaries and then to claim mining and railway rights in the adjoining territory, and was subsequently leased for 99 years by Germany in 1897–1888. It then became the core of Germany's sphere of influence in Shandong. The occupation set off the "scramble" for other territorial, mining, and railway concessions and contributed to public outrage culminating in the **Boxer Insurrection**. Kiaochow never became the important naval base and "model colony" surrounded by profitable railway and mining ventures it had been planned to be. Seized by Japanese troops in 1914, Kiaochow was returned to China in 1922. *See also* German Empire; Japanese Empire.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Kiel

Kiel is a city of northern Germany located on the eastern exit of the **Kaiser-Wilhelm-Kanal**; it was a principal naval base of the **German Empire**. Formerly part of the duchy of Holstein, Kiel became part of Prussia as a result of the Seven Weeks' War in 1866. Provided by nature with an excellent harbor, the small town on the Baltic was the ideal site for a maritime base. Already in 1865, the Prussian navy was moved from Danzig to Kiel and before long, shipbuilding developed into Kiel's major industry. Later the city also became the base for the empire's submarines, together with Wilhelmshaven. As a consequence, the city's population increased 10-fold from 16,000 to 160,000 between 1855 and 1905. It rose by another 50 percent between 1905 and 1914, the high tide of the naval arms race.

During the last days of World War I, Kiel witnessed a major mutiny by navy crews. The mutiny started after a number of stokers had been detained because of their refusal to put to sea. In a reaction to this, marines and sailors held meetings and demanded the release of the prisoners. On November 3, 1918, 3,000 demonstrators clashed violently with loyal troops and one day later a soldier's council was formed and the Communist flag hoisted from the Kiel town hall. After Kaiser Wilhelm II's abdication, however, the uprising soon collapsed. *See also* Navalism; Tirpitz Plan.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Kipling, Joseph Rudyard (1865–1936)

A noted British poet and author, Rudyard Kipling is now somewhat inaccurately remembered as an uncritical propagandist of **imperialism**. Kipling was born in India to English parents. He was left alone in England from the age of six, his parents returning to India, and attended minor public schools where his literary talents began to show themselves. He began his career as a journalist with a newspaper in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. In 1886, he published *Departmental Ditties*, and two years later *Plain Tales from the Hills*, books of stories based on the lives of Anglo-Indian officials and soldiers. *Kim*, published in 1901, is probably his most famous novel. Kipling moved to London in 1889, and although as yet a man in his twenties, enjoyed enhanced fame lubricated by brisk sales. Kipling traveled extensively, particularly in the United States, staying for a time in Vermont, the home of his wife's family. After a serious illness, he moved to South Africa, getting there in time for the South African War, in which he served as a military journalist.

The South African War turned Kipling into an ardent supporter of conscription and national preparedness. In the early years of the twentieth century, his attacks on liberalism were ferocious to the point of alienating many of his readers, and he became an ardent Unionist. During World War I, Kipling, considering it the duty of a writer to support his country, turned out a massive volume of patriotic prose. Unusual for a man of first-rate literary talent, he got along well with the great and the good, becoming a friend even of King George V. For the last two decades of his life, he was increasingly ill with an ulcer only belatedly diagnosed; it killed him in 1936. Too often reduced to his well-known 1898 injunction to “take up the white man’s burden,” Kipling portrayed empire, in that poem as well as elsewhere, as a necessary but unrewarding duty. The year before “White Man’s Burden,” on the occasion of Queen Victoria’s diamond jubilee, he had written the prophetic warning against imperial triumphalism, “lo, all our pomp of yesterday/is one with Nineveh and Tyre.” *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire; Intelligence.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, Lord (1850–1916)

A British soldier best known as minister of war during World War I, Horatio Kitchener began his career as a colonial soldier. He led the Anglo-Egyptian expedition into the Sudan and retook Khartoum and defeated the Dervishes at Omdurman in 1898. He served as chief of staff during the Boer War before succeeding to overall command, fighting a harsh campaign punctuated by farm-burning and internment, which eventually brought British victory. He then became commander-in-chief of British forces in India.

During World War I, Kitchener raised massive new volunteer armies, although he failed adequately to support the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. The extremely long hours he kept and his refusal to delegate responsibilities endeared him neither to other war planners nor to the politicians with whom he had to deal. By the standards of the Victorian era, he was a competent army administrator; the scale of a world war, however, stretched his abilities beyond their capacity. *See also* Boer Wars; Concentration Camps.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Kittery Peace (1905)

The settlement that brought to an end the Russo-Japanese War that had begun in the spring of 1904. President Theodore Roosevelt offered his and the good offices of the United States to the two warring parties at the beginning of June

1905. Japanese Emperor **Mutsuhito** accepted Roosevelt's invitation on June 10, with Russian Tsar **Nicholas II** following suit two days later. Delegations from Moscow and Tokyo conducted their talks at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard on an island in Kittery, Maine, across from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. After a month of negotiations, a peace treaty, known as the **Treaty of Portsmouth**, was signed on September 5, 1905.

The Japanese arrived in New England following their military successes on land and at sea over the Russians and were led by their foreign minister, Jutarō Komura. The Russian plenipotentiary was Count Sergius Witte, and he was assisted by the Russian minister to the United States, Baron Roman Rosen, as Komura was by Kogoro Takahira, the Japanese minister to the United States. In addition to Roosevelt these four individuals were vital to the eventual conclusion of the treaty. As well as the formal talks that took place at the naval shipyard, informal discussions took place in the relaxed atmosphere of the nearby Wentworth Hotel in New Castle, New Hampshire, where the delegates resided.

After agreement on Japanese preponderance in **Korea**, an evacuation of **Manchuria**, and a commitment to open trading, the key issues that came closest to causing deadlock were those of a Russian indemnity to Japan and the future of the disputed island of **Sakhalin**. They proved sufficiently contentious for Roosevelt to have to intervene to break the impasse in mid-August, with Komura eventually accepting that there would be no reparations and that Sakhalin would be divided in half. This compromise was unpopular in Japan and, the United States was blamed. A feature of the negotiations was unprecedented international media coverage. This had an important conciliatory effect because neither party wanted to be portrayed to the world as being the cause of a failed conference.

Roosevelt earned the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize for his success in bringing the two sides to a negotiated settlement despite not attending any of the discussions in New England. Instead, he exerted influence in preliminary meetings with each delegation at his summer residence, Sagamore Hill in Oyster Bay, New York, by bringing the parties together for an introductory lunch, and once the negotiations had begun through back channels coordinated by Herbert H. D. Pierce, the third under secretary of state. Roosevelt also acted as hub for communications with the delegates and their leaders in the various capitals.

Roosevelt's purpose in the whole enterprise was to prevent the war escalating and upsetting a balance of power in the Pacific with Britain and France taking the sides of Japan and Russia, respectively, and Germany and Italy also seeking to expand their influence in the region. Roosevelt was well aware that the scope of American interests in the Pacific had recently increased as a consequence of the acquisition of the Philippines after the **Spanish-American War** of 1898 and that this tended to augment those in Alaska and Hawaii. The successful conclusion of the treaty inaugurated by Roosevelt marked a new era of presidential leadership and of American presence in the international diplomatic arena. For the Japanese the settlement saw their emergence as Great Power, and many consider the treaty the beginning of the end for the tsarist regime in Russia. *See also* Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Japanese Empire; Philippines; Russian Empire.

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J. SIMON ROFE

Königgrätz, Battle of (1866)

Also known as the Battle of Sadowa, Königgrätz was the main battle of the Austro-Prussian War. The three-pronged Prussian advance into Bohemia in late June exposed a number of weaknesses in the Austrian North Army and the competence of its senior officers. First, the Prussian army's needle gun had proven vastly superior to Austrian muskets, producing a casualty rate of four Austrians for each Prussian. Second, the Austrian army was not making use of field telegraphs to coordinate army movements. Most important, the Austrian commander, General Ludwig Benedek, never communicated to his subordinates what his plan of campaign was. On July 1, Benedek inexplicably halted the army north of the Austrian fortress system along the Elbe River, northwest of the town of Königgrätz, far enough away that the fortresses offered no protection. Worse still, the Austrian lines were placed poorly, forming a V-shape that made both left and right wings vulnerable, and the Austrians had their backs to the Elbe, limiting opportunities for retreat or reinforcement.

Meanwhile, two Prussian armies were advancing cautiously toward the Austrian fortress system. The First Army, commanded by Prince Frederick Charles, marched roughly east along the Elbe; the Second Army, under the Crown Prince Frederick, was coming south on the other bank of the Elbe. The Prussians learned of the Austrian halt thanks to a single cavalry patrol on the evening of July 2. Frederick Charles received the news and drafted a plan of attack for the First Army alone for the next morning. When Chief of the Prussian General Staff Helmuth von Moltke was advised of the impending battle, he amended Frederick Charles's plan by ordering the Second Army to make all due haste to meet outside Königgrätz, and thus have both armies attack the Austrians at the same time. No one was quite sure where the Second Army was, however, and whether it would arrive in time to engage the enemy. The initial stages of the battle did not go well for the Prussians; superior Austrian artillery fire kept the Prussian attackers at bay. The battle soon began to revolve around possession of the Swiepowald, a dense forest on the Prussian left. The Austrians eventually drove the Prussians out of the forest, but at the cost of thousands of casualties from deadly Prussian rifle fire. This and other assaults kept Benedek's attention focused on the center of his lines, ignoring the increasing peril he faced on the right and left.

Meanwhile, the Crown Prince drove his army toward the sound of the guns, hoping to arrive in time to make a difference. Although the Austrian artillery again proved its superiority over the Prussian artillery, Prussian infantry continued to make steady gains. Eventually, the Austrians had to pull their guns back or abandon them. The entire Austrian North Army was in danger of being enveloped on both sides, by Frederick Charles on their left and by the Crown Prince on the right. It took determined resistance by rearguard elements to buy time for the Austrians to retreat over the Elbe, but the Austrian North Army was in no condition to resume hostilities.

The battle of Königgrätz is considered a classic example of Napoleonic strategy: have several forces march separately but concentrate at the field of battle. Even

though Moltke was not certain that the Crown Prince's army would arrive in time, he made sure the day's battle plans took the availability of both armies into account. Without Austrian determination, the double-envelopment would have succeeded and the entire Austrian North Army would have been lost. Nevertheless, the Austrians were incapable of opposing the Prussians, and the road to Vienna lay open to Prussian advance. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; Clausewitz, Carl von; German Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Korea

A peninsula protruding southward from the northeastern corner of the Asian continent, Korea was long a victim of imperial aspirations and colonial subjugation. China was considered in Korea as not only the supplier for culture and civilization but also a military conqueror. The history of Sino-Korea relations can be traced back to the early Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–219 A.D.), when China destroyed Weiman Joseon and built four Chinese prefectures in the northern part of Korea in 108 B.C. In 1392, a Korean general, Yi Seonggye, was sent to China to campaign against the Ming Dynasty, but instead he allied himself with the Chinese and returned to overthrow the Goryeo king and establish a new dynasty. The Joseon Dynasty moved the capital to Hanseong, the present-day capital city of Seoul in 1394 and adopted Confucianism as the state religion, resulting in much loss of power and wealth by the Buddhists. During this period, King Sejong invented the *Hangul* alphabet in 1443. The Joseon Dynasty dealt with invasions by Japan from 1592 to 1598. Korea's most famous military figure, Admiral Yi Sun-sin was instrumental in defeating the Japanese. After the invasions from Manchuria in 1627 and 1636, the dynasty submitted herself to the Qing Empire. On the other hand, Korea permitted the Japanese to trade at Pusan and sent missions to the capital of Edo in Japan. Europeans were never permitted to trade at Korean ports until the 1880s. In spite of some efforts to introduce Western technology through the Jesuit missions at Beijing, the Korean economy remained backward as a result of weak currency circulation. Peasants suffering from famine and exploitation often fled to Manchuria.

The Chinese world order in which Sino-Korean tributary relations were built met the fundamental challenge from Japan and Western powers. They demanded the "independence" and "reform" of Korea. Faced with such pressures and threats from competing powers, some reform-minded Korean leaders attempted in the 1880s to implement the Chinese suggestions on Korea's foreign relations called the "Korean Strategy." The idea in the Korean Strategy was the suggestion from China that Korean leaders should open up diplomatic relations not only with Russia but also with Japan and the United States on the condition that traditional Sino-Korean tributary relations be maintained. Russian influence could be balanced by Japan, and Japan could be constrained by the United States. The strategy turned out to be a grand failure, because both China and Korea were too weak to defend themselves

against rising imperialist pressures. The Chinese defeat in the **Sino-Japanese War** (1894–1895) meant the collapse of the Chinese world order, as well as Chinese loss of suzerain status in Korea. Indeed, China was forced to agree that Korea be “an independent state,” which led progressively to Korean dependence on Japan. After Japanese victories in the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1905, Japan’s hegemonic influence over Korea increased, as the Treaty of Portsmouth recognized is a Japanese **protectorate**. Hiroboumi Itō was appointed the first resident governor in 1905. In 1907, the Hague Conference recognized Japan’s takeover, and in 1908 the Root-Takahira Agreement confirmed American acceptance of Japan’s position on the peninsula in return for Japanese recognition of the position of the United States in the **Philippines**. Korea was redefined under Japanese colonial rule. Even before the country was formally annexed, the Japanese forced the last ruling monarch, King Kojong, to abdicate the throne in 1907 in favor of his feeble son, who was soon married to a Japanese woman and given a Japanese peerage. Itō attempted in vain to promote liberal reforms and was in 1909 rewarded for his efforts by assassination at the hands of Korean nationalist. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea outright. In theory the Koreans, as subjects of the Japanese emperor, enjoyed the same status as the Japanese, but in fact the Japanese government tried to assimilate Korea into the so-called Greater Japan. Threat to the Korean identity gave rise to nationalist sentiments and Korean students demonstrated in Japan. On March 1, 1919, street demonstrations erupted throughout the country to protest Japanese rule. *See also* Japanese Empire; Roosevelt, Theodore; Russian Empire.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Krasnoi, Battles of (1812)

A series of running skirmishes fought around Krasnoye Selo, southwest of St. Petersburg, during Napoleon **Bonaparte**’s retreat from **Moscow**. As Napoleon closed in on Smolensk in August, he sent Murat’s cavalry against Neveroski’s division of Barclay’s Russian army. Murat’s attacks were foiled by the Russian formation of a large square, and the lack of infantry or artillery support doomed his efforts. The Russians withdrew to Smolensk, and Napoleon’s delay in pursuit allowed the Russians to strengthen their defensive positions.

Toward the end of the French army’s withdrawal from Moscow, Kutuzov’s Russian forces were pressing Napoleon and threatening to block the road between Smolensk and Krasnoi, thus dividing Napoleon’s strung-out army. Napoleon had one good fighting unit left—the Imperial Guard—and he sent its 18,000 men against Kutuzov’s 35,000 on November 17. The Russians were completely surprised and quickly retreated. This cleared the road and allowed the French army to consolidate by late in the day, and they moved on, leaving behind only Ney’s missing rearguard. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Russian Empire.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Kruger, Stephanus Johannes Paulus (1825–1904)

Paul Kruger was a Boer politician and statesman, president of the **Transvaal**, and leader in both **Boer Wars** against British rule in South Africa. Born in the **Cape Colony** to a family of strict Puritans, Kruger, at the age of 11, migrated with them in the **Great Trek** of 1834 to the territory beyond the Orange River. A man of high intelligence, Kruger was also an adherent of Old Testament principles and a skilled military commander. He was commandant-general of the Transvaal between 1863 and 1877 and thereafter became vice-president. Kruger bitterly opposed the British annexation of the Transvaal and traveled to London twice in an attempt to reverse it, armed in the second instance with a petition testifying to Boer opposition to British rule. Having failed to secure Boer independence by diplomatic means, Kruger then led the rebellion of 1880 that developed into the First Boer War. Boer forces inflicted a series of small yet shocking defeats on British forces, the most notable at Majuba Hill in February 1881, after which the British agreed to the **Pretoria Convention** restoring self-government to the Boer population.

Kruger became president of the Transvaal in 1883, a position in which he negotiated an improved Pretoria Convention in 1884. In 1886, however, the Transvaal again came under pressure after gold was discovered in Witwatersrand and mining entrepreneurs, known to the Boer population at *Uitlanders*, began to pour into the republic. Rightly apprehensive that the mining boom and the influx of non-Boers threatened the republic's way of life, Kruger's government enacted a 14-year residency requirement for voting rights on the *Uitlanders*, imposed high taxes on mining operations, and controlled the sale of dynamite and spirits. Cecil Rhodes, premier of the Cape Colony, saw in *Uitlander* resentment of Kruger's government an opportunity to again attempt British control of Transvaal. After the failure of the **Jameson Raid**, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany inflamed the situation by sending a congratulatory telegram to Kruger for having preserved the Transvaal's freedom. For his part, Kruger simultaneously built up the Transvaal's fighting capacity—not least of all with the import of 37,000 Mauser rifles and **Krupp** howitzers from Germany—and enticed the **Orange Free State** into an alliance against the British. He also offered concessions to the *Uitlanders* and negotiated with Alfred Milner, governor of the Cape Colony and, after 1897, British high commissioner to South Africa. Realizing that Milner intended no compromise acceptable to the Boers, Kruger delivered an ultimatum to the British government and on October 12, 1899, launched an invasion of Natal. After initial Boer successes, it became apparent that Britain intended to prevail. As the tide turned against the Boer forces, Kruger was smuggled out of Pretoria to the frontier of Portuguese Mozambique in May 1900 to travel to Europe in pursuit of aid. He received tea and sympathy, but no more. Kruger was never able to return to the Transvaal. He settled in the **Netherlands** and died in Switzerland in July 1904.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Krupp, Alfred (1812–1887)

Known as the “cannon king,” Alfred Krupp turned the factory inherited from his father, Friedrich **Krupp**, into the biggest steel conglomerate in the world. Krupp started his early career by selling cutlery-producing machines, copying the English cast iron technique. As his works in the town of Essen were part of Prussia, Krupp profited from the formation of the *Zollverein*. In 1848, his experiments with cast iron cannons yielded fruit and his business slowly but inevitably grew. Nevertheless, when revolution broke out in Germany he hardly employed a hundred workers. Only a few years later, he had more than a thousand laborers under contract. This first expansion was made possible by the transport revolution. As Krupp started to produce seamless **railroad** wheels, patented in 1852, his business grew in proportion to the extent of the German railway system. When the patent expired after seven years, the company had outperformed its main competitors and faced a glorious future.

Krupp was now eager to take on other fields of production. He was an able technician but an even better businessman. More than once on the brink of bankruptcy, Krupp reinvested nearly all his earnings in new machinery, huts, and mines. His economic success was largely based on his embrace of innovation, quick adaptation of new technology and outstanding managerial skills. But most of all, Krupp was a marketing genius. Being present at the first world exhibition in London in 1851, his products attracted huge crowds and earned him an excellent international reputation. Although for some time he vainly tried to sell his cast iron cannons, in 1854 his long-term marketing efforts proved successful. On June 15, Prince Wilhelm, later emperor of the Reich, visited the Krupp factory in Essen on a tour through the province of Westphalia. The prince showed great interest in the modern artillery and after Wilhelm had become regent, the Prussian army finally ordered the first 300 cannons in 1859. This was the beginning of a mutually beneficial bargain: the Prussian army was equipped with state-of-the-art weaponry and the monarchy bailed Krupp out whenever he was in financial trouble; however, Krupp also sold his artillery to other European powers. During the Schleswig-Holstein War in 1864, Krupp’s cannons stood on both sides. Napoleon III also took a keen interest in Krupp’s products. To appease angry French weapon manufacturers, however, he had to refrain from buying in Germany.

From 1859 onward, the Prussian army became Krupp’s single most important customer, and his provision of cutting-edge steel cannons played a major role in the explanation of the resounding German victory in the **Franco-Prussian War** of 1870. The Krupp guns proved to be decisively superior to the traditional bronze cannons fielded by the French. With the war ending, Krupp was at the height of his powers. Employing more than 10,000 workmen, he owned the biggest ironworks in the German Empire. Moreover, Krupp was on excellent terms with many members of the Reich’s political and military elite. Especially generals of the German army were regular guests at his private palace, the Villa Hgel in Essen. Germany had been lagging behind in economic modernization until the middle of the nineteenth century, and Krupp increasingly epitomized German ascent in the age of industry. After Krupp’s death, his heirs continued to equip the empire’s army until its demise in 1918. *See also* Moltke, Helmuth von; German Empire.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Krupp, Friedrich (1787–1826)

Founder of the Krupp cast iron factory, Friedrich Krupp descended from an old family of merchants. Endowed with a vision and a considerable heritage from his grandmother, he founded a cast iron works outside Essen in the Ruhr area in 1811. The prospects of success seemed excellent: outside England, heavy steel products were not to be found in Europe. Krupp's potential position in the market was further enhanced by Napoleon Bonaparte's Continental System, which blockaded European ports and more or less successfully kept out British exports. Despite these advantages, Krupp lacked essential entrepreneurial skills. His business fortunes resembled a roller coaster ride. In addition, Krupp ruined his health in his shop. When he died, at age 39, the factory was heavily in debt and Krupp employed no more than seven workmen. *See also* Krupp, Alfred; Napoleonic Wars.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Kulturkampf

The *Kulturkampf* (1871–78), meaning “cultural conflict,” was a political struggle that raged between Otto von Bismarck and the Catholic Church over the place and power of the church in German society. Given the recent unification of Germany, Bismarck was highly suspicious of any institution that threatened the stability of the Reich or rivaled the new imperial state for the loyalty of the German masses. Although the new German Empire largely consisted of the old Protestant-dominated North German Confederation, Bismarck worried that the admission of Catholic south German states and the existence of large Catholic minorities in Alsace-Lorraine and Prussian Poland might upset the religious balance of power and lead to sectarian conflict, which would rip apart the empire. These fears deepened in 1870 with the creation of the Center Party, formed to represent Catholic political interests, and the Vatican Council's decree that the pope was infallible when speaking on matters of faith and morals. Both measures implied that Catholics owed their primary loyalty to the pope and would use the Center Party to do his bidding.

Bismarck responded to this implied threat by unleashing a series of laws designed to slash the power of the Church and eliminate its ability to indoctrinate German citizens by putting schools under state supervision. In 1871, the imperial government passed laws forbidding priests from using their pulpits to discuss politics, expelling the Jesuit order from Germany, putting religious schools under state supervision, and purging religious teachers from state-run educational institutions. In May 1873, the so-called Falk Laws, named after Prussian Minister of Culture Adalbert

Falk, extended state control over the clergy by regulating the ordination of priests, mandating civil marriage, and granting state agencies disciplinary power over the Church. Priests and bishops who refused to comply faced arrest or expulsion from Germany.

A combination of fierce Catholic resistance to these measures, most visibly expressed by the Center party's doubling of its seats in the 1874 *Reichstag* elections, and pragmatism forced Bismarck to reconsider his anti-Catholic stance. Eager to secure the support of the Center Party for his anti-Socialist campaign and an increase in import tariffs designed to protect his political base, Bismarck began gradually rescinding the more repressive anti-Catholic laws. This process was greatly facilitated by the death of Pius IX and the ascension of the more conciliatory Leo XIII as pope in 1878.

Despite its domestic resolution, the *Kulturkampf* had long-lasting colonial implications. Concerned that hostility from German colonial officials could negatively affect their evangelical efforts, Catholic missionaries attempted to prove their loyalty by becoming staunch supporters of official colonial policies. In particular, German Catholic missionaries tended to accept and implement official directives regarding the shape and content of education in the German colonies. *See also* Missionaries.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Kunanbaev, Abai (1845–1904)

Also known as Abai Qunan-bai, Abai Kunanbaev was a Kazakh intellectual, poet, writer, and composer whose writings and ideas have been portrayed as both supportive of Kazakh nationalism and critical of Kazakh national shortcomings. Some have seen him, such as the twentieth-century Kazakh writer Mukhtar Auezov, as critical of the Kazakh nation and supportive of efforts toward their further Russification. More recent attempts have been made by Kazakh historians to present Abai as a champion of the Kazakh nation. Regardless, Kunanbaev was supportive of modernization for the Kazakhs and is recognized as one of the first and most influential modern Kazakh intellectuals. His writings were often philosophical. In Kunanbaev's *Book of Words*, he struggles to come to terms with the economic, social, and political transitions of the Kazakh nation in the late nineteenth century. He was educated both in a Russian school and in a madrasa. *See also* Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Kwang-chow Wan

Kwang-chow Wan was a port and coaling station in China's south Kwantung province just north of Hainan Island. In 1898, France obtained a 99-year lease on the territory from the Chinese government on the same terms as Liaochow was held by Germany, Port Arthur by Russia, and Weihaiwei by Britain. The cession provided for full extraterritorial control of the jurisdiction for the duration of the lease, as well as a *de facto* acknowledgment of a French sphere of influence in the southern provinces of Kwantung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. In 1900, Kwang-chow Wan was placed under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of **Indochina**, who appointed a civil administrator for the territory. *See also* Boxer Insurrection; French Empire.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

L

LAIBACH, CONGRESS OF (1821)

The completion of the Congress of **Troppau** and the fourth meeting of the **Congress System**, held from January until May 1821. At the time, a liberal revolution was underway in **Italy**, prompted in part by the apparent success of the Spanish revolution of 1820, and Austria had deployed 80,000 troops to “restore order” in the most disaffected regions. Russian Tsar **Alexander I** was fully under the influence of the Austrian Foreign Minister **Metternich** and, at one point in the congress, advised the French representative that it might be prudent for France to intervene in Spain on the same principle that Austria applied to Italy. The meeting marked another step in British alienation from the Congress system, insofar as Lord **Castlereagh** acknowledged Austria’s right to intervene in the particular case of Italy yet rejected any notion of general right of intervention for the Great Powers in the internal affairs of lesser nations as contrary to fundamental British principles and potentially a tyranny in the hands of “less beneficent monarchs.” *See also* Austrian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LAMARTINE, ALPHONSE DE (1790–1869)

A French poet, author, and politician of the Romantic era, Alphonse de Lamartine was born Mâcon Saône-et-Loire in 1790 to a provincial noble family. During his youth, Lamartine traveled frequently and served briefly in the army. In 1820, he married Maria Birch, an Englishwoman. After his military career ended, Lamartine turned to writing and achieved immediate success with his first major publication, *Méditations poétiques* (1820), a collection of 24 poems, including the famous “Le Lac.” He was elected as a member of the *Académie française* in 1829.

Lamartine later strayed from his orthodox Christian upbringing by becoming a pantheist, writing *Jocelyn* (1836) and *La Chute d'un ange* (1838). His romantic idealism influenced his politics. He advocated democratic principles, social justice, and international peace. From 1825 to 1828, he worked for the French Embassy in Italy and in 1833 became an elected deputy in the French parliament. Lamartine conducted a lavish tour of the countries in the Orient and wrote an account of his travels, during which he lost his only daughter, under the title *Voyage en Orient*. After the publication of *Voyage en Orient* in 1835, Lamartine focused on prose and wrote several works of history, including his *Histoire des Girondins*, a popular work glorifying the Girondist faction of the French Revolution, and *L'Histoire de la révolution de 1848*. In the wake of the Revolution of 1848 against Louis Philippe, Lamartine headed the provisional government until the establishment of the Second Republic and served as minister of foreign affairs from February 24 to May 11, 1848. Lamartine ran unsuccessfully for the French presidency with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, later Napoleon III, in December 1848.

During the Second Republic, Lamartine was criticized as too moderate. He worked toward the abolition of slavery and the death penalty and supported the national workshop programs advocated by Louis Blanc. With Louis Napoleon's coup d'état of December 2, 1851 and the end of the Second Republic, Lamartine retired to his writing career hoping to amass enough funds to pay off his enormous debts. Among his later works are *Graziella* (1849) and *Les Confidences* (1852). Lamartine died in obscurity in 1869.

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ERIC MARTONE

LANDSHUT, BATTLE OF (1809)

Fought northeast of Munich in Bavaria on April 21, 1809, the Battle of Landshut was a French victory in the War of the Fifth Coalition over Austrian General Johann Hiller. After his defeat at Abensberg, Hiller withdrew his 35,000 men to Landshut, on the River Isar, pursued by Marshal Jean Lannes. Napoleon had sent Marshal André Masséna to cut them off, but delays allowed Hiller to occupy the town and the bridge. Lannes efforts to dislodge him failed and it took Napoleon's arrival to change things. Napoleon's forces quickly occupied the suburbs and then dispatched troops to capture the bridge. The Austrians put up stiff resistance, but with Masséna threatening his line of retreat, Hiller withdrew toward Neumarkt. Napoleon then sent Marshal Jean Baptiste Bessi res after the Austrian with 20,000 men and led the rest of his army toward Eckm hl, determined to crush Archduke Charles's forces. The action at Landshut further split the Austrian army and inflicted heavy losses, including 10,000 men and many guns and supplies. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Napoleonic Wars.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

LAOS

Known as Lan Xang or “land of a million elephants,” Laos was founded as a unified state by Prince Fa Ngoum (1353–1373), a Lao, in the year 1353. After the state’s disintegration, a long duel between Vietnam and Thailand began over suzerainty of the various kingdoms of Laos. The coming of the French formed an important chapter in the history of the country. The French interest in Laos was subordinate to its interest in Vietnam, and the conquest of Laos was the last stage of French **imperialism in Indochina**. There was fierce rivalry among France, Thailand, and Britain for control of the Mekong valley between 1866 and 1893. It was Auguste Pavie, who was responsible for bringing Laos under the French colonial hold. The Franco-Siamese treaty of October 3, 1893, established the French protectorate over Laos. Thailand gave up its claim on the territories of the left bank of the Mekong River. The 1904 Anglo-French treaty spelled out in explicit terms the respective spheres of influence of Britain and France. In exchange for a 25-kilometer neutral zone along the Mekong’s west bank, Thailand gave Champassak and Sayaboury provinces to the French in 1904 and 1907, respectively. France had thus completed the conquest of Indochina over a period of 50 years ending in 1907. In the same year, the Indochinese Union was created out of four protectorates, Annam, Tonkin, Laos, and Cambodia.

French colonial policy was formulated from Hanoi and Laos functioned as a colony of Vietnam. A system of “cross racial administration” was applied, pitting various ethnic groups against each other. Education and health sectors were neglected. Taxation system was oppressive. The response of the Lao to French administrative measures was not passive. In the beginning of twentieth century, resistance movements led by individuals and tribes developed, and the rebellion of a district chief of Savannakhet, Phocodout, in 1901, took two years to suppress. Resistance by the Alec and Loven tribes of Bolovens plateau was provoked by French attempts to collect taxes and regulate commerce. In 1908, Va Nam Phoum led a revolt in Phong Saly and Nam Tha provinces. As they were isolated, the insurrections were unsuccessful; however, they generated a tradition that later helped in fostering Lao nationalism. *See also* French Empire.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

LAPSE DOCTRINE

A device used by the British East India Company, starting in the 1830s, for bringing the princely states of **India** under its control. The doctrine maintained that the company had the right to any states whose ruler died without a direct male heir to uphold succession. Such rulers had hitherto been succeeded by adopted sons, but the lapse doctrine forbade the practice except in special cases. During his service as governor-general, Lord **Dalhousie** used the doctrine to annex Jhansi, Nagpur, Punjab, Sambalpur, and Satara, thereby causing considerable anxiety, among even the most cooperative of Indian rulers, that no dynastic succession was secure. Among the other

causes, the **Indian Mutiny** of 1857 was a product of lapse doctrine's predatory attack on tradition, so that after the defeat of the rebellion the policy was formally renounced. *See also* East India Companies.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LASWARI, BATTLE OF (1803)

A sharp and bloody engagement of the **Second Maratha War**. In late September 1803, a Maratha chief named Abaji took command of the 9,000 westernized Maratha infantry and 4,000 to 5,000 cavalry in northern **India**. After the fall of Agra, Abaji retreated toward Jaipur. In October, General Gerald Lake, commander of British troops in northern India, advanced toward him with 10,500 soldiers. On November 1, Lake caught up with the Maratha force at the village of Laswari. The left of the Maratha line was posted in the village while a rivulet with steep banks covered the right. The Marathas deployed 74 guns in their center. Because of the grass and dust blown by the arrival of British cavalry, Lake was unable to realize the strong position of the Maratha line. He launched his first and second cavalry brigades on the Maratha left while the Third Cavalry Brigade attacked the Maratha right. The cavalry charges were driven back by Maratha infantry and artillery.

At noon, Lake's infantry arrived, and he threw it against the Maratha right. The infantry was organized in a column formation of two lines. Lake himself led the first line consisting of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment and two sepoy battalions. One cavalry brigade threatened the Maratha left. The Maratha artillery was able to stop the infantry line, while the cavalry launched an attack against the Lake's infantry. But Lake's two reserve cavalry brigades countered, and, in close quarter combat, the light Maratha cavalry had no chance against the disciplined dragoons mounted on bigger horses. Although Lake's force suffered 838 casualties, Laswari finally set the seal on the disintegration of Maratha power in north India. *See also* British Empire.

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KAUSHIK ROY

LAURIER, SIR WILFRID (1841–1919)

Prime minister of **Canada** from 1896 to 1911, Wilfrid Laurier was born in rural Quebec, the son of a farmer. After a classical education, he studied law at McGill University. Laurier established himself as a lawyer and newspaper proprietor in the small town of Arthabaska, Quebec. Elected to the Dominion Parliament in the Liberal sweep of 1874, Laurier held his seat even when Sir John A. Macdonald's Tories came back into power in 1878. Laurier spoke in favor of the Metis rebel Louis Riel, executed for treason in 1885, but reacted with studied ambiguity to other English-French and parallel denominational issues dividing Canadians. Laurier became

leader of the Liberal Party in 1887, and after Macdonald's death in 1891 and the Conservatives' inability to produce a compelling successor, he won power in 1896.

As a Liberal, Laurier was a free trader and hence opposed to Macdonald's protectionist national policy. But in obeisance to imperial feeling as well as the antitariff views of his supporters, Laurier, in 1897, lowered tariffs on the goods of nonprotectionist countries, which effectively meant Britain. In the imperial climate of the diamond jubilee of that year, Laurier was seen as a pioneer of Imperial Preference, a strange fate for a free trader who opposed schemes for imperial consolidation or centralization. During the Boer War, Laurier's government agreed, in response to English-Canadian opinion, to recruit and equip a relatively small number of volunteers for service in South Africa, a policy that alienated some of his more nationalist Quebec supporters. In the face of the Edwardian naval race, Laurier declined to contribute to the Royal Navy, but did found, in 1910, the Royal Canadian Navy for coastal defense, immortalized by its imperialist opponents as the "tin pot navy."

In response to an American initiative, Laurier negotiated a treaty of trade reciprocity with the United States. He fought the election of 1911 on the issue, losing to Sir Robert Borden, who saw free trade with the United States as a threat to imperial cohesion. During World War I, Laurier supported the war effort but opposed the conscription policies of Borden's government, losing the election of 1917 decisively. Laurier is remembered as a Canadian nationalist who attempted to reconcile Canada's French and English populations. *See also* Boer Wars; Dominion; Imperial Preference.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LAUSANNE, TREATY OF (1912)

SEE ITALO-TURKISH WAR (1911–1912)

LEIPZIG, BATTLE OF (1813)

Also known as the "Battle of the Nations," Leipzig was the largest engagement of the War of the Sixth Coalition. Fought from October 16 to 19, 1813, between 185,000 French with 600 guns under Napoleon, and 220,000—rising to 300,000—Allies (Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and Swedes) with 1,400 guns, Leipzig was the decisive engagement of the campaign in Germany and forced Napoleon to abandon his hold over Central Europe.

Failing to capture the Prussian capital, Berlin, Napoleon retired to Leipzig, in Saxony, where he established defensive positions against three converging Allied armies advancing in an arc around the northern, eastern, and southern approaches to the city. On October 16, Russian forces under Barclay de Tolly attacked the southern portion of Leipzig, but were thrown back by a French counterattack. The Prussian commander, General Gerhard von **Blücher**, opened a simultaneous assault against the position held by Marshal Marmont, but notwithstanding their numerical superiority, the Prussians failed to oust the French before darkness brought the

fighting to a close. Reinforcements arrived for both sides during the night, raising the forces to 150,000 French—27,000 having fallen on the first day—and 300,000 Allied troops, 35,000 having become casualties. October 17 saw only sporadic fighting, as Napoleon narrowed his front and consolidated his hold within the city itself.

The next day the Allies attacked several sectors at once. Although the French withstood the onslaught, conceding little ground to their opponents, Napoleon was acutely aware that he had to preserve a line of retreat, as he could not long sustain his position against mounting numbers. During the night he therefore began withdrawing his army over the single remaining bridge spanning the river Elster. When the bridge was prematurely blown, however, Prince Poniatowski's corps of 20,000 French and Poles was stranded in the city, together with 15,000 wounded left behind in the city's hospitals. The battle cost the French at least 70,000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoner, including many generals and 150 guns. The Allies lost heavily themselves: approximately 54,000 killed and wounded, but such losses—unlike those suffered by the French—could be replaced. Victory on this scale cleared the way for the Allied advance on Paris in 1814. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Liberation, War of; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

LENIN, VLADIMIR IL'ICH (1870–1924)

Revolutionary and Bolshevik leader who orchestrated the Russian Revolution of 1917, which led to the establishment of a communist regime in Russia and its territories. Vladimir Ulyanov—Lenin was a pen name he adopted in 1901—was born in Simbirsk, Russia, to an average, respectable family; his father was a school teacher and administrator. As a child, Lenin was a good student whose childhood was uneventful until, when he was 17, his older brother was hanged for a failed attempt on the tsar's life. That same year, Lenin participated in a student demonstration and was expelled from Kazan University where he was studying law; his brother's revolutionary activity, of course, had not helped his case. The young Vladimir was permanently affected by these events and the social isolation that followed.

He was eventually readmitted to the university and finished his law degree, but while there, he became involved in a Marxist group and began to read the works of the father of Russian Marxism, Georgi Plekhanov. In the spirit of Karl Marx, Lenin believed liberal reforms were only a temporary fix, not the solution, to the working class's problems. In 1895, Lenin and several other Marxists founded the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. By the end of the year, however, the members of the League were arrested. Lenin spent 14 months in jail and then he was sentenced to three years' exile in Siberia.

In 1900, Lenin was released from exile, returned to Russia, and founded a revolutionary newspaper, *Iskra* (*Spark*). In 1902, he published *What Is to Be Done?* in which he argued that a successful Marxist organization should be led by a small group of dedicated and professional revolutionaries, who would be more effective and

harder for the authorities to catch. Lenin believed that the working class, on its own, would not develop political consciousness, but only “trade-union consciousness.” Thus they needed help from revolutionary intellectuals who would guide them until, over time, the leaders would come from the working class itself.

It was also in 1902 that part of the *Iskra* board moved to London, and there Lenin met Lev Davidovich Bronstein, who became known as Leon Trotsky. In 1903, the Russian Marxists gathered for a second time where they were split by disagreements over questions of organization and policy. It was during these disagreements that the names Bolshevik and Menshevik emerged. In 1905, the Bolsheviks held their own congress in London. Meanwhile, to fund Bolshevik efforts, Lenin and other Bolsheviks resorted to robbing banks; among those involved in this activity was Joseph Djugashvili, Stalin. In 1911, in Paris, Lenin met Inessa Armand, with whom he began a romantic relationship. In 1912, Lenin and some of his staunchest supporters founded a newspaper in St. Petersburg called *Pravda*, or “truth.”

When war broke out in 1914, Lenin was arrested; he was soon released and fled to neutral Switzerland. The outbreak of World War I shattered any immediate hope of a unified international workers' organization; Social Democrats all over Europe supported their countries' war effort. Faced with this new challenge, Lenin reformulated his interpretation of Marxism to explain the current war. The result was his book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1915–1916, which argued that capitalism directly leads to **imperialism**: as capitalist nations strive to find markets for their products, they will ultimately come into competition with one another, which will lead to war—an idea from *The Communist Manifesto*. But Lenin also believed that as capitalism entered its highest stage, so did the proletariat. So Lenin's book was not only an explanation for World War I but also a prediction of revolution. When the first Russian Revolution broke out in February 1917, Lenin was in exile in Switzerland. Writing from Switzerland, Lenin made it clear that he opposed the newly created Provisional Government and hoped to topple it; he also expressed his intent and desire to take Russia out of the war. Consequently, France and Italy, both allies of Russia, would not allow Lenin passage to Russia.

The German government, however, was more than happy to help Lenin get home, on the condition that he travel in a sealed train car so that he could not foment revolution along the way. So Lenin, Krupskaya, and 32 other Bolsheviks arrived on April 3, 1917 in St. Petersburg (now called Petrograd to eliminate the German root of the city's previous name). Lenin immediately set out to get the other Bolsheviks to adopt his stance against the war and to take control of the Petrograd Soviet.

During the summer of 1917, Lenin struggled to convince the Bolsheviks to accept his interpretation. Meanwhile, Bolshevik party membership grew rapidly and the position of the Provisional Government weakened. During this time, Trotsky returned to Russia and joined the Bolsheviks. By the fall of 1917, Alexander Kerensky and his Provisional Government were severely weakened and discredited, and the only thing between Lenin and revolution was the hesitancy of his fellow Bolsheviks. From Finland, Lenin continued to call for a seizure of power, and in early October he went to Petrograd and tried to convince the other leading Bolsheviks of his plan. Until late in the evening of October 24, the majority of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party did not imagine that the overthrow of the Provisional Government would take place before the opening of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets the next day. Lenin, however, was persistent and persuasive. On October 25, 1917, the Bolsheviks

executed a small military coup that passed unnoticed by most residents in Petrograd. In the following months, Lenin and the Bolsheviks worked to consolidate power and eliminate opposition, but by the summer of 1918, a civil war had erupted between the Bolsheviks, or Reds, and anti-Bolshevik forces, or Whites. The civil war raged for three years. By 1922, Lenin was chairman of the council of people's commissars and the uncontested leader of both the Communist Party and the Soviet government. *See also* Hobson, John Atkinson; Imperialism; Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

LEOPOLD II, KING OF BELGIUM

SEE BELGIUM

LESSEPS, FERDINAND DE (1805–1894)

A French engineer and entrepreneur, born to a family of career diplomats, Lesseps was fascinated both by the culture of **Egypt** and by the patterns of commercial trade between East and West. It was after his retirement from the diplomatic service that Lesseps, encouraged by the accession to the viceroyalty of Egypt of Said Pasha in 1854, revived the Napoleonic idea of a canal connecting Mediterranean and Red Seas across the Isthmus of Suez. Despite the initial skepticism of British investors and the open hostility of the British government, Lesseps secured sufficient financial backing from France to begin digging in 1857. The **Suez Canal** opened in 1869.

Fired by extraordinary self-confidence and influenced by the social ideas of the Saint-Simonians, Lesseps turned from his Suez triumph to the more ambitious and difficult project of a canal across the Isthmus of **Panama** in 1875. Riding the Suez reputation of *Le Grand Français* bestowed on him by Léon Gambetta, Lesseps appealed to small investors to raise capital but grossly underestimated the cost of the Panama project. Work began in 1881, but, when little progress was made over the following eight years, falling stock values and corruption precipitated the **Panama Scandal**. Lesseps and his son Charles were found guilty of mismanagement and sentenced to a lengthy imprisonment. Charles alone served one year. After his death at 89, Lesseps's reputation was rehabilitated with an array of posthumous national honors. *See also* French Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION (1804–1806)

The first overland expedition of discovery across the **United States** to the Pacific Ocean and back, mandated by President Thomas **Jefferson** as the Corps of Discovery, following the **Louisiana Purchase**. Serving as the private secretary of President Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) was selected by Jefferson in 1803 to lead the expedition. Accompanying Lewis was Second Lieutenant William Clark (1770–1838) of the United States Army, a veteran of many Indian wars. They were instructed to forge business relations with tribes they encountered in the West. The president also asked them to record the plants, animals, minerals, and geography they encountered and in particular to determine whether there existed a transcontinental water route for westward expansion. Jefferson was concerned about establishing an American presence in the West, as British and Canadian trappers had made inroads there.

Lewis and Clark, accompanied by approximately 50 men, spent the winter of 1803 in the St. Louis area. In the spring of 1804, they sailed up the Missouri River. In the winter they made it to what is now the Dakotas, and they camped among the Mandan Indian tribe. Early in 1805, they set out to cross the West. They were accompanied by Sacajawea, a Shoshone Indian woman who guided them across the Rockies. In November 1805, the party finally reached the Pacific Ocean. In July 1806, the expedition split into two groups, Lewis and his team turning back through Blackfoot territory while Clark returned through Crow territory. They eventually rejoined in present-day North Dakota where the Yellowstone River flows into the Missouri and arrived in St. Louis in September. Their explorations resulted in establishing relations with many Western tribes; discovering passages through the Rockies; and providing important botanical, zoological, and geological information about much of the West. The expedition was instrumental in opening the trans-Mississippi region to white settlement. In 1807, Jefferson appointed Lewis governor of the Louisiana Territory. Clark became the first governor of the Missouri Territory in 1813. *See also* Manifest Destiny.

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GENE C. GERARD

LEWIS, MERIWETHER

SEE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

LIAOYANG, BATTLE OF (1904)

A major battle in the **Russo-Japanese War**, fought between August 24 and September 4, 1904. In early August 1904, after defeats at Motien Pass and Dashiqiao, Russian forces in **Manchuria** under General Alexei Kuropatkin fell back on the city of Liaoyang with Japanese forces in pursuit. The battle began on August 25, with the Russians attempting to turn the flanks of the Japanese army.

On August 26, the Japanese counterattacked, seizing Kosarei Peak and Hungsha Pass southeast of Liaoyang and forcing the Russians to abandon their outer defensive perimeter. On August 31, the Japanese First Army crossed the Tai-tzu River northeast of Liaoyang. Fearing encirclement, Kuropatkin ordered Russian forces to abandon Liaoyang on September 4 and regroup near Mukden. Japan won the battle, but its forces suffered heavier casualties, 23,600 out of 125,000 troops deployed while the Russians suffered 17,900 casualties out of a force of 158,000. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

LIBERAL IMPERIALISTS

A faction within Britain's **Liberal Party** in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Liberal Imperialists were notable for their lack of enthusiasm for Irish **Home Rule**, for their defense of **free trade** within the **British Empire**, and for their support for moderate social reform. The Liberal Imperialists included some of the most talented figures in the Liberal Party, such as Lord **Rosebery**, H. H. **Asquith**, Sir **Edward Grey**, and R. B. **Haldane**, and as many as a third of the Liberal members of the House of Commons. The Liberal Imperialists were clever men looking for a new program for their party and for power within that party. They made their bid for influence at a time when the Liberal Party, always an uneasy coalition, appeared to be floundering. Yet the Liberal Imperialists failed and never came close to success. One contemporary sneered that they were politically inept "babes in intrigue." In part the Liberal Imperialists failed because they were regarded as disloyal and not true Liberals and in part because their most important leader, Lord Rosebery, was self-destructive as a party politician. He had charm, eloquence, and intellect, but he lacked the personal ambition that might have motivated him to compromise. Unlike Rosebery, other Liberal Imperialists chose to advance their careers at the expense of their ideology. It is easy to date the end of Liberal Imperialism. In December 1905, leading Liberal Imperialists joined a ministry headed by a mainstream Liberal, Sir **Henry Campbell-Bannerman**.

It is less easy to date the beginnings of Liberal Imperialism. Some historians see its origins in the 1880s or with the general election of 1892. Others date it as late as the Boer War (1899–1902). It is also difficult to identify Liberal Imperialism's general theme. A revival of Lord Palmerston's mid-century Liberal nationalism? Social imperialism, combining domestic reform with an emphasis on empire? A cross-party movement for national efficiency? Promoting the financial interests of the City of London? Placing less stress on program, some historians emphasize the intraparty struggle for power. The leading historian of the Liberal Imperialists focuses on the period 1888–1905 and identifies them as "a post-Gladstonian elite." The Liberal Imperialists sought to reconstruct their party on lines different from that of its old leader W. E. **Gladstone**. Among other things, this meant freeing the Liberal Party from an electorally disastrous program that gave priority to Irish Home Rule and that included miscellaneous demands of "faddist" single-cause lobbies such as

prohibition by local option. The Liberal Imperialists regarded themselves as representatives of the national interest and not of mere sectional interests. They despised the Newcastle Programme of 1891, assembled by the National Liberal Federation, as a miscellaneous collection of concessions to narrow factions.

It is not easy to generalize about the Liberal Imperialists. Although they created two organizations—the Liberal Imperialist League in 1900 and the Liberal League 1902—essentially they were a group of individuals who did not always agree with one another. More important, the focus that gave them a sort of unity changed over the years. At first, it had little to do with imperialism, and it never bothered much with **India**, the most important part of the empire. Perhaps the Liberal Imperialists can be understood as Liberals who wanted the Liberal Party to be a moderate and patriotic party that supported practical domestic reforms and kept foreign affairs and the conduct of wars out of partisan politics. The philosopher T. H. Green probably influenced their ideas. Many intellectuals outside Parliament hoped that the Liberal Imperialists might advance their agendas, as for example, Benjamin Kidd, H. J. Mackinder, and even the Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Vague slogans often substituted for detailed policies. For instance, Liberal Imperialists called for a clean slate in devising a party program. This rhetorical strategy sidestepped the practical political problem of how to deal with old commitments such as Irish Home Rule. Liberal Imperialists called for what they described as sane imperialism. This middle way between aggressive expansion and Little Englander dislike of empire did not provide clear guidance. It merely implied that realists should avoid making decisions based on ideology. The Liberal Imperialist desire for reforms that promoted national efficiency similarly lacked clarity. Bitter disputes over education and temperance, for instance, made compromise difficult. In many ways the Liberal Imperialists had much in common with Joseph Chamberlain, the Radical turned Liberal Unionist, at least until he advocated protective tariffs. Of course, Rosebery lacked Chamberlain's ruthlessness.

In the late 1880s, many of the politicians later identified as Liberal Imperialists developed the friendships that would provide the personal basis for Liberal Imperialism. In 1892, when Gladstone formed his last government, several of the future Liberal Imperialists obtained office. At one time they had admired John Morley, an old-fashioned Gladstonian, but increasingly they considered Lord Rosebery, the foreign secretary, as their leader. He briefly served as prime minister in 1894–1895. A year later he resigned as party leader and, although only 49, claimed that he had retired from public life. In practice, he intermittently quarreled with his immediate successor as party leader, Sir W. V. Harcourt, and then with his replacement, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The relatively young Liberal Imperialist group regarded Harcourt and Campbell-Bannerman as elderly mediocrities and longed for Rosebery's return. In the late 1890s, imperialism became a distinguishing feature of this factional revolt. How were Liberals to react to the Conservative government's decision to send an army into the Sudan and the subsequent Fashoda crisis that threatened war with France? How were Liberals to respond to the war in South Africa with the Boer republics? As self-proclaimed patriots, the Liberal Imperialists almost always backed the government. In 1901, Campbell-Bannerman denounced British concentration camps in South Africa, where many women and children had died of disease, as "methods of barbarism." Although Campbell-Bannerman had not attacked the war as a whole, the Liberal Imperialists reacted as

if he had allied himself with the so-called pro-Boers, such as David Lloyd George, who opposed the war itself as wrong. The Liberal Imperialists wanted Campbell-Bannerman out as leader.

In 1903, when Joseph Chamberlain called for tariff reform, he helped heal the Liberal divisions at least partially. Free trade was a principle on which all Liberals could unite. At the end of 1905, most prominent Liberal Imperialists such as Asquith accepted office under Campbell-Bannerman, despite their previous criticisms of him. Rosebery was isolated and politically irrelevant. As a coherent faction, the Liberal Imperialists no longer existed. *See also* Boer Wars; Ireland.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

LIBERALISM

Liberalism was the hegemonic ideology of the Anglo-Saxon powers during the nineteenth century. Although not uncontested, it was the ideology that was able to establish the terms in which other contemporary ideologies—from John Calhoun's pseudo-feudalism and Benjamin Disraeli's romantic Toryism to the socialisms of Marxists and also of the Fabians—had to define themselves. The term *liberalism* was used most obviously to name the ideology of the **Liberal Party**, although that party did not exist until the middle of the century. On the European continent, liberalism was generally understood to be the philosophy of constitutional government, although by such a standard, everyone in the nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon world was a liberal.

The term *liberal*, borrowed from the Spanish, originally had a connotation of enlightenment, and entered political language with the liberal Tories of the 1820s. The term *liberal conservative* was often applied to the free trading followers of Sir Robert Peel, who formed the core of the mid-Victorian Liberal Party. Although it is impossible to define liberalism with reference to some dogmatic premise to which all liberals must assent, a number of core characteristics can be identified. Perhaps the most obvious is constitutionalism and a related concern for liberty. The autonomy of the individual has always been valued by liberals, as the central place of that value in John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* made clear. Liberalism is also a rationalist ideology: it believes that reason can understand and improve the world, and consequently liberals often characterized themselves as the party of enlightenment as against the obscurantism imputed to their opponents. In common with their Whig predecessors, liberalism sees history as an essentially progressive process; the Whig view of constitutional development was thus congenial to liberals. Liberalism was usually an anticoercive ideology, generally, although not always, opposed to the use of force in politics, although this did not prohibit force where reason was believed to have failed, and few liberals became full-fledged pacifists.

Liberalism emphasized freedom of contract and the importance of voluntary cooperation and was normally hostile to assertive state action. As such, free market economics has often been thought—most notably by marxists—the centerpiece of

liberalism, the ostensible ideology of the bourgeoisie. **Free trade** was certainly the centerpiece of British liberalism. Nevertheless, free trade commanded only minority support in the **United States**, neither of whose major parties thought to call itself liberal, and free trade never attained the hegemonic status it had in Britain in the settlement colonies. Three prominent strains of liberal thought can be identified: (1) the Lockean, or contractual, which emphasized the importance of free, uncoercive individual choice, and which led to doctrines of right or liberties; (2) the Benthamite, or utilitarian, strand of liberalism, associated with Jeremy **Bentham**'s influential successors the philosophical radicals, which emphasized the importance of rational human happiness and presented powerful arguments against preexisting social orders, but for which liberty was only an instrumental good; and (3) an eminent tradition of political economy that went back to Adam **Smith** and David Ricardo, and that emphasized the importance of individual choice in (usually) free markets, informed liberalism. There were latent contradictions between the first two strands of liberalism, although neither thought itself incompatible with classical political economy. The relation of liberalism to imperialism was ambiguous. On the one hand, liberalism presented powerful arguments for colonial self-government. On the other, some liberals contested the suitability for self-government of what they saw as irrational or inferior peoples or cultures. Most ideological liberals were anti-imperialists, and anti-imperialism was strongest on the radical, which is to say radically liberal, wing of the Liberal Party. There was a strong tradition of liberal anticolonialism, going back to Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham. It was nevertheless possible to argue on liberal grounds that the expansion of the liberal and free trading British empire was preferable to that of other, illiberal and protectionist empires, and there was a powerful group of liberal imperialists around the turn of the century, including once and future prime ministers such as Lord **Rosebery** and H. H. **Asquith**. *See also* Anti-Corn Law League; Cobden, Richard; Liberal Imperialists.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LIBERAL PARTY

In British politics, the Liberal Party was the nineteenth-century successor to the Whigs of the Stuart and Hanoverian eras. In their own minds, the Liberals were the party of reform, liberty, and progress. Although in socialist dogma they were the party of the bourgeoisie, they usually attracted the support of those, from religious nonconformists to workers, who felt themselves excluded from power. From the middle of the nineteenth century to its breakup after World War I, the Liberal Party was one of two British parties—the other being the Tories, alternately called the **Conservative Party** or Unionists—that had a serious chance of winning office.

Before the 1870s, political parties did not have much in the way of formal organization: the term *party* applied to groups of MPs (i.e., members of Parliament) who tended to vote together, and contemporaries could speak intelligibly of the radical party or the protectionist party. The term *liberal* as the designation of a political inclination first came into wide use to describe the Liberal Tories of the 1820s. In the years following the split of the Tory Party over the **Corn Laws** in 1846, it became common to refer to the diverse and fissiparous assemblage of radicals, Peelites—followers of Sir Robert Peel, including most notably William Gladstone—and Whigs that supported free trade and other ostensibly enlightened policies as “the great Liberal Party.” The Liberals kept the Tories from more than brief periods of minority government in the generation before Benjamin Disraeli’s great victory of 1874. It was after one such interlude—Lord Derby’s government of 1858–1859—that Lord Palmerston became prime minister after the famous Willis’s rooms meeting in which radicals, Whigs, and former Peelites agreed to act together. The term *Whig*, being anathema to radicals, Palmerston’s government and its successors were normally called Liberal.

A formal Liberal electoral organization, the National Liberal Federation (NLF), was founded in 1877, employing the machinery of Joseph Chamberlain’s National Education Federation. The NLF played a role in Gladstone’s convincing victory at the polls in 1880, as did the strident opposition of many among the party’s nonconformist base to Disraeli’s imperial and eastern policies. In 1886, however, the Liberal Party split over the issue of Irish **Home Rule**. Many Liberals followed Chamberlain’s lead into alliance with Lord Salisbury’s Tories, and thence into the Conservative Party itself. The Liberals were largely excluded from power, with the exception of the years 1892–1895, until 1906. During this period, the Liberal Party was paralyzed by divisions between its radical and liberal imperialist wings. The Liberal governments of H. H. Asquith put through a number of reformist measures, including old-age pensions, the Parliament Act of 1911 restricting the power of the Lords, and the Third Irish Home Rule bill, never put into effect. Asquith fell from power in 1916, and the former radical David Lloyd George took office at the head of a Tory-dominated coalition. The party divided into Asquith and Lloyd George wings just as many among its more progressive followers were defecting to the rising Labour Party. Lloyd George, the last Liberal prime minister, fell from power in 1922.

It is of course difficult to say with any precision what a political party stands for, but if there was one fixed point of Liberal faith, it was free trade. The attitude of liberalism to the empire was more ambiguous: although imperialism has more often been associated with conservatism, some of the most bellicose and successful of British statesmen, from Palmerston to Lloyd George, were in fact Liberals. *See also* Liberal Imperialists.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LIBERAL UNIONIST PARTY

Liberal Unionists was the name given to those who left the Gladstonian Liberal Party in opposition to William Gladstone’s defeated Irish **Home Rule** bill of 1886.

The Unionists were initially a faction, and by no means an entirely conservative faction, of the Liberal Party, including well-known radicals like Joseph Chamberlain and John Bright. The Unionist split of the Liberal Party ended definitively the long period of Victorian Liberal predominance and ushered in almost two decades of largely Tory rule.

The so-called Unionist party was formed by a coalition of the Liberal Unionists with the Conservative Party or Tories under Lord Salisbury in the aftermath of the split of the Liberal Party in 1886. Although in the 1880s, the term *Unionist* designated a Liberal Unionist, in the 1890s it came to be used to describe any supporter of Salisbury's Conservative governments. By the Edwardian era, when Irish Home Rule was once more put forward by the Liberals, the distinction between Conservatives and formerly Liberal Unionists had largely disappeared, and the term *Unionist* became a synonym for Conservative. The Conservative Party officially renamed itself the Conservative and Unionist Party in 1912. The term *Unionist* fell from favor after Irish independence but was only formally dropped in 1970. *See also* Ireland.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LIBERATION, WAR OF (1813)

The latter half of the War of the Sixth Coalition, following Napoleon's disastrous campaign of 1812 in Russia. The latent nationalism that had blossomed since Prussia's humiliation in 1806 finally exploded, bringing King Frederick William III into alliance with Tsar Alexander I of Russia. The theater of operations shifted to Germany, where Napoleon rapidly cobbled together a new army of raw recruits, reservists, and the remnants of his *Grande Armée*. The Russians and Prussians confronted the French in Saxony, one of the principal states of the French-allied Confederation of the Rhine which continued to maintain its links with Napoleon. After driving back a Russian attack at Lützen on May 2, Napoleon went in pursuit of the Allies, defeating them at Bautzen on May 20. By a two-month armistice agreed to at Plaswitz on June 4, both sides sought to recover their strength in anticipation of further fighting in the autumn. The Allies strengthened their alliance by the treaties of Reichenbach on June 14–15, binding Britain, which would offer substantial subsidies to her allies, with Russia and Prussia in exchange for the mutual promise of no separate peace with France.

Napoleon met Emperor Francis of Austria on June 26 but refused Habsburg mediation, after which Austria joined the Allies and declared war on France on August 11. In his last major victory, Napoleon defeated the Allies at the Saxon capital of Dresden on August 27, but his corps commanders, operating independently thereafter lost a succession of minor, although collectively significant, actions at Grossbeeren, Kulm, and Dennewitz. As a result of these setbacks, Napoleon was obliged to withdraw and concentrate most of his troops around Leipzig, where the largest battle of the Napoleonic Wars—involving over half a million combatants and fought over several days in mid-October—left the French decisively defeated and obliged to retreat to the Rhine. All of Napoleon's German allies abandoned

him and French control in central Europe collapsed as the Allies marched west. A Bavarian force failed to halt Napoleon at Hanau October 30, and the French reached Mainz on November 5. By the end of the year the Allies were poised along the Rhine for the invasion of France. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

LIBERIA

A West African state founded in 1821 by freed American slaves, sponsored by the American Colonization Society and funded in part by the U.S. Congress. President James **Monroe**, who favored a gradual elimination of slavery, had developed the idea as early as 1801 in correspondence with President Thomas **Jefferson** after the Gabriel slave rebellion in Virginia, where Monroe then served as governor. In 1819, Monroe secured an appropriation of \$100,000 from Congress to resettle recaptured and illegally traded slaves in Africa.

Monroe referred to Liberia as “a little America, destined to shine in the heart of darkest Africa,” but the settlers encountered resistance from the local inhabitants who resented both the presence of the newcomers and the suspension of the local slave trade. With assistance from the U.S. Navy, the settlers nonetheless established themselves at Cape Messurado in 1822 and eventually established a capital at Christopolis, which they renamed Monrovia in 1824. After retiring from presidential duties, Monroe served as the first president of the American Colonization Society. The society governed Liberia until 1847, when it declared itself an independent republic modeled after the United States. The settlers ruled over the native population as a hereditary aristocracy, denying them the vote and other rights of citizenship.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LIBYA

The North African Ottoman provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica together composed Libya, which became of predatory interest to **Italy** after the French occupation of Tunisia to the west in 1881 and the British occupation of **Egypt** to the east in 1882. As the economic potential of a territory that was mostly desert was limited and the opportunities for emigration there modest, Italian ambitions in Libya were in large part the product of nationalist zeal and the accurate perception that Ottoman hold on the provinces was too weak to withstand a determined challenge.

With the Moroccan Crisis of 1911, Italy's opportunity came to strike while avoiding the open objections of Britain or France. It therefore announced that its

obligation to protect the Italian community in Tripoli required military intervention, and Libya became the centerpiece of the **Italo-Turkish War**. Although Italy formally acquired Libya from the Porte by the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1912—the name Libya had fallen into disuse and was revived by the Italians—Arab *guerrilla* resistance at one point required as many as 100,000 troops to suppress. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Ottoman Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LIGNY, BATTLE OF (1815)

Part of Napoleon's **Waterloo** campaign during the Hundred Days that witnessed his return from exile and final defeat. Returning from exile at Elba, Napoleon realized that there was no hope of a negotiated settlement with the Allied coalition. The emperor decided to strike first and marched to the French border at Charleroi, hoping to defeat the combined British-Prussian army. Crossing into **Belgium**, Napoleon sent Marshal Michel Ney to deal with the Duke of Wellington at the crossroads of **Quatre Bras**, as Marshal Emmanuel de Grouchy marched toward Field Marshal Gebhard von **Blücher** at Ligny. Napoleon brought forward the Imperial Guard behind Grouchy when he realized an opportunity to defeat the Prussians existed. Napoleon attacked Blücher on the afternoon of June 16. When the Prussians appeared near breaking, Napoleon launched the guard forward in the early evening hours, and the Prussians finally gave way. Blücher himself tried to check the rout and was, for a period of time, lost to his army.

General Augustus **Gneisenau** reorganized the Prussian Army for a retreat north toward Wavre, rather than toward the east. This decision eventually proved fatal to Napoleon. Although Napoleon dispatched Grouchy to prevent the Prussians from rallying to the Duke of **Wellington**, Grouchy instead lost contact with Blücher's forces. When Blücher resumed command, he moved quickly to support Wellington on the afternoon of June 18, during the climactic Battle of Waterloo. *See also* Bonaparte, Napoleon; Napoleonic Wars.

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THOMAS D. VEVE

LIMITED LIABILITY

The status of limited liability gives a business a legal personality separate from that of its shareholders and limits the liability of shareholders for the debts incurred by the business, normally to the amount of their investment. The development of limited liability laws facilitated the growth of joint stock companies owned in the main by nonactive shareholders: a shareholder knew that his potential losses in the event of business failure were limited to the amount of his investments and had legal protection against being pursued at law for debts incurred by a company whose daily operations he knew little about. By removing a powerful disincentive to

investment, limited liability laws mobilized large amounts of capital, including the savings of small investors.

Although limited liability companies had long been known before the passage of limited liability laws, the status had required a special charter, granted by the crown or a legislature, similar to those granting monopolies or other privileges to entities such as the British East India Company. In Britain a Limited Liability Act of 1856 made the status generally available; in the United States corporate law was generally a state matter, and limited liability laws were often resisted until the late nineteenth century. Limited liability principles became part of the Prussian Commercial Code in 1861 and then spread quickly to other German states; France passed similar laws in 1863 and 1867. Because such laws stimulated investment by the growing European middle class, they put an enormous pool of capital at the disposal of overseas investment and thus contributed to intensified imperial competition in the second half of the nineteenth century. *See also* East India Companies.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM (1809–1865)

Sixteenth President of the United States and commander-in-chief of the Union during the American Civil War (1861–1865). Lincoln's nomination by the Republican Party for the presidency and subsequent election was itself prominent among the reasons for the secession of Southern states and the outbreak of civil war, insofar as his policy of opposition to the spread of slavery to new states was well known. Lincoln also publicly identified the survival of slavery to be the singular source of the national crisis and linked his opposition to its expansion to an implied willingness to use force to preserve an indissoluble constitutional union.

After the creation of the Confederate States of America on February 4, 1861, and the capture of the federal Fort Sumter in April of the same year, Lincoln took an active interest in the prosecution of the Union war effort. He was ill-suited to the issuance of strategic orders to Union commanders in the field, but until Lincoln discovered the fighting qualities of Ulysses S. Grant, few successive Union commanders were well-suited to the aggressive prosecution of the war. Lincoln's blockade of the southern ports gave the Civil War an international dimension—quite apart from the anticipated predations of European powers in the Americas in the event of the disintegration of the Union. It led to a confrontation with Britain in the Trent Affair, a diplomatic crisis adroitly defused by Lincoln's Secretary of State William Seward.

Yet as the war progressed, Lincoln's understanding of its military imperatives became evermore sophisticated, and his appreciation of the importance of the political dimension to the strategic balance was brilliant. Lincoln followed the Union victory at Antietam with the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1,

1863, in which he proclaimed the freedom of slaves solely in the secessionist states and thereby kept the loyalty of four slave states that had remained in the Union. The war thereafter became a crusade for liberty, in which Lincoln forced the United States to live up to the ideals of its constitution and preserved its unity in its hour of maximum peril, just as the growing industrial and military might of the Union laid the foundation for the emergence of a Great Power. *See also Alabama Dispute.*

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LISSA, BATTLE OF (1866)

A naval engagement of the **Austro-Prussian War**. On July 16, the Italian fleet of 34 warships, including 12 ironclads, was ordered to attack the island of Lissa to prepare for troop landings. The Austrian fleet of 27 warships, including seven ironclads, arrived at Lissa on the morning of July 20. Admiral Wilhelm Tegetthoff formed his fleet into three V-shaped wedges; the charge of the Austrian warships through the Italian line turned the battle into a frantic melee, with ships chasing after one another, all obscured by the smoke from cannon and engines. There was more confusion on the Italian side as the Italian commander, Carlo di Persano, changed flagships at the last moment. His subordinates, unaware of the transfer, kept looking to the wrong ship for signals. Neither side's guns were effective, but the Austrians rammed several Italian warships. The Italian fleet retreated in chaos after one ironclad sank and a second caught fire and exploded, leaving the Austrians in control of the Adriatic. As a result **Italy's** plan to open up a front on Austria's Dalmatian coast had to be abandoned. *See also Habsburg Empire.*

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

LIST, FRIEDRICH (1789–1846)

A German economist of formative impact, Friedrich List established himself as an expert for administrative matters in Württemberg, but was forced into exile to the **United States**. Having returned to Saxony in 1832, he advocated the extension of the railway system in Germany and developed a theory of protection that stressed national welfare, including tariff protection for the transition to an industrial economy. The establishment of the *Zollverein* in 1834, a customs union between the majorities of the German states, was due largely to his enthusiasm.

List maintained that a nation's prosperity depended on its productive forces, including scientific discoveries, advances in technology and transport, educational facilities, an efficient administration, and some kind of self-government. Germany, List argued, needed for economic progress an extended territory from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and an expansion of commerce. The German national

spirit after unification was receptive to List's writing. His ideas became the economic foundation of unified Germany.

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MARTIN MOLL

LIVERPOOL, CHARLES BANKS JENKINSON, SECOND EARL OF (1770–1828)

Lord Liverpool was prime minister of Great Britain from 1812 until 1827. Remembered as a stern and unbending Tory—"the arch-mediocrity" in Benjamin Disraeli's inaccurate epithet—and often associated with the Peterloo massacre and the Six Acts of 1819, he also skillfully managed the closing years of the **Napoleonic Wars**, the rapid rapprochement with France in their aftermath, and the economic liberalization of the 1820s. Descended from minor gentry who had become prosperous East India merchants—"nabobs" in the parlance of the day—Jenkinson was educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford.

Jenkinson entered Parliament for a pocket-borough on leaving Oxford and rapidly rose in prominence, serving on the Board of Control for **India**. He also visited Europe to observe the armies and served actively in the militia. In 1796, his father was created earl of Liverpool, from which time Jenkinson was known by the courtesy title of Hawkesbury. Under that name he became foreign secretary in the government of Henry Addington, in which post he was responsible for the negotiations leading to the peace of **Amiens**, an achievement that did his future prospects little good.

He served as home secretary in William Pitt's last administration and also under the duke of Portland from 1807–1809. When Portland's ministry was replaced by that of Perceval in 1809, Liverpool, as he had then become, became secretary for war. As secretary for war, he steadfastly supported the duke of Wellington's initially unpopular peninsular campaign. Liverpool became prime minister after the assassination of Perceval in 1812. As premier, he revoked the orders-in-council, which had provoked war with the **United States**, but his move came too late to prevent war. In the European diplomacy of 1814 and 1815, his chief concern was to secure the independence of weaker nations while avoiding a Carthaginian peace with France. Social unrest following the peace, however, provoked repressive legislation, which further damaged the government's popularity.

Intellectually convinced of the arguments for **free trade**, it had nevertheless been Liverpool's government, which initially brought in the **Corn Laws**. In the growing prosperity of the 1820s, his government, with William Huskisson at the Board of Trade, began to simplify and lower tariffs, especially on primary products. Liverpool suffered a stroke and retired in 1827 and died the next year. Liverpool was distinguished more by industry and commonsense than by ostentation, a fact that perhaps explains why he—who after all served as prime minister for a period equaled only by Pitt and Walpole—has suffered in reputation by comparison with more flamboyant contemporaries like George **Canning**, Pitt, and Lord **Castlereagh**. In securing a lasting European peace in 1815, his government established the con-

ditions for Britain's prosperity and imperial expansion later in the century. *See also* Conservative Party; Peninsular War.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LIVINGSTONE, DAVID (1813–1873)

Scottish explorer, **missionary**, and philanthropist, David Livingstone was born in Blantyre Works, Lanarkshire. Of humble origins, he was nonetheless able to save sufficient money to attend medical school in Glasgow and win a degree in 1840. In 1841, the London Missionary Society assigned Livingstone to Bechuanaland, although he had sought instead to be sent to China, where he set to work converting the indigenous population to Christianity, treating disease and combating the local slave trade.

In 1852, Livingstone organized an expedition across the Kalahari Desert to Lake Ngami and in 1851 explored the Zambezi River. In 1852, he began the explorations of Central Africa that ultimately won him a national and international reputation—the capstone of which was the discovery and naming of Victoria Falls—as a great geographer. Livingstone was appointed British consul for eastern Africa, a position through which he continued his explorations, discovering Lake Nyasa in 1859, and became an ever more determined enemy of slavery and slave trading.

In 1865, he became British consul to Central Africa and embarked on his last, greatest, and fatal expedition, the central goal of which was to understand the watershed of Central Africa and to locate the sources of the Congo and Nile Rivers. The Nile, he thought, could be the artery for bringing Christian civilization from the Mediterranean to the heart of the continent. He disappeared for many years until he was at last found at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika by the American explorer Henry Stanley. Livingstone carried on his explorations against the gathering predation of disease until he succumbed in April 1873, having opened vast new territory to British influence—not least of all by force of his personal humanity. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LLOYD GEORGE, DAVID (1863–1945)

David Lloyd George was British prime minister during World War I, a progenitor of the welfare state, and both a critic and practitioner of **imperialism**. Lloyd George came from a lower middle class family of schoolteachers, farmers, and tradesmen. He was raised in Caernarvonshire, Wales, and began his career as a radical and Welsh nationalist, but ended it as the effective leader of the Tory party.

Lloyd George was first elected to Parliament for a north Wales constituency in 1890. He defended the rights of religious nonconformists and pushed for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, both emotive issues among

Welshmen and Liberals at the time. Lloyd George went so far as to attempt to lead a movement for Welsh Home Rule in the mid-1890s, a stance far outside the mainstream of **Liberal Party** politics. He first became prominent on the national scene as a determined opponent of the South African War, expressing the view—common on the left at the time—that the war had been caused by capitalist interests seeking to annex the Rand gold fields; at one point, Lloyd George was forced to flee for his life from a jingo mob. The fiery young radical was brought into the cabinet as president of the Board of Trade under Sir Henry **Campbell-Bannerman** in 1905.

When H. H. **Asquith** succeeded Campbell-Bannerman in 1908, Lloyd George became chancellor of the exchequer. In that role he introduced old-age pensions, paid for by the so-called people's budget of 1909, which introduced a land tax, taxes on drink, and a more steeply progressive income tax. The Lords—"five hundred men chosen at random from amongst the unemployed," as Lloyd George referred to them—rejected his budget, provoking the election of January 1910, in which the Liberals secured a narrow majority. After a second general election in December 1910, with a very similar result, the Liberals were able to pass not merely Lloyd George's budget but also the 1911 Parliament Act, which limited the power of the Lords to that of delay alone.

Lloyd George was a close friend in these years of Winston **Churchill**, first lord of the admiralty, which to some extent reduced his radical opposition to naval spending. His Mansion House speech of 1911 warned the Germans against aggression, and it was taken all the more seriously because it came from an erstwhile radical. With the coming of war in 1914, Lloyd George as chancellor played an important role in paying for it and in negotiating more flexible work rules with the unions in war-related industries. In May 1915, the cabinet was reconstructed, with some Tories coming into office, and Lloyd George assumed the immensely important post of minister of munitions. After Kitchener's death, Lloyd George became in July 1916 secretary for war. Amidst growing disenchantment with Asquith, particularly among the Tories, Lloyd George became prime minister in December 1916—the radical and anti-imperialist had become a war leader with Tory support.

As prime minister, Lloyd George was a consistent opponent of the war of attrition on the western front, constantly seeking ways to win victory in other theaters. His wartime leadership was marked by a dogged determination to persevere against all odds, and also by nearly continuous struggles over strategy with his generals. Lloyd George's dependence on the support of Tory Members of Parliament deepened the divisions in the Liberal Party occasioned by his 1916 split with Asquith. The victory of 1918 brought Lloyd George—"the man who won the war," as he was popularly known—to the height of his prestige. He won the postwar 1918 election by a huge majority, with the backing of a coalition of Tories and his own so-called coalition Liberal backers. Although Lloyd George talked of building "a land fit for heroes," the immediate focus of his government was the 1919 peace talks. Lloyd George negotiated the Treaty of Versailles, but he considered its punitive attitude to Germany a mistake, a view that led to him to support appeasement in the 1930s.

Without a political party of his own—he was an outsider to the **Conservative Party** and had occasioned a bitter split in the Liberal Party—Lloyd George's support rapidly withered in the postwar years. He resigned in the face of a 1922 scandal in which certain of his aides were discovered to have been essentially selling honors

and peerages. Although there was periodic talk of his reentering government, and he continued to advocate far-reaching social reforms, his political career was over. *See also* Boer Wars.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

LOBENGULA KHUMALO (1833–1894)

The last king of the Matabele in present-day Zimbabwe, Lobengula Khumalo held the throne from 1870 until his death. In 1893, Lobengula came into conflict with the British South Africa Company both over mining rights and over his attempts to reestablish Matabele authority over the Mashona people who were increasingly employed by Europeans. Although he had agreed to mining concessions with Cecil Rhodes in 1888, Lobengula had underestimated the scope of Rhodes's commercial ambitions and attempted to limit the company's encroachments into Mashonaland. In the resulting **Matabele War** of 1893, he was defeated and fled his capital of Bulawayo after torching the city. He died of smallpox in 1894. The British took over Matabeleland and named it Rhodesia. *See also* British South Africa Company.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LONDON CONVENTION

SEE ANGLO-AMERICAN TREATY

LONDON STRAITS CONVENTION (1841)

An international agreement signed by Austria, France, Great Britain, the **Ottoman Empire**, Prussia, and Russia, which reaffirmed the principle that the Ottoman Straits—the **Bosporus** and **Dardanelles**—were to be closed to all warships of foreign powers when the Ottoman Empire was at peace. Anglo-Russian agreement over the straits, which had been a matter of contention since the signing of the Treaty of **Inkiar Skelessi** in 1833, was brought about due to mutual concerns over the resumption of hostilities between the Ottomans and their Egyptian vassal in 1839. The resolution of outstanding differences was largely due to Anglo-Russian diplomatic cooperation and Anglo-Ottoman military cooperation, which prevented the Ottoman Empire from suffering yet another near collapse at the hands of their Egyptian vassal, **Mehmet Ali**. On British insistence, the Russians did not negotiate a renewal of the Treaty of Inkiar Skelessi. Instead, both powers—joined by the Austrians, Prussians, and Turks—signed the London Convention for the Pacification of the Levant on July 15, 1840, and the London Straits Convention on July 13, 1841. The former prefigured the ultimate settlement to this phase of the problems in the Near East by offering Mehmet Ali hereditary title as governor of Egypt, providing he abandon his Syrian holdings, return the Ottoman fleet—which had defected to Alexandria in the

summer of 1838—and continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of and pay tribute to the Ottoman Sultan. The London Straits Convention grew out of a desire on the part of the British and Russian governments to come to satisfactory arrangement between themselves—with the cooperation of the Porte and other great powers—as to the status of the Straits.

The convention was an outgrowth of the desire by the Great Powers to restore a semblance of balance to Near Eastern relations in the wake of a series of crises that had threatened the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. The regulations regarding the straits laid down in it essentially remained in force during the remainder of the life of the Ottoman Empire, and its terms remained in force until the end of World War I. The Treaty of **Paris** (1856), which ended the **Crimean War**, reaffirmed the Convention while also neutralizing the Black Sea. *See also* British Empire; Eastern Question.

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ROBERT DAVIS

LONDON, TREATY OF (1839)

The final settlement of the dispute over Belgian independence from the Netherlands after the Belgian revolt against Dutch rule had established an independent monarchy in 1830. The Netherlands acknowledged Belgian sovereignty, and the River Scheldt was declared open to the commerce of both **Belgium** and the Netherlands. The treaty was a diplomatic triumph for the British foreign secretary, Lord **Palmerston**, who considered the independence of the smaller constitutional states of Europe a vital national interest of Great Britain. It was also a triumph for international cooperation insofar as Austria, Britain, France Prussia, and Russia collectively guaranteed the independence and perpetual neutrality of Belgium. *See also* July Crisis; Schlieffen Plan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LOUIS XVIII (1755–1824)

Installed by the Congress of **Vienna** after the defeat of Napoleon **Bonaparte**, Louis, Comte de Provence, became king of France as Louis XVIII. He was born at Versailles on November 17, 1755, to dauphin Louis, son of Louis XV, and Maria Josepha of Saxony. In June 1791, he had fled France and become the leader of the *émigrés*, seeking help of European monarchs in the royal conspiracy against the

French Revolution. He assumed the title of regent of France in 1792 after Louis XVI was guillotined and Louis XVII died in prison, and he styled himself as Louis XVIII with a manifesto of restoration of monarchy, aristocracy, and the Church.

As king, he would have liked to rule with absolute power, but he knew well that return to the prerevolutionary *ancien régime* was impossible. Nationalism and democratic ideas had taken roots. The Royal Charter of 1814 retained religious toleration, equality before law, the Bank of France, and the Napoleonic Code. Although Royal prerogative was asserted, monarchy was to be constitutional. When Napoleon entered Paris in March 1815, Louis XVIII had to flee for the duration of the Hundred Days. After the Battle of **Waterloo**, he again returned to France “in the baggage of the allies” to rule France from July 1815. The ultras, more Royalist than the king, controlled the Chamber of Deputies after the elections. The ultras pursued a program of repressive measures against political opponents and settled many scores with old enemies from the Revolutionary days. Alarmed at the “White Terror,” Louis XVIII dissolved the Chamber in September, and liberals got an upper hand. The moderate ministries undertook the task of reconstruction in an admirable way.

The ultras were seething with anger at the policy of moderation and got their chance after the heir apparent Duke of Berri, nephew of Louis XVIII, was assassinated. The events of neighboring Spain in 1820 had generated antirevolutionary fear in France, so the ultras secured control of the Chamber of Deputies in November 1820 and instituted a reactionary program. The ministry of Comte de Villèle was a victory of aristocracy over bourgeoisie and *ancien régime* over the Revolutionary era. It sent troops to quell the Spanish revolutionaries, muzzle the press, create a ministry of Church affairs, and public instruction. In the elections of February–March 1824, the ultras returned with a thumping majority and the liberal opposition was in a minority. In foreign policy Louis deferred to the judgment and diplomatic skills of Talleyrand who set France in a course of rehabilitation as a legitimate Great Power. He died on September 16, 1824, at Paris and **Charles X** continued the reactionary tendency. *See also* Bonapartism; Congress System; Talleyrand, Charles-Maurice de.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

LOUISIANA PURCHASE (1803)

The 1803 purchase by the **United States** from France of the land west of the Mississippi River, consisting primarily of the Mississippi and Missouri River basins. The purchase makes up most of what is known as the Great Plains today.

Until the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, the entire Mississippi River basin, along with the Great Lakes region, was controlled by France. With the defeat of France in that war, its North American empire was dismembered, with Great Britain taking the land east of the Mississippi, except for the port of New Orleans, and Spain receiving New Orleans and the land to the west. The United States gained control of the British share in 1783 with their victory in the American Revolution, and Napoleon **Bonaparte** forced Spain to return its share to France in 1800.

President Thomas Jefferson approached Napoleon in 1803 in an effort to purchase New Orleans. Napoleon countered with an offer to sell the entire region. Napoleon had reclaimed Louisiana as part of a plan to restart France's colonial empire, but the slave revolt in the Caribbean French colony of Haiti and the British control of the seas convinced Napoleon that the concept was more trouble than it was worth. Despite misgivings at the constitutionality of the purchase, Jefferson jumped at the offer. For \$15 million the United States had bought a vast land that was largely unexplored by Europeans.

For his money, Jefferson got the multicultural seaport of New Orleans, an outlet for American produce being floated down the Mississippi, and a rogues' gallery of sophisticated Creole elites, shady traders, and outright pirates. He also got St. Louis, a nominally French town near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers that by 1803 was largely American. Finally, he got a vast land with perhaps hundreds of Native American tribes, many of whom had never even seen a white person. None of these people, European or Native American, had been consulted concerning the transfer. The borders of the purchase were only vaguely defined but were eventually resolved. The *Adams-Onís Treaty* between Spain and the United States in 1819 established the southern border as roughly that of current-day Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, extending into the Rocky Mountains. The *Anglo-American Convention* of 1819 established the border between British North America and the United States at the 49th parallel.

Relations with the actual inhabitants of the Great Plains were not as easily resolved. American immigration into the region continually displaced the Native Americans, resulting in three generations of conflict and Native American dislocation. The major effect of the Louisiana Purchase was to ensure that the United States was transformed from a series of states along the Atlantic Seaboard to a continental power with room for extensive population growth, at the expense of the Native Americans whose land was transferred by the purchase. *See also* Indian Wars; Lewis, Meriwether; Manifest Destiny.

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JOESPH ADAMCZYK

LUCKNOW RESIDENCY, SIEGE OF (1857)

A central drama of the **Indian Mutiny**. When the **sepoys** regiments in Lucknow, on the Gumti River 270 miles east of Delhi, mutinied, the British residents and soldiers took shelter within the Lucknow Residency. In the residency, there were 855 British soldiers and 153 male civilians. In addition, there were 500 women and children. About 712 Indian soldiers remained loyal. On June 30, 1857, 10,000 rebels—sepoys and townsmen—laid siege to the residency. The residency was an imposing building. It was in three stories with a lofty colonnaded verandah. The outer part was barricaded with chests and boxes. A spiral staircase led to the roof from which one could gain an elevated view of the city and the adjoining countryside. A line of

parapet and a ditch shielded the residency compound. Guns and mortars protected the parapet. The British officers feared that the rebels might receive reinforcement from Kanpur. So a battery was constructed to enfilade the road from Kanpur.

During the siege mutineer sharpshooters, who took positions along the mosques and houses surrounding the residency, caused most of the losses to the garrison. Before the outbreak of the mutiny, Henry Lawrence, the British chief commissioner, was repeatedly requested by the engineers to demolish all these buildings, but had always replied to “spare the holy places, and private property too as far as possible.” Despite their numerical superiority, the failure of the rebels to take residency reflected their inadequacy in waging siege warfare by scientific methods. First, rebel bombardment by the heavy guns failed to destroy the British batteries within the residency. Second, both the defenders of the residency and the rebels resorted to mining and counter-mining to blow each other’s positions; however, the British always had the upper hand by virtue of their training in engineering operations. The siege was relieved when Sir Colin Campbell’s force reached Lucknow in November 17, 1857, but the residency was not retaken until March 1858. *See also* British Empire; India.

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KAUSHIK ROY

LÜDERITZ, FRANS ADOLF EDUARD (1834–1886)

Merchant adventurer and cofounder of Germany’s first colony in Southwest Africa, Frans Lüderitz was the son of a prosperous tobacco dealer from Bremen. Lüderitz inherited a fortune and took to traveling. Together with Heinrich Vogelsang, also in throes of boredom of inherited wealth, in 1883 he purchased a parcel of land from the Khoikhoi in modern-day Namibia for the equivalent of £100. It was later extended and named, absurdly, Lüderitzland. In 1884, Berlin announced, even more absurdly, that Lüderitzland was a protectorate of the Reich. This action is widely considered the birth of the German colonial empire. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; German Empire; Herrero Revolt.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

LUGARD, FREDERICK DEALTRY, BARON LUGARD OF ABINGER (1858–1945)

British soldier, diplomat, and colonial administrator best known for his articulation of the British policy of **indirect rule**. Born in **India** to missionary parents, Lugard was educated in England and later returned to the subcontinent in 1878 as a young army officer. Over the next decade he served in campaigns in **Afghanistan**, **Sudan**, and **Burma** before leaving the army in 1887 to volunteer his services to

British chartered companies working to open the interior of East Africa to European trade. After leading an expedition to suppress the slave trade around Lake Nyasa, in 1889 he assumed command of the Imperial British East African Company's (IBEAC) garrison in Uganda and quickly intervened in a local civil war in an effort to increase British influence in the region. Upon hearing that the IBEAC wanted to abandon portions of the East African interior rather than administer so large and volatile a territory, Lugard returned to England in 1892 and spent the next two years successfully lobbying the British government to declare a protectorate over Uganda.

Lugard returned to Africa in 1894 where he worked for the Royal Niger Company, racing against French expeditions to sign treaties of protection with chiefs on the middle portion of the Niger River. Over the next decade, first as commander of the newly created West African Frontier Force (1897–1899) and then as high commissioner for Northern Nigeria (1900–1906), Lugard used a combination of diplomacy and force to expand British holdings in West Africa.

While on home leave in Britain he was knighted for his service in 1901, and in 1902 he married Flora Shaw, former colonial editor for the *Times* of London. Because his wife's health could not tolerate the Nigerian climate, in 1907 Lugard left Africa and took up a new post as Governor of Hong Kong. In 1912, he was appointed Governor of Nigeria and charged with the task of uniting its two halves into a single colony. Building on lessons learned during his earlier service in northern Nigeria, he became committed to the doctrine of indirect rule, whereby colonial administrators relied heavily on traditional indigenous political authorities to implement official policy. As this doctrine, which Lugard articulated in his 1922 book entitled *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, had the benefit of being both cheaper and less likely to arouse opposition to the colonial presence, it was soon adopted throughout British Africa. Lugard returned to Britain after World War I and became one of its leading colonial authorities through his prolific writings and his work on the League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission. He was raised to the peerage in 1928 in recognition for his many years of service to the British Empire. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British East Africa, British Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

LUNÉVILLE, TREATY OF (1801)

A peace treaty signed on February 9, 1801, between the French Republic and the Holy Roman Empire, under its Austrian Habsburg emperor, Francis II, which concluded Franco-Austrian hostilities in the War of the Second Coalition (1799–1801). It essentially confirmed the previous terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio of April 1797, which had ended the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797). Again, Belgium,

the left bank of the Rhine, Lombardy, Milan, Modena, and some small territories were ceded by the Habsburg monarch to France. However, in an exchange that benefited the Habsburg monarchy by consolidating its boundaries, they were again given Venetia and its Dalmatian possessions as far south as Cattaro, which the French had originally seized in April 1797. Tuscany passed to the Spanish Duke of Parma, and its Habsburg former grand duke was to be indemnified in Germany.

The treaty reestablished the international Congress of Rastadt, suspended in April 1799, where the European ambassadors would implement the treaties. Its main task would now be the reorganization of Germany's states, which secularized the many ecclesiastical lands and significantly reduced the number of larger surviving states. French satellite republics were reestablished in Batavia, (Holland), Helvetia (Switzerland), Cisalpine (northern Italy), and Liguria (Genoa), although France agreed to evacuate her forces from all of them. The war between France and Great Britain would continue for another year until the Treaty of Amiens of March 1802. France's failure to honor her pledge to evacuate the satellite republics would lead to renewed war with Great Britain in 1803 and eventually the War of the Third Coalition of 1805. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

LUXEMBURG, ROSA (1871–1919)

A German revolutionary leader and socialist theorist, Rosa Luxemburg was born in Russian Poland, into a Jewish middle class family. She became involved in revolutionary politics when she was still at school. In 1889, state repression forced her into exile in Switzerland. Luxemburg entered the University of Zurich, where she earned a doctorate in political sciences. When she moved to Germany in 1898, she had already established herself as a marxist speaker and thinker. In 1899, Luxemburg published "Reform or Revolution." She opposed Eduard Bernstein who had rejected Karl Marx's theories of class struggle and concluded that revolution was unnecessary. Bernstein's theory of gradual reform of capitalism was utopian, Luxemburg argued.

Luxemburg became a leader of the Social Democratic Party's (SPD) left wing, taught at party school in Berlin, and developed ideas about general strike as a political weapon. In 1912, she published "The Accumulation of Capital," in which she tried to prove that capitalism would inevitably collapse, and she interpreted imperialism as a conflict between capitalist nations for places to dump their excess industrial production and thus forestall crises. After differences with the SPD, Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht founded the radical Spartacus League in 1916. During World War I, Luxemburg spent long times in prison for her opposition to the German war effort. She welcomed the October Revolution in Russia as a precursor of world revolution; however, Luxemburg participated reluctantly in the Spartacist uprising in Berlin against the new SPD government. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were arrested. While being transported to prison, the couple was murdered on the night of January 15 to 16, 1919 by *Freikorps* soldiers.

Next to Liebknecht, Luxemburg was the most important representative of the left-wing socialist, antimilitarist, and internationalist positions in the SPD before 1918. Luxemburg combined political commitment, scientific analysis, and the quest for empowerment as a woman. She was an advocate of mass action, spontaneity, and workers' democracy. A passionate critic of capitalism as well as dictatorial tendencies within Bolshevism, Luxemburg argued that there could be no real socialism without democracy. For Luxemburg, Marxism was not a theoretical system, but a method of examining economic and social changes. *See also* Bolsheviks; German Empire; Militarism.

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MARTIN MOLL

M

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, First Baron (1800–1859)

An English historian, political commentator, cabinet minister, and imperial administrator, Thomas Babington Macaulay was raised by evangelical Christians, but became a secular Whig, although, as a man of his time, he was never a democrat. A brilliant speaker, writer, and controversialist, he made his reputation early writing on literature—his primary interest—and politics for the leading Whig intellectual journal, the *Edinburgh Review*. Macaulay first entered Parliament in 1830, and established himself as a powerful speaker on the side of reform.

In 1834, Macaulay went to **India** as a senior legal official. While there, Macaulay wrote his famous Minute on Indian Education, which proclaimed with the self-confidence of the age that half a shelf of European learning was worth more than all the fabled wisdom of the East and argued that Indian students should be trained in English rather than Arabic or Sanskrit. Although it had little immediate effect on Indian life, the creation of an Anglophone intelligentsia in India eventually had momentous consequences.

Returning to England in 1839, Macaulay served briefly as secretary of war in the last years of Melbourne's government and began work on his famous *History of England*. The first two volumes were published in 1848 and were widely understood—Macaulay made the case elsewhere in so many words—to argue that the Whig revolution of 1688 and reform bill of 1832 had enabled England to avoid the revolutions that swept Europe in 1848. Further volumes of his history came out in the 1850s, commanding record-breaking royalties; but his health failed, and he died in 1859, still a relatively young man, having brought his story no further than the death of William III. Macaulay's works have been criticized on many grounds, but they remain vivid reading even today. From an imperial point of view, Macaulay expressed the confidence of a nation at the height of its power and convinced of the unique value of its heritage.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Macdonald, Sir John A. (1815–1891)

The first prime minister of the **Dominion of Canada**, John Macdonald had established himself in a law practice at Kingston, Ontario by the age of 21. As a young man, he served in the militia on the loyal side against the rebels of 1837, and in the subsequent Fenian raids. First elected to the assembly of the province of Canada in 1844, as a Tory he opposed **responsible government** and the extension of the franchise. But when a Reform government passed the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1848, effectively introducing responsible government and provoking riots among Montreal Tories, Macdonald remained among the moderate conservatives who resisted calls for annexation to the United States. Within a short space of years, he was a leader of the so-called Liberal Conservatives, holding office as attorney general almost constantly from 1854 to 1867.

Macdonald initially opposed proposals to create a federal union of the British colonies in North America. The victory of the north in the **American Civil War** and a subsequent spate of Fenian raids, however, moved him toward support for a British North American federation. Macdonald became the first prime minister of the Dominion of Canada, holding office from the creation of the Dominion in 1867 to 1873, when he was forced to resign because of allegations that he had accepted favors from the leader of a railway syndicate. During his first term as prime minister, the Dominion purchased the **Hudson's Bay Company's** lands in western Canada, part of which became the province of Manitoba. Although Macdonald supported French and Catholic rights in Manitoba, his government also put down the Métis Red River rebellion of 1870. Elected again in 1878, "the old chieftain" died in office in 1891.

During this final decade in office, Macdonald saw the completion of the **Canadian Pacific Railway**, the incorporation of **British Columbia** into the Confederation, and the suppression of the Northwest rebellion of 1885. He implemented a "national policy" of tariffs aimed at supporting domestic industry, thus cementing Tory support in the industrializing central provinces. Macdonald was a keen supporter of Canada's ties to the British Empire and an admirer of his contemporary, the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. Although his opponents accused him of sheer opportunism, he played a central role in creating the self-governing Dominion of Canada. *See also* British North America Act; Canada; Dominion.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Macedonia

A geographical region in the Balkans under Ottoman rule until the twentieth century. The creation of Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian national identities in the nineteenth century resulted in Macedonia becoming a focus of the national ambitions

of all three governments. Macedonia became part of Bulgaria in the Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878 but returned to Ottoman control by the Congress of Berlin the following July. In the 1890s, the governments sponsored rival armed groups who fought the Muslims and one another. The conflict was not simply over territory but over peoples whom the governments and peoples of Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia considered were their brothers and sisters.

All three sides used propaganda, education, and violence to achieve their ends. The Greek cause linked nationality to the allegiance of the Orthodox of Macedonia to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek rite. Education was the focus of propaganda. The Greek cause suffered outside of the Aegean regions, because the people of the interior were mostly Slav. Nevertheless, the propaganda effort and the violence adopted in the 1890s managed to win the Greek cause some support in central Macedonia. The Greek government became more involved after the death of Pavlos Melas, a Greek army officer, in 1904.

Bulgaria sponsored the largest organization fighting for the autonomy of Macedonia, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO). The organization was founded in 1893 by a group of Bulgarian revolutionaries led by Hristo Tatarchev and Dame Gruev under the name Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Committee. In 1902, it became the Secret Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organization and in 1906 the Internal Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organization. It disbanded itself during the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia (1915–1918), but was revived in 1920 and took the name IMRO. At first the Committee wanted to unite all those—Bulgarians, Greeks, Vlachs, and Turks—dissatisfied with Ottoman rule in Macedonia and the Adrianople Vilayet and obtain political autonomy for the two regions. When the Ottomans discovered a depot of ammunition near the Bulgarian border in 1897, however, repressions against committee activists led to its transformation into a militant organization, which engaged in attacks against Ottoman officials and punitive actions against suspected traitors. The launch of pro-Serb and pro-Greek *guerrilla* organizations into Macedonia further militarized and nationalized IMRO and the people of Macedonia. The Bulgarian cause dominated in central and northern Macedonia and was also strong in southern Macedonia.

A Croatian historian, Spiridon Gopcevic—also known as Leo Brenner—made the greatest contribution to Serbian propaganda. In 1889, he published his ethnographic study “Macedonia and Old Serbia,” which argued that there were 2 million Serbs in Macedonia and only 200,000 Greeks and 50,000 Bulgarians. Other such “scholars” published similar works. Such views were transferred into practice in the educational system drastically from 1878. The Society of Saint Sava in Belgrade gave scholarships to talented Orthodox Macedonians, turning them into staunch supporters of the Serbian cause. Nevertheless, the Serbian cause in Macedonia was less successful than the Bulgarian and Greek, with success restricted to the northern and western districts of Tetovo, Skopje, Gostivar, Debar, Kicevo, and Kumanovo.

In 1912, the governments of Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia put their differences aside to join forces against Ottoman rule. Despite support in Bulgaria, as well as in Macedonia, for the establishment of an autonomous Macedonian province under a Christian governor, Sofia agreed to the partition of Macedonia, but without fixing

its borders the conflict became a battle of armies. The Greek army beat the Bulgarians to Salonica, while Belgrade and Sofia disputed the division of Macedonia.

In June 1913, Bulgaria's Tsar Ferdinand, without consulting the government and without any declaration of war, ordered Bulgarian troops to attack the Greek and Serbian troops in Macedonia. The intervention of the Romanian and Ottoman armies tilted the scales against Bulgaria. Vardar Macedonia was incorporated into Serbia and Greece secured Aegean Macedonia. The region was the primary battleground of the Second Balkan War. During the Greek advance at the end of June, the army set fire to the Bulgarian quarter of the town of Kukush and more than 150 Bulgarian villages around Kukush and Serres, driving 50,000 refugees into Bulgaria. In retaliation the Bulgarian army burned the Greek quarter of Serres. *See also* Balkan Wars; Eastern Question; Ottoman Empire.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Machine Gun

A generic term for an automatic weapon capable of firing small-arms ammunition continuously and rapidly. The first cyclic firing weapon constructed was probably James Puckle's Defence gun from 1718. The Gatling gun, constructed by Richard Jordan Gatling in 1861, was the first to see action, notably in the **American Civil War** at the Battle of Antietam in 1862. It fired 300 rounds per minute. British troops used Gatling guns against the **Ashanti** in 1874 and the **Zulu** in 1879. Another early type was the Gardner Gun, adopted by the British Army in 1879. These were not true machine guns, however, as their feeding mechanism had to be operated manually, but most European armies acquired them. Early cyclic firing weapons were regarded as artillery, being large, bulky, and wheel mounted. Consequently, they were deployed as such, in clusters far behind the front firing lines. This rendered them almost useless, a lesson learned particularly by the French in the **Franco-Prussian War**.

Sir Hiram Maxim, an American settler in Britain in 1881, constructed the first true machine gun. The Maxim gun was presented to the British Army in 1884. It had a recoil driven feeding mechanism and water-cooled barrel, could fire six hundred .45-caliber rounds per minute, and was effective against area targets at a range up to 2,000 meters. It proved indispensable in Britain's colonial wars in the late nineteenth century. It first saw action in 1885 in the Red River Rebellion in Canada and was especially devastating against the human wave assaults in the **Matabele War** of 1893 in South Africa. By 1900, the colonial troops of all the Great Powers were equipped with machine guns.

The **Russo-Japanese War** was the first to witness battles between large forces equipped entirely with breech-loading and rapid-fire weapons. By World War I, most machine guns were based on the Maxim concept, like the German *Machinengewehr* 08, although shorter, lighter, and mounted on a tripod or bipod. One notable exception was the unreliable French Saint-Etienne M1907. On the eve of the war,

however, the French developed the excellent Hotchkiss Modèle 1914, with a gas-driven loading mechanism.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Mackensen, August von (1849–1945)

A Prussian field marshal, August von Mackensen was born on December 6, 1849, in Saxony. Mackensen joined the *Leibhusaren Regiment* in 1869 and fought in the **Franco-Prussian War** of 1870–1871. He was appointed to the Prussian general staff in 1880. In 1891, he became Alfred von **Schlieffen**'s adjutant and in 1901, he was named Kaiser **Wilhelm II**'s personal adjutant and General *à la Suite*. During World War I, Mackensen served on the Eastern Front as corps commander in the Eighth Army and played a major role in the German victory at the Battle of Tannenberg. Commanding the Ninth Army, he subsequently served in the Polish campaign and received the *Pour le Mérite* in November 1914.

In May 1915, commanding the Eleventh Army, he won a victory at Gorlice-Tarnow that led to his promotion to field marshal. He subsequently commanded the campaign against **Serbia** and led the Danube Army in Romania, where he spent the rest of the war in charge of the occupation army. After the war, Mackensen, who was now a war hero, was used by the National Socialists for propaganda purposes. Mackensen opposed aspects of the National Socialist regime, but supported the German war effort in World War II. He died at aged 95, on November 8, 1945.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Mackinder, Sir Halford (1861–1947)

A geographer, theorist of Britain's world role, and a prominent supporter of British imperialism. A polymath, Mackinder studied both modern history and the sciences at Oxford before becoming active in the University extension movement, which attempted to make university-level education more widely available. Interest in geography was considerably heightened in the late nineteenth century by the expansion of the British Empire. After delivering an influential lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, Mackinder was appointed to the first position in geography at Oxford, and went on to play an important role in establishing geography as an academic discipline there and elsewhere.

Originally a **Liberal Imperialist** in politics, Mackinder was converted to the cause of imperial preference, and became a Conservative, sitting as Tory Member of Parliament for a Glasgow constituency from 1910 to 1922. Mackinder's most influential work was *Britain and the British Seas* of 1902, which surveyed British history in the light of the country's maritime position. *Britain and the British Seas* concluded that

Britain, as the center of the global capitalist system and the world's major creditor nation, would have to remain a strong naval and military power.

In making the argument that British capitalism required an empire, Mackinder anticipated by a couple of months the more famous but parallel argument of J. A. Hobson that capitalism caused imperialism; the differences between the two men were as much moral as analytical, both holding that capital export was central to imperialism. Mackinder was also known for arguing that the power that dominated the "world island" of Eurasia would dominate the world, an intellectual articulation of the old rationale for Britain's traditional balance-of-power policy of opposing potential European hegemons. *See also* Balance of Power; Strategy.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

MacMahon, Patrice Edmé Maurice (1808–1893)

A marshal of France and president of the French Republic (1873–1879), Patrice MacMahon descended from an Irish soldier who had settled in France in the seventeenth century. MacMahon entered the army during the reign of Charles X and first distinguished himself during the conquest of Algeria. During the Crimean War, he led the French assault on Malakoff in September 1855. During the Austro-Piedmontese War, MacMahon's actions at in the Battle of Magenta were in large part responsible for a Franco-Piedmontese victory and earned him the rank of Marshal along with the title of Duke of Magenta.

As governor of Algeria between 1864 and 1870, he fought in a number of colonial campaigns before returning to France to command the First Corps during the Franco-Prussian War. He was defeated at Weissenburg and Fröschwiller and then finally captured at Sedan. After repatriation, MacMahon commanded the troops that suppressed the Commune of Paris with the loss of some 800 troops against an estimated 20,000 Communards. He was elected the second president of the Third Republic in May 1873, thereby disappointing the royalists, who hoped he would restore the monarchy. *See also* Thiers, Adolphe.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Madagascar

A large island in the Indian Ocean off the east coast of Africa that in the early nineteenth century was of interest to Britain. Governed at the time by the Hova Empire, whose rulers sought to modernize their army and open the island to new technology, the Hova King Radama I was in 1828 offered arms, ammunition, and training by British troops, who had established a beachhead in the coastal town of Tamatave, in exchange for the abolition of slavery and rights for Christian

missionaries. His successor on the Hova throne, Queen Ranavalona I then expelled all missionaries. During the 1860s, missionaries were permitted to return, and by the end of the decade the queen and many Hova leaders were of the Protestant faith.

French interest in Madagascar dated to 1840 but became more active in the 1880s, when France demanded the right to declare a protectorate over Madagascar, was refused by Queen Ranavalona II, and prosecuted a war against the Hova until a treaty yielded partial control in 1885. French imperial ambition on the island then entered a new phase in 1890, when Britain and Germany gave France a free hand in return for recognition of their own protectorates in East Africa. Yet Hova resistance continued, and in 1894 the French parliament voted to fund a large expedition. In fact, two separate expeditionary forces were sent and in September 1895 reached the capital, Tananarive. Initially, Ranavalona was permitted to keep her throne, and the French commander, General Joseph Gallieni, became governor-general. As rebellions persisted, however, Ranavalona was removed by force and sent into exile in Algeria. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; French Empire; Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Madison, James (1751–1836)

American founding father, statesman, and fourth President of the United States, James Madison was born March 16, 1751, the first of the 10 children of Eleanor Conway and James Madison, Sr., a major landowner in Orange County, Virginia. Madison was a dedicated student and natural scholar. He graduated from the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, in 1771, where he studied government, history, law, ethics, and Hebrew and founded the American Whig Society. After returning to Virginia, Madison played a prominent role in the state's politics from 1775 to 1780.

With the arrival of the American Revolution, Madison was chosen as a delegate to the Virginia Convention of 1776 and subsequently was the youngest delegate to the Continental Congress. His keen awareness of the flaws of the 1781 Articles of Confederation made Madison a major intellectual influence at the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 and—through the *Federalist* papers, coauthored with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay—as prominent a figure as any of the founding generation in articulating the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. Madison then served under Jefferson as secretary of state from 1801 to 1809, was involved in the Louisiana Purchase, and grappled with the dilemma of American neutrality during the Napoleonic Wars, wrongly assuming Britain's blockade of Europe to be the greater threat to American shipping rights.

Succeeding Thomas Jefferson in the presidency in 1809, Madison demonstrated that intellect is no passport to executive acumen by transforming the neutral rights issue into an unnecessary and imprudent conflict, the Anglo-American War of 1812, with the British Empire. The American invasion of Canada went

very badly; American troops managed to burn the parliament of Upper Canada, but British troops returned the favor by invading the United States and torching the White the next year. Further calamities were avoided when the war ended with the Treaty of Ghent. “Mr. Madison’s War,” as his critics named the conflict, profited the United States nothing save the emergence of Andrew Jackson as a national hero in the Battle of New Orleans after the peace had already been signed.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Madras

A port city, present-day Chennai on India’s southeast coast, Madras was founded by Francis Day, an English East India Company representative, in 1639. The East India Company had been granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth in December 1600 for a monopoly on all English trade east of the Cape of Good Hope. Company merchants sought to create trading outposts allowing direct access to highly valued Indian textile sources. Day’s land grant from the Nayak of Poonamallee, the local ruler of the Vijayanagar Empire, fulfilled that objective. By the eighteenth century, Madras became the most important city in South India. In the next two centuries Madras, along with Bombay and Calcutta, came to represent one of three legs of the powerful British Empire in India. The city served as the capital of the Madras Presidency, comprising most of South India.

The port was captured by a French force in 1746, but the British regained control in 1749 through the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and subsequently fortified the base to withstand further attacks from the French and Hyder Ali, the Sultan of Mysore. By the late eighteenth century the British had conquered most of the region around Tamil Nadu and the modern-day states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka to establish the Madras Presidency. Under British rule the city grew into a major urban center and naval base. With the advent of railways in India, Madras was connected to the other towns such as Bombay and Calcutta, facilitating communication and trade with the hinterland. In 1857, a university was founded in Madras; thereafter, its commercial and intellectual importance made the city a center of Indian nationalism. In 1909, an artificial harbor capable of servicing ocean-going ships was completed at Madras. It was the only Indian city to be attacked by the Central Powers during World War I, by the German light cruiser S.M.S. Emden. *See also* British Empire; India.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Mafeking, Siege of (1899–1900)

The most famous of three sieges fought during the Boer War of 1899–1902, in which Transvaal General Piet Cronjé surrounded Mafeking on October 13, 1899, trapping a small British and Cape colonial force consisting of 1,500 whites and 5,000 black Africans under Colonel Robert Baden-Powell. The garrison constructed forts, thereby convincing the Boers not to storm the defenses; but on October 24, Cronjé began to bombard the town with a large-caliber artillery piece. The siege became a boring affair, with shelling on both sides, and with Baden-Powell forced to institute strict rationing to stave off starvation inside the overcrowded town. Sorties and minor Boer attacks punctuated the siege, but neither side made any substantial progress. Two British relief columns, one approaching from the south and the other from the north, met on May 15, 1900, broke through the Boer lines the next day and relieved Mafeking that evening. Baden-Powell's defense became popularized as one of the great epics of the Victorian period. *See also* Boer Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Magenta, Battle of (1859)

A critical engagement of the Austro-Piedmontese War. In 1858, France and Piedmont-Sardinia formed an alliance against Austria. Sardinian war preparations provoked the Habsburg monarchy to give an ultimatum to Piedmont-Sardinia and finally to wage war. Austrian forces failed to take the offensive and were pushed back near Palestro at the end of May 1859. In the first of two major battles, 54,000 French-Sardinian troops under the French Emperor Napoleon III defeated 58,000 Austrian troops under General Count Ferenc Gyulai on June 4, 1859. The battle took place near the town of Magenta, west of Milan and east of the Ticino River in northern Italy and resulted in heavy losses on both sides. In the aftermath of their victory, the Franco-Sardinian forces were able to take control of Lombardy, but it was the Battle of Solferino on June 24, 1859, that decided the war. *See also* Habsburg Empire; MacMahon, Marshal Patrice.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Maghreb

Derived from *al-Maghrib*, the western half of North Africa, the Maghreb now includes the five countries north of the Sahara desert—Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, and Mauritania, as well as the western Sahara. The Maghreb was the bastion of Berber civilization before Arab influences began to spread through the region.

The Maghreb is also pervaded by black African culture, as well as European colonial influences.

Although the entire Maghreb was colonized, the impact of French colonial rule varied. Although Mauritania did not experience any major changes brought about by colonialism, French colonial rule over Algeria was the most extensive. The French were unable to subdue anti-French movements in the vast land of Mauritania. In Algeria, however, the French managed to decimate the anticolonial religious and nationalist movements by the late 1840s. In contrast to limited French colonial involvement in Mauritania, Tunisia, and Morocco, many French citizens, known as *pid-noirs* lived in Algeria, relegating the native Algerians to an inferior status, and Algeria was integrated as part of metropolitan France.

In 1881, the French established a protectorate in Tunisia to deflect other European ambitions in North Africa, especially Italian designs on Libya. Traditional ruling structures and institutions were therefore preserved in Tunisia. Morocco's location at Africa's gate to the Mediterranean and status as a target of French ambitions after 1904 made it the flashpoint of two **Moroccan Crises**. In 1912, Morocco was partitioned between Spain and France, although the latter gained control over most of the country in terms of territory and resources. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; French Empire.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Mahan, Alfred Thayer (1840–1914)

A U.S. naval officer known for his histories of British naval power. He attended Columbia and the U.S. Naval Academy before being commissioned into the U.S. Navy at the beginning of the **American Civil War**. He was president of the U.S. Naval War College from 1886 to 1889, where he wrote *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890) and the *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire* (1892). Mahan retired from active service in 1896, and was subsequently promoted vice-admiral.

His books argued that a blue water fleet such as Horatio Nelson's could command the seas, thus giving control of global commerce to the primary naval power. He also argued, however, that possession of a naval fleet required a significant national merchant fleet, and he was quite pessimistic as to the prospects of his own country ever building such a merchant fleet. His books were widely read in Britain and Germany yet failed to stimulate any large-scale American shipbuilding, although they had some influence on Theodore Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Kaiser Wilhelm II. Mahan's materialist approach to history saw commerce as a central component of power and was widely shared at the time, as was his view that a successful power must almost necessarily possess an overseas empire. He also advocated American expansion in the Pacific. *See also* Navalism; Strategy; Trafalgar, Battle of; United States.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Mahdi

In Islamic eschatology, the Mahdi was the divinely guided leader who would fill the world with justice. In popular Islam, the idea of the Mahdi is often associated with messianic expectations. In Sudanese history, the Mahdi is most commonly a reference to Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi (1848–1885). He was a major religious leader and the founder of the Mahdist movement in the **Sudan**. He was born in the Dongola area and received a relatively thorough religious education. He became a strong critic of what he believed was the prevailing immorality of the social and political leaders of his day. His own zeal and the general expectations combined to create the conviction that he was the anticipated Mahdi. His support grew rapidly and government attempts to stop the movement militarily failed. By January 1885, the Mahdi's forces had taken Khartoum and most of the northern Sudan was under his control. He tried to create an organization modeled on the early Islamic community. Muhammad Ahmad died in **Omdurman** not long after the conquest of Khartoum. The descendants of the Mahdi have played an important role in twentieth-century Sudanese history. *See also* Gordon, Charles George.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Mahmud I (1696–1754)

Mahmud I was the 24th Ottoman Sultan (1730–1754). A revolt of the **Janissaries** put him on the throne of the **Ottoman Empire**. After restoring order to the empire in Istanbul in 1730, Mahmud I suppressed the Janissary rebellion in 1731 and waged war against Persia between 1731 and 1746. The Ottomans managed to retain control of Baghdad but lost Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia to the Persians. He led successful wars against Russia in 1736 and Austria in 1737, concluded by the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, which restored North Serbia and Belgrade to the Ottoman Empire. He was a patron of the arts and also carried out reform of the army.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Mahmud II (1785–1839)

The 30th Sultan of the **Ottoman Empire**, Mahmud II ruled during a period of rapid decline (1808–1839). During his reign, the empire lost Bessarabia in the

Russo-Turkish War of 1806–1812; Serbia in the Greek War of Independence, 1821–1829; and control of Syria and Palestine to the armies of Mehemet Ali of Egypt in the 1830s. Mahmud was nevertheless among the more successful sovereigns of the Ottoman Empire insofar as he attempted—and in part succeeded—in imposing overdue modernizing reforms to Ottoman governance. He abolished the court of confiscations and stripped rebellious provincial pashas of their power. In 1826, he destroyed the **Janissaries** and reasserted the absolute power of the sultan; he also reformed finances and ended some of the more arbitrary practices of the Ottoman justice system by edict. In 1839, Mahmud also initiated the *tanzimat*, a period of sustained modernization, but neither he nor his successors reversed the trend of imperial decline, and the empire became increasingly dependent on British and then German support to resist further territorial losses. *See also* Crimean War; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Maji-Maji Rebellion (1905–1907)

A revolt in **German East Africa** that was brutally suppressed by the colonial authorities. Together with the equally brutal German response to the **Herero Revolt** in South West Africa, the suppression of the Maji-Maji Rebellion helped trigger the **Dernburg Reforms**, which significantly altered German colonial policies. The underlying cause of the Maji Maji revolt was African resentment over colonial tax policies, the introduction of forced labor, and the steady weakening of traditional elites. From the start of their colonial presence in East Africa, the Germans faced a chronic labor shortage caused by low wages and competition from better paying British commercial ventures across the border in Kenya and Uganda.

The arrival of white settlers after the turn of the century quickly exacerbated the situation, when the settlers demanded access to African labor in order to develop their own self-sustaining farms and plantations. In an effort to resolve the labor issue, the Germans began using forced labor for road and railroad construction, introduced a head tax in 1898, and implemented quotas for the mandatory production of cash crops like cotton in 1902. While three measures were deeply unpopular, their impact was compounded by the steady weakening of traditional elites who were not only charged with enforcing German policies, but were also in the process of losing control over the local retail trade to a growing Indian immigrant population first introduced to the region in the 1890s as part of the British railroad construction boom in neighboring Kenya and Uganda.

The German colonial administration's refusal to relax labor and tax policies in the wake of a 1903–1904 drought proved to be the final straw and caused long-simmering animosities in German East Africa to erupt into outright rebellion in August 1905. The Maji Maji revolt, which began with the destruction of cotton fields in the Rufiji River Valley as a symbolic gesture of defiance, took its name from the

rebels' belief that anointing themselves with a potion of water—*maji* in Swahili—castor oil, and millet would provide protection by magically turning German bullets into water. As the rebellion spread, it quickly evolved into a campaign of violence against German officials, settlers, and missionaries. Germany responded by sending in reinforcements armed with machine guns who combined military action with a scorched earth policy to stamp out the last vestiges of the revolt and punish those responsible. African casualties from the fighting and the resultant famine are estimated at 250,000. *See also* German Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Malta

An island in the central Mediterranean Sea, south of Sicily and east of Tunisia, Malta was ruled by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, a chivalric and monastic order that went back to the Crusades, until conquered by the French under Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798. It was then occupied by the British, who in 1800 ejected the French. By the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, Britain agreed to withdraw but then refused to do so in the face of other French violations of the temporary peace.

In 1815, Britain remained in Malta, using its excellent fortified harbor at Valetta as a major base for the **Royal Navy**. Malta's strategic value to the British Empire was enhanced by the fleet build during the Crimean War, 1854–1856, and by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Malta's Grand Harbor was vital to the British war effort after 1914, and the island remained a British possession until the mid-twentieth century. *See also* Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Strategy.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766–1834)

An Anglican clergyman, prominent political economist, and author of the doctrine that constricted food supplies must determine economic life. He had an unconventional education, for a clergyman, at a dissenting academy, and then at Cambridge. From 1805, Malthus taught at the **East India Company's** college at Haileybury. Malthus first published his *Essay on the Principle of Population* in 1798,

although he subsequently revised it extensively. The central argument of the essay was that while population, independent of other variables, would grow geometrically, food supply could only grow arithmetically. Population therefore tended, extraneous factors to one side, to outgrow food supply. Using the moral ideas of his time, however, Malthus saw various restraints on population growth, including misery, vice, and moral restraint. This grim arithmetic led to economics being baptized “the dismal science.”

The idea that a growing population competed for limited resources inspired Charles Darwin with his idea of the survival of the fittest. Often remembered almost exclusively as “Population Malthus,” Malthus was nonetheless credited by Keynes with having stressed the importance of effective demand, as against the emphasis on supply, and assumption that supply would create demand, characteristic of other classical political economists. In domestic policy, and particularly from the point of view of poor relief—a controversial topic at the time—Malthus’s doctrines on population tended to reinforce the notion that the poverty and suffering of a large proportion of the population was a part of the natural order of things, while being at the same time avoidable through moral prudence. From an imperial point of view, Malthus served to establish in the popular mind the idea that the food supplies available on a small and crowded island were inherently limited. This implied that the **Corn Laws**, as restrictions on imports, exacerbated an already parlous situation. It implied secondly that substantial emigration was both necessary and beneficial to the country and to the emigrant. The desirability of settlement colonies became in the nineteenth century an idea accepted across the political spectrum. *See also* Cobden, Richard; Free Trade.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Manchu Dynasty

See Qing Dynasty

Manchuria

A largely artificial geographical term corresponding roughly to the northeastern Chinese provinces of Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang, as well as portions of Inner Mongolia. The Chinese refer to the region simply as *dongbei*, “the northeast.” Historically, the region of Manchuria was the home of various nomadic ethnic tribes of Mongol or Tungus origin that frequently posed a threat to more established Chinese dynasties to the south. In 1644, the newly centralized state of the Manchu, a Tungus tribe descending from the Jurchen, overthrew the Chinese Ming dynasty in 1644 to establish the **Qing** dynasty, which ruled China to 1912. Under the Qing, until the late nineteenth century the Manchu homelands—hence Manchuria—were off limits to those of non-Manchu ethnicity, as the Qing emperors sought to preserve and promote the region as sacred to Manchu identity even as the Manchu imposed their rule over China.

With heightened imperial rivalries in Northeast Asia from the nineteenth century, the region became a bone of contention between a declining Qing state, Meiji Japan, and late imperial Russia. With the decline of Chinese power, Japan and Russia simultaneously developed a keen interest in Manchuria for its abundant natural resources. The Japanese check of Russian interests in Korea in the course of the early and mid-1890s further spurred Russian interest in Manchuria. With the laying of the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway, begun in 1887, that state began to seek out an ideal warm water port as the railway's terminus. One such candidate was the naturally protected harbor of **Port Arthur** at the tip of China's Liaodong Peninsula in southern Liaoning province. On the strength of its decisive victory in the **First Sino-Japanese War**, 1894–1895, fought partly in Manchuria, Japan seized the Liaodong Peninsula as part of its peace settlement with China but was forced to retrocede it with the 1895 Triple Intervention of Russia, France, and Germany. Japan's diplomatic reversal was followed soon thereafter in 1898 by a Russian forced lease from China of railway rights through eastern Manchuria. To administer its newly leased territories along the railway line, Russia developed both Port Arthur and the nearby city of Dalny, present-day Dalian. In 1900, Russian troops, along with those of six other Western powers and Japan, helped suppress the largely antifeign **Boxer Insurrection**.

Following the Boxer's defeat, Russian troops proceeded to seize large portions of northeastern Manchuria, including the entire Liaodong Peninsula, heightening Russian-Japanese tensions. Such imperial rivalries came to a head in the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905, which witnessed the defeat of Russia and the reestablishment of Japanese control over the Liaodong Peninsula in the form of a lease with China for the so-called Guandong Territory, a term referring roughly to northeast China. Japan soon thereafter established the Guandong governor-general and Guandong Army with the duty of administering and protecting the Japanese-leased territories there.

Through the early twentieth century, Japanese interest in Manchuria continued apace with the development of the South Manchurian Railway Company, the influx of large numbers of Japanese migrants and officials, and the development regional industry. Also of increasing influence was the Guandong Army headquartered at Port Arthur. The army became a political tool of more radical elements in the Japanese government and military. In 1931 elements of the Guandong Army staged the Manchurian Incident, leading to the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo, headed by the last Qing emperor, the full seizure of Liaodong, and the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1931. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire.

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DANIEL C. KANE

Manifest Destiny

A slogan of American territorial expansion that was coined in the 1840s. Justificatory rhetoric throughout the continental expansion of the **United States** was

clothed in various garbs, of which Manifest Destiny is the best known, and to invoke a diversity of principles such as natural law or geographical predestination all tailored to meet the same end—an extraordinary ideological cocktail concocted to assist an exceptional, and evident future sanctioned by providence. Its most illustrious forerunner was probably John Quincy Adams whose “hemispheric” dreams left no room for the European nations on the North American continent. The phrase “manifest destiny,” was presumably coined by the lawyer, editor, journalist, and diplomat John L. O’Sullivan who twice used his felicitous formulation, first in his *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* about the annexation of Texas and next in the *New York Morning News* about the acquisition of Oregon. The phrase owes its lexical status to the assertion that the American claim to the latter was the “best and strongest,” because “that claim is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.”

Its author unmistakably captured the mood of the times, the expansionist fever of the 1840s, yet very few historians mention the fact that O’Sullivan’s Manifest Destiny, as applied to territorial expansion, was nonviolent, that the man was a cultural nationalist who hoped for the creation of a genuinely American literature, and that he was the discoverer and publisher of several talented writers of his day. Manifest Destiny—a multifaceted and elusive doctrine that looms much larger than O’Sullivan’s 1845 editorial views—ought from the start to be relativized and divested partly of its Americanness. Every great nation—England, France, Spain, Holland, for example—has at some time in its history claimed to have a special destiny and has justified that claim in racial and/or religious, if not mystical, terms. And expansionistic nationalism—usually territorial conquest—has generally been the corollary of a regional or world destiny.

The English colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were true to their fatherland’s “Anglo-Saxon” destiny. Had not England long felt predestined to take over and develop the New World, viewing herself as the only nation capable of such a colossal undertaking? It can be argued that nineteenth-century Americans elaborated a self-serving, expansionist doctrine, which, despite its native trappings, was in no small degree rooted in the European past and culture in that it echoed specifically Britain’s own cult of the Anglo-Saxons’ superiority, destiny, and mission and more generally the Western world’s belief in its role as the vehicle of progress in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

The United States is the only nation to have consistently sought to shape the world in its own image. As a matter of fact, American nationalism from the start *was* unique and, paradoxically, laid claims to universality: alone among the nations of the earth, the United States was “the embodiment of an idea”; the English tradition of liberty; and the war for independence was fought to uphold “the birthright of mankind.” “It has been our fate as a nation,” Richard Hofstadter once observed, “not to have ideologies but to be one.” The young republic had none of the usual attributes of nationhood: a historically defined territory, a common religion, and distinctive cultural or spiritual features. Initially, its unifying element was the cult of freedom, realized through representative government. Empire building by way of westward expansion came next, uniting the American people through the frontier experience and strengthening their budding

nationalism. Vastness of territory would soon come to be regarded as a blessing, contrary to Montesquieu's view that smallness was the surest guarantee of virtue and health for a republic.

The significance of Manifest Destiny divides historians. Daniel J. Boorstin for one contends that the new nation's destiny was more "uncertain" than "manifest" at first and that the Founding Fathers gave little thought to the potential conquest of the continent. Many historians of continental expansion have scrutinized, and generally criticized, the motives behind territorial aggrandizement, be they economic, political, or cultural. Most have challenged the validity and relevance of the Manifest Destiny ideal. But all recognize the impact of this legitimizing myth of empire on popular beliefs about U.S. history, if not on foreign policymaking. It should be noted that the component parts of that myth underlie the nationalist-imperialist ideologies of other nations—witness "the White Man's Burden," "Nordic supremacy," "*la mission civilisatrice*," "*sacro egoismo*," and the like.

The reactivation of Manifest Destiny apropos of the acquisition in the late nineteenth century of noncontiguous territories certainly underscores the similarity and continuum between continental and overseas expansion, although some American scholars are reluctant to admit the identical character of the two movements. Lexical disagreements may conceal ideological ones; "expansionism" fares better than "imperialism." The use of the latter term still generates unease and controversy among historians and therefore requires some caution on the part of their readers. Nevertheless, dictionary definitions do reflect a form of historical consensus; with time many radical historians, thanks to the quality of their research, have influenced the more orthodox scholars and even achieved respectability, as in the case of William Appleman Williams, the New Left revisionist and founder of the "Wisconsin School." In the 1970s, many of his scholarly contributions were regarded as so many ideological tracts. Today even the most conservative historians acknowledge the importance of his work and pay lip service if not tribute to his views. His best-known book, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, has become a classic.

There still is room for disagreement in the analysis of causes and effects, of motivations and accomplishments. Manifest Destiny, in particular, whether viewed as a driving force, a rhetorical device, an ideal, an *a posteriori* justification of conquest, or the quintessential expression of American nationalism, permits a host of interpretations or nuances. For Ronald Reagan in his 1964 speech, "A Time for Choosing," America was "a beacon of hope to the rest of the world" and "the dream of America" was "the last best hope of man on earth." Whether the United States is or not "the last best hope of man on earth" is open to question, but the problem is that it thinks it is. If its continued self-righteous perception of itself as democracy incarnate distinguishes it from other democracies, its self-serving justificatory rhetoric does not, for all nations with liberal traditions evince great disingenuousness when it comes to the least palatable manifestations of their self-interest and great ingenuity in concealing them under the guise of piety or altruism. *See also* California; Indian Wars; Jefferson, Thomas; Louisiana Purchase; Monroe Doctrine; Mexican-American War; Spanish-American War.

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SERGE RICARD

Manila Bay, Battle of (1898)

The first battle of the **Spanish-American War**, whereby the **United States** defeated Spain, acquired colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific, and joined the ranks of the Great Powers. On April 25, 1898, the United States declared war on Spain. Three days later, Commodore George Dewey steamed from Mirs Bay, located just up the China coast from neutral British Hong Kong, toward the Spanish colonial possession of the Philippines.

Backed by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore **Roosevelt**, Dewey had become commander of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron in November 1897. With the cruiser *Olympia* as his flagship, Dewey commanded a squadron of five cruisers and three gunboats. Dewey's squadron arrived in Manila Bay on the evening of April 30. Early the next morning, Dewey commenced operations against the Spanish fleet at the Cavite naval station under the command of Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón. Before the day ended, Montojo's entire fleet was destroyed. Dewey's victory was accomplished with only eight American servicemen wounded. The Spanish forces reported 167 killed and 214 wounded.

Dewey's squadron then silenced Cavite's shore batteries and established a naval blockade. After Major General Wesley Merritt arrived with ground troops, the United States took control of the capital city of Manila on August 13, marking the end of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. Filipino nationalists proclaimed independence and established a republic under Asia's first democratic constitution, but Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in the Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War in December 1898. Subsequently, the United States suppressed the Filipino independence movement headed by Emilio Aguinaldo, who waged an insurrection against the U.S. occupying forces until his capture in April 1901.

News of his victory at Manila Bay made Dewey a national hero in the United States, and he was promoted to admiral of the navy, a position created especially for him by the U.S. Congress. Dewey returned home to become president of the newly created General Board of the Navy Department, in which capacity he was instrumental in helping now President Theodore Roosevelt display American power through the world tour of the U.S. Navy's **Great White Fleet** from 1907–1909. The Philippines was granted independence from the United States on July 4, 1946. *See also* Cuba; Monroe Doctrine; McKinley, William; Navalism.

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DAVID M. CARLETTA

Maori Wars (1843–1847, 1863–1870)

Two conflicts between the forces of the **British Empire** and the Maori people in New Zealand, in both cases arising from disputes over territory. The first was triggered by the violation of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, according to which the Maori agreed to sell goods solely to British merchants in return for protection and the guarantee that they could retain their land. When the New Zealand Company attempted to survey land to which it had no claim, a meeting between company officials and the Maori ended in the Wairau Massacre where more than 20 Europeans perished. Thereafter the Maori chief, Hone Heke, launched a series of raids against settler towns, and not until Sir George Grey took control of British forces were the Maori defeated.

The peace thereby established fractured in 1859, however, when individual Maoris again sold land that by tribal tradition was held in common. The Second Maori War, also known as the Taranaki Wars, was a more serious affair—even though it was punctuated by a truce—because the Maori fought with greater determination and often used *guerrilla* tactics. Still by 1872, the Maori had lost half their population and most of their land.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Maratha Wars (1775–1782, 1803–1805, 1817–1818)

Three wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries occasioned by the encroachment of the East India Company against the territory and authority of the Maratha Confederacy of south-central **India**. In the first the company involved itself in a succession crisis of the Maratha leadership, yet was defeated at the Battle of Telagaon in January 1779 and forced to sign a treaty relinquishing all territory and revenue it had taken from the Maratha since 1775. The company renewed its campaign in 1780 with a larger force and managed a series of victories that resulted in the Treaty of Salbai in 1782.

Renewed conflict within the confederacy 20 years later again tempted British intervention, initially in the form of the Treaty of **Bassein** in which the company agreed to support the Peshwa Baji Rao II against his rival Jaswant Rao Holkar by stationing company troops on his domain in return for revenue-yielding authority within the territory. Three Maratha clans, however, promptly raised forces to eject the British, so on August 7, 1803, the company declared war and deployed two armies—one under General Gerard Lake, the other under Major-General Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of **Wellington**—and inflicted a series of defeats on the Maratha, the most important at **Assaye** and **Laswari**. Ultimately the Maratha forces

were chased into the Punjab, and the Treaty of Sarji Anjangaon, dictated at bayonet-point, ceded additional territory between the Jumma and Ganges Rivers to the company.

In the Third Maratha War the company was prompted by raids by freelance Pindari horsemen into company territory—horsemen the Marathas were by treaty obliged to restrain, yet often indulged or encouraged—as reason enough to eliminate what remained of Maratha power. It fielded an army of more than 20,000 men to mop up the Pindaris before bringing the Maratha to battle for a final defeat at Mahidpur in December 1817. The war dragged on into April 1818, but at the end of it, the company was in possession of all of Baji Rao's territory. *See also* East India Companies.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Marengo, Battle of (1800)

The decisive last-minute *victoire politique* of French First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte over the Austrian army under General der Kavallerie Michael Melas, which secured Napoleon's grip on political power in Paris in the aftermath of the Brumaire coup of 1799. Despite having assembled his Army of the Reserve, nominally under the command of General Louis André Berthier, in western Switzerland in early 1800, Bonaparte was wrong-footed by the surprise Austrian advance toward the key city port of Genoa, held by French troops under General André Masséna, in mid-April. He was forced to make a hasty march over the St. Bernard Pass to cross the Alps into Italy in mid-May and, aided by a local double-agent, reached Milan on June 2. After Bonaparte's advance-guard under Lieutenant General Jean Lannes defeated Feldmarschall Ott at Montebello on June 9, the 29,000 French marched to engage the 31,000 strong Austrian army near Alessandria. Meanwhile, Genoa had surrendered to the Austrians on June 4, although Masséna was allowed to rejoin the campaign and joined General Suchet in a march north from the coast. French troops were also marching from Turin, adding to Melas' fear of being encircled.

Partially deceived by the same agent acting for the Austrians, Bonaparte dispatched large forces to the north and south during June 13, as he believed the Austrians would try to break out north, while troops from Genoa would advance from the south. The French advance-guard, now under Lieutenant General Claude-Victor Perrin, seized Marengo village that evening. However, 8 A.M. on June 14 brought Melas' surprise advance against the main French army under General Berthier, as the Austrians sought to fight their way out directly eastward. Initially, the two Austrian assaults across the Fontanone stream near Marengo village were repelled and Lannes reinforced Perrin's right wing. At 11 A.M., Bonaparte realized the true situation and recalled the detachments, while moving his reserve forward. On the Austrian left wing, Ott had taken Castel Ceriolo and then, on his own initiative, sent his small advance-guard to tackle Lannes' flank. Melas took his chance and tried to push cavalry across the Fontanone on his right wing, but it was routed by French cavalry under General François Kellerman. Nevertheless, a third assault on Marengo village succeeded

after bitter fighting, and by 2:30 P.M. the Austrians had broken the French position. The French were driven back east into the main vine belt just as Bonaparte reached the battlefield. In a desperate move to halt Ott's column coming from the north, Bonaparte committed his consular guard, but they were surprised and destroyed by Oberst Frimont's cavalry. Knowing that French troops under General Charles Louis Desaix were approaching, Bonaparte organized a steady withdrawal eastward from about 4:15 P.M. toward San Giuliano, followed by an Austrian column led by Chief of Staff, Feldmarschalleutnant Zach. Desaix's arrival around 5:30 P.M. stabilized the French position as his infantry delayed the Austrian pursuit. Just north of Cascina Grossa, the pursuing Austrian troops met a mix of musketry and artillery fire, which covered a surprise flank attack by Kellerman's cavalry. The French cavalry threw the Austrian column into disordered flight, and a wave of French troops then shattered the center of Melas' army. Exhausted after fighting all day, many Austrian infantry surrendered or fled back over the Bormida River, while in the north Ott failed to intervene. Both sides had sustained about 2,100 casualties, with another 2,500 Austrians captured. The next day, the Armistice of Alessandria obliged the Austrians to evacuate northwestern Italy. Had Bonaparte failed at Marengo, his authority back in France might well have been overthrown by Jacobins or royalists. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Marconi, Guglielmo

See Telegraph

Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de (1774–1852)

A marshal of the **French Empire** under Napoleon **Bonaparte**, Auguste Marmont was trained as an artillerist and served as Napoleon's aide-de-camp during his Italian campaign, 1796–1797, and expedition to Egypt, 1798–99. He helped Napoleon seize power in the coup of Brumaire in 1799 and in the following year distinguished himself in command of the artillery at the Battle of **Marengo**. He served for five years as governor of Dalmatia, where he proved himself both effective and popular with the people. He replaced Marshal Masséna in command of an army in Spain in 1811, but was decisively defeated and severely wounded at the Battle of Salamanca the next year. He was transferred for service in Germany, where he fought the Allies as they pushed Napoleon's forces back into France itself in 1814. Defeated at Laon, Marmont concluded a secret convention with the Allies and surrendered his corps, making continued French resistance impossible—a betrayal for which neither Napoleon nor the French people ever forgave him.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Marx, Karl (1818–1883)

German philosopher and political activist whose theories on the development of capitalism and vision of a future socialist society were a compelling influence on both the democratic and nondemocratic socialist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born in Trier, Germany, to a Jewish family that had converted to Christianity, Marx studied in Bonn and Berlin between 1835 and 1841 and was powerfully influenced by the theories of Georg Hegel on the historical dialectic, as well as by French utopian thought and the economic theory of Adam Smith and David Ricardo.

Marx moved to France and then to Belgium and fell in with exiled German socialists for whom he drafted his most celebrated pamphlet, *The Communist Manifesto*, in collaboration with Friedrich Engels. He participated in the revolutionary disturbances of 1848 and was forced by their failure and charges of treason leveled against him to flee to London, where he remained for the rest of his life developing his interpretations of political class conflict and the economic laws of capitalist society. These culminated in his most important work, *Das Kapital*, the first volume of which was published in 1867. British politics mystified Marx, above all the nonrevolutionary civility of British trade unions, but he nonetheless took part in the establishment of the International Workingmen's Association, better known as The International, in 1864.

Marx and his family lived in poverty in London. This condition was mitigated in part by the financial support of his collaborator, Engels, and by correspondence work for newspapers. Marx was, in fact, at his best in analyses of current events thrown against his grasp of broad historical change, above all in his interpretation of the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the function the state as the political agent of the most productive social and economic forces. In developing his ideas about future revolutionary trends, however, Marx extrapolated too aggressively from contemporary trends; in some instances misinterpreted their meaning altogether; and frequently succumbed to the very utopianism he professed to despise. Marx's ideas were most influential among German and Russian socialists, but because he died before European socialist movements had matured, his most important disciples, ranging from Karl Kautsky in Germany to V. I. Lenin in Russia, differed fundamentally on how to realize Marx's vaguely articulated vision of a future socialist society—with disastrous consequences.

Marx was uncompromising in his condemnation of the impact of industrial capitalism on the wage laborers of Europe. He held that European dominion over non-European peoples was motivated by the same fundamental material greed that had built "satanic mills" from Manchester to Lille and Essen, but he also argued that European capitalism could play a progressive role in European overseas colonies by destroying the social bases of "Oriental despotism" founded on social caste and sustained by slavery. This argument lost out entirely among the socialists of pre-World War I for whom capitalism and imperialism were joined at the hip—and in all places, in all times, necessarily wicked in intention and consequence. *See also* Internationalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Masaryk, Tómaš (1850–1937)

A Czech philosopher and statesman, Tómaš Masaryk was born on March 7, 1850, in Moravia. He was the son of a Slovak carter who lived with his family in a predominantly Catholic city of Hodonín in the Hungarian part of the **Habsburg Empire**. Between 1872 and 1876, Masaryk studied philosophy at the universities of Brno and Vienna and in 1882 became professor of philosophy at the University of Prague. One year later he founded *Athenaeum*, a journal devoted to Czech science and culture. During the 1890s, Masaryk wrote several books on Czech history and nationality, such as *The Meaning of Czech History* in 1895, and *Jan Hus* along with *Karel Havlíček* in 1896.

For Masaryk, the Czech national revival in the nineteenth century was the continuation of the Czech reformation, and he considered Czech humanism as the basis for a modern Czech democracy. But Masaryk's opinion on the significance of Czech reformation for Czech modernization was criticized by respected Czech scholars like Josef Kaizl (1854–1901), who thought that the Czech question was a national, not a religious problem. Nevertheless, Masaryk stimulated Czech national discourse from a moralist-philosophical point of view. As a member of the Young Czech Party, Masaryk became a member of the Reichsrat, the Austrian parliament, from 1891 to 1893, and then from 1907 to 1914 as delegate of the Realist Party, but rejected a Czech separation from the Habsburg Empire. His opinion changed with the outbreak of World War I when he had to flee Austria to avoid arrest. In exile in Geneva and then in London, he became a strong advocate of Czech independence in union with the Slovaks. In 1917, Masaryk went to Russia to organize Slavic resistance to the Habsburg Empire, one year later he visited U.S. President Woodrow Wilson to convince him of an independent Czechoslovak state. After World War I, Masaryk became the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Matabele Wars (1893–1894, 1896–1897)

Two short conflicts between indigenous African and British forces, initially caused by the migration of the Matabele people into Southern Rhodesia just as the **British South Africa Company** became an important presence there. Originally a branch of the **Zulu**, the Matabele people under Moselekatse refused to pay tribute to **Shaka** and were forced by punitive Zulu attacks against them to flee to the Orange Free State and Transvaal where they made raids on the Bantu, but in 1836, they suffered defeat at the hands of the Boers. Moselekatse then took the Matabele north of the Limpopo River and made raids against the local Mashona.

In 1893, the British South Africa Company insisted that these raids be stopped and sent an expedition against the Matabele when the raids persisted. A force of 1,200 volunteers led by Leander Starr **Jameson** and armed with Maxim guns inflicted terrifying defeats on the Matabele at Shangani River and Imbembese. By February 1894, most of the Matabele had surrendered. In March 1896, the Matabele revolted and inflicted heavy losses on isolated settlers and their families.

Regular British troops were sent to put down the rising, which spread to include the Mashona. The Matabele finally laid down their arms in October 1897 in response to British military pressure and a conciliatory diplomatic approach by Cecil Rhodes who promised attention to the Matabele grievances. A much harsher line was adopted with the Mashona, and several of their religious leaders were executed. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Boer Wars; British Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Matiners' War

See Carlist Wars

Mauritius

An island of only 650 square miles directly east of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean. Although it had been settled for less than 400 years, Mauritius was visited by the Arabs before the tenth century, the Malays in the 1400s, and the Portuguese in 1510. It was occupied in 1598 by the Dutch, who named it after Prince Maurice of Nassau. The Dutch left in 1710, and in 1715 the French took possession, renaming it Ile de France. The French built a harbor in the island called Port Louis, which became the capital of Mauritius and an important center for trade, privateering, and naval expeditions against British vessels on their way to and from India. Mauritius was captured by the British in 1810, during the Napoleonic Wars, and was formally ceded to Britain in 1814. To offset the labor problem arising from the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, the French planters of the sugarcane were allowed to import indentured laborers from India, whose descendants constitute nowadays the majority of the population. Mauritius achieved independence on March 12, 1968.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Maxim Gun

See Machine Gun

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico (1832–1867)

The archduke of Austria and emperor of Mexico, Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria was born in Vienna in July 1832. The younger brother of Emperor Francis Joseph I, he became commander of the Austrian navy in 1854 and governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom in 1857. In the war of 1859, the Habsburgs

lost Lombardy to Piedmont-Sardinia, and Maximilian lost his post. Persuaded by the French Emperor Napoleon III (see **Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon**) and Mexican conservatives who were scheming to topple President Benito Juárez, Maximilian accepted the offer of the Mexican throne in 1863.

After his arrival in Mexico, Maximilian had to face massive armed resistance. In this civil war Maximilian depended on the financial and military support of Napoleon III. When the **United States** threatened to intervene in 1865, Napoleon III disengaged and left Maximilian with little chance of success. Nevertheless, Maximilian refused to flee the country and was arrested by Juárez' forces. He was executed by republican troops near Querétaro in June 1867. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805–1872)

An Italian patriot, philosopher, and champion of republican government, Giuseppe Mazzini was born the son of a doctor in the port city of Genoa and enlisted in the Carbonari in the 1820s. His revolutionary activities resulted in arrest in Sardinia in 1830, but the next year he fled to Marseilles where he founded the **Young Italy** movement with the mission of uniting the states and kingdoms of the Italian peninsula into a republic. Mazzini held that national unification could be accomplished only by popular insurrection, a romantic political reflex typical of liberal movements of the time. His open advocacy of this approach, however, got him banned not only from Italy but also from France.

Mazzini was equally attracted to ornate conspiratorial projects. From refuge in Switzerland he concocted a plot to use Polish exiles in Switzerland and France to launch an invasion of Savoy, the ancestral home of Piedmont-Sardinia's ruling family, on the calculation that the action would touch off popular risings in Italy, France, Germany, and Switzerland itself—leading to the creation of a republican and neutral Confederation of the Alps. The easy defeat of the raid by Piedmontese forces badly damaged Mazzini's status as a republican leader. In exile in Marseilles and London, he nurtured the idea of a republican brotherhood of nations and founded a Young Europe movement.

The revolutionary year of 1848 found Mazzini back in Milan, now coordinating his efforts with Giuseppe **Garibaldi**; in 1849 he headed the governing triumvirate of the Roman Republic. When it fell, Mazzini's influence waned as Garibaldi's waxed. The nationalist movement gravitated toward unification under the House of Savoy, as Garibaldi and Count **Cavour** assumed its leadership. Mazzini rejected national unification under a crown and continued to agitate for a republic. By 1868, when he settled in Lugano, Switzerland, only 15 miles from the Italian border, Mazzini was no longer a political force in his homeland.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

McKinley, William (1843–1901)

The 25th president of the **United States**, William McKinley led the country in war against the Spanish Empire in 1898 and laid the foundations for an overseas empire and a strong international presence of the United States. A civil war hero from Ohio who served in the U.S. Congress from 1877 to 1882 and again from 1885 to 1891 and as governor of Ohio from 1892 to 1896, McKinley had little interest in foreign policy and no international experience before he assumed the presidency in 1896.

Confronted with the Cuban struggle for independence, McKinley refused to recognize the Cuban revolutionaries and urged Spanish reforms of colonial rule with limited local sovereignty. The president opposed annexation schemes for Cuba, as he interpreted the inclusion of a multiracial society into the United States as detrimental for the American body politic. Once confronted with the deterioration of Spanish control over the island, public outrage over the brutal Spanish policy of forced Cuban resettlements, and the sinking of the *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor, however, McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war.

McKinley interpreted American victory in the **Spanish-American War** of 1898 as a unique opportunity to strengthen the U.S. informal empire in the Caribbean with control over Cuba and understood the new colonial empire, which among other possessions encompassed the Philippines and Hawaii, as stepping-stones to the Asia market. He staunchly supported the acquisition of colonies in a powerful national debate between expansionists and anti-imperialists over the merits of empire and gained reelection in 1900. For McKinley, the colonial empire strategically and commercially complemented American hegemony in the Caribbean and safeguarded his administration's claim to access to markets on the Asian mainland under the **Open Door** diplomacy of 1899 and 1900. In 1900, during the **Boxer Insurrection**, McKinley dispatched 2,500 soldiers to participate in a multinational expedition to protect foreign legations against Chinese rebels. McKinley was assassinated on a visit to the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, in September 1901. *See also* Monroe Doctrine, Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Mediterranean Agreements (1887)

Initially, the Mediterranean Agreements were a series of bilateral agreements signed between Britain and Italy on February 12, 1887, and between Britain and Austro-Hungary on the following March 24. These initial exchanges received further clarification in a trilateral exchange of notes, ratified on December 12, 1887,

known as the Second Mediterranean Agreement. The agreements pledged the participants to the maintenance of the status quo in the Eastern Mediterranean and adjacent seas. In effect, this also meant that should the status of Bulgaria, the **Ottoman Empire**, the Balkans, Egypt, or Tripoli be altered by outside powers or internal unrest, these three powers would work in coordination together.

Although considerably short of a formal alliance, the agreements marked a decade long period in which Britain associated its interests in European diplomacy closely with the powers of the **Triple Alliance**, composed of Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy. Several factors led to this alignment. On the part of the British, friction with Russia over the delineation of the Afghan frontier—the Penjdeh crisis of 1885—and especially divergent positions regarding Bulgaria pushed London to look for diplomatic partners to check the Russians. Continued friction with France over the nature of the British occupation of Egypt since 1882 precluded such an agreement between those two powers and led the British to turn instead toward Berlin and Vienna. A domestic crisis in France resulting in the Boulanger episode worried France’s neighbors, particularly Germany and Italy, about possible adventurism in French foreign policy.

The Italians had been pursuing an alliance or alignment with Britain since the early 1880s, in part to win British support against French expansion in North Africa. In particular, the Italians felt they had been cheated when France stole a march on them in Tunisia in 1881. In both the case of Italy and Austro-Hungary, Otto von **Bismarck** encouraged an approach to the British, hoping to force Britain to serve as the lead check on Russia’s Balkan designs, while allowing him to maintain his support for the *Dreikaiserbund*. At the same time, the association of Britain with Italy and Austro-Hungary also helped Bismarck successfully negotiate the extension of the Triple Alliance, especially with Italy, which was signed on February 20, 1887. The Mediterranean Agreements in many ways marked the high point of Anglo-German relations before the tension-prone reign of Kaiser **Wilhelm II**. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Eastern Question; Great Game.

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ROBERT DAVIS

Mehmet Ali (1769–1848)

Also known as Muhammad Ali, Mehmet Ali was Ottoman *pasha*, or governor, of **Egypt**. Originally from Albania, Mehmet Ali, a driven and ambitious man, made himself into the most powerful subject of the Ottoman Sultans in the early nineteenth century and on several occasions threatened to replace his nominal overlords with his own imperial pretensions. In the wake of Napoleon **Bonaparte**’s Egyptian campaigns, the province was restored to nominal Ottoman control. The chaotic situation in Egypt and the many difficulties faced by Ottoman authorities in Constantinople, however, provided an ideal opportunity for Mehmet Ali’s own designs.

By 1811, he had displaced the Ottoman governor and brutally suppressed the Mamlukes, former slave soldiers and the traditional power brokers of Egypt for hundreds of years. His modernization programs, although creating considerable tension in Egypt itself, focused on strengthening the Egyptian economy and building a modern army on European lines, often trained by French officers looking for work in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. His success was considerable enough to cause concern in Constantinople. Sultan Mahmud II, Mehmet Ali's nominal suzerain, ordered the Egyptian army to Arabia to suppress the Wahhabi movement, which threatened Ottoman control of the Hijaz. Success against the Wahhabis emboldened Mehmet Ali, who soon dispatched one son at the head of an army of conquest into the **Sudan**, another to aid his suzerain in the suppression of the Greek revolt, all the while toying with plans for the conquest of North Africa. When he reaped what he deemed insufficient reward for his assistance against the Greeks, Mehmet Ali turned against Mahmud and sent his son Ibrahim at the head of an Egyptian army to invade the neighboring Ottoman province of **Syria**. This led to a major crisis in the Near East in 1832–1833 in which it seemed that the **Ottoman Empire** was on the verge of collapse, perhaps to be replaced by an Egyptian Empire in its stead.

Only the unlikely intervention of Russia on the side of the Ottomans checked Mehmet Ali's ambitions. Six years later Mahmud II again tried to deal with his overly ambitious vassal by reconquering Syria, only to suffer major reverses yet again. This time the Ottomans had to rely on British assistance to drive Ibrahim out of Syria. In the end, Mehmet Ali never succeeded in establishing a fully independent Egyptian state, but from 1841 on, he secured hereditary title as Ottoman governor of Egypt. His family was to rule Egypt, although as Ottoman subjects until World War I, until the end of the monarchy in 1952. *See also* Inkiar Skelessi, Treaty of; Russian Empire.

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ROBERT DAVIS

Mehmet V, Sultan of Turkey (1844–1918)

Born in Constantinople, Mehmet V succeeded to the throne of the **Ottoman Empire** when the **Young Turks** deposed his brother, Abdul Hamid II, in 1909. His father was one of the most progressive sultans of the empire, and Mehmet was raised as a reformer and with an excellent knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Islam. During his reign the Ottoman Empire lost **Tripoli** and the Dodecanese Islands to **Italy** and most of its remaining Balkan possessions between 1911 and 1913. Mehmet lost his remaining power to the Revolution of the Committee of Union and Progress in January 1913, and from that time, Enver and Talat Pashas controlled the government and Mehmet became a symbolic sovereign without authority. Germany gained increasing influence over Turkish affairs, resuming the construction of the **Berlin-to-Baghdad Railway** in 1911. Mehmet sided with the Central Powers in

World War I. He died shortly before the Ottoman surrender and was succeeded by his brother, Muhammad VI.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Meiji Restoration (1868–1912)

A palace coup of 1868, which overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate and “restored” power to the Japanese emperor, followed by the rapid socioeconomic and political changes that occurred during the reign of the Meiji emperor from 1868 to 1912. In 1868, a coup led by disgruntled nobles toppled the enfeebled Tokugawa Shogunate that had ruled Japan since the feudal era, shifted power to the emperor, and moved the imperial court from Kyoto to Tokyo. The political revolution of 1868 vested *de jure* sovereignty in the emperor, but *de facto* power was wielded by the *genro*, an oligarchy of nobles and former samurai. The new Meiji government governed a militarily weak and economically backward nation threatened by Western encroachment, and under the banner of *fukoku Kyohei*—a rich nation, and a strong military—embarked on a series of reforms that radically transformed and modernized Japanese society.

The Meiji government abolished feudalism, made large investments in modern infrastructure and industries, and introduced a national education system. The government dispatched Japanese students overseas to study the latest aspects of Western science and technology, and foreign experts were hired to teach in Japan. Military modernization was a key goal of the Meiji government, and a conscript national army based on the Prussian model and a modern navy based on the British Royal Navy were established. In 1877, the government used the army, trained in modern European infantry tactics and equipped with the latest weaponry, to quell the Satsuma Rebellion and destroy the last vestige of Samurai resistance to the Meiji reforms. The Meiji Constitution, based on the Prussian constitution, was drafted by Hirobumi Itō and adopted in 1889. Elections for the first diet were held in 1890, but suffrage was limited to the wealthiest 1 percent of the population. In the later Meiji period, Japan triumphed in the **Sino-Japanese War** and **Russo-Japanese War**, negotiated an alliance with Britain, and abolished the unequal treaties with the Western powers. By the end of the Meiji period, Japan was counted among the ranks of the Great Powers. *See also* Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Chrysanthemum Throne; Japanese Empire.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Melville, Henry Dundas, First Viscount (1742–1811)

Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, was a major architect of British naval and India policy. Dundas was the Scottish lieutenant of his close friend William Pitt the

Younger, and as first lord of the admiralty in Pitt's last administration has been credited with creating the fleet that won the Battle of Trafalgar. Dundas initially made his name as a legal reformer in Scotland and a supporter of Lord North in London. He was one of the earliest to back Pitt as an alternative to the unworkable 1783 coalition of North and Charles James Fox. The American war of 1775–1783 had convinced Dundas that Britain should aim at an empire of trade rather than settlement, it being his view that colonies of emigrants would inevitably seek independence. He applied these insights in Pitt's 1784 India bill, which discouraged Britons from settling permanently in India and also strengthened the control of the ministry over the East India Company; Dundas duly became the first president of the board of control on that office's creation in 1793.

On the creation of the office of secretary of state for war and colonies in 1794, Dundas took that post. He was throughout the 1790s a staunch advocate of a naval, imperial, and economic war against the French, as opposed to campaigns on the European continent. He left office on Pitt's resignation in 1801, but returned, again under Pitt, as first lord of the admiralty in 1804. There he energetically organized the building of ships of the line. The closing stages of his career were marred by a corruption scandal, which resulted in his having the dubious distinction of being the last British minister to have been impeached by the House of Commons, although he was acquitted in the House of Lords. *See also* East India Companies; Royal Navy.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Menelik II, Emperor of Ethiopia (1844–1913)

The Ethiopian emperor who secured Ethiopian independence in the midst of the scramble for Africa by defeating Italian colonial aspirations at the Battle of Adowa. Menelik began his political career in 1865 by ousting a usurper and reclaiming his birthright as king of Shewa, one of the many semi-independent kingdoms in central Ethiopia. Over the next 15 years he concentrated on consolidating his position while simultaneously strengthening his claim to the imperial throne by negotiating with European powers, many of whom sold him modern weaponry for use in annexing neighboring kingdoms and safeguarding important trade routes.

Upon the death of Johann IV in 1889, Menelik declared himself emperor and signed the Treaty of Wachali recognizing Italian claims to Eritrea. Menelik met Italy's subsequent claims that the treaty also established an Italian protectorate over Ethiopia with vigorous denials and, in 1896, a crushing military defeat at Adowa that guaranteed Ethiopia's continued independence. He spent the remainder of his reign working to suppress the slave trade and modernize Ethiopia via the construction of railroads, telephone lines, and the creation of a new capital at Addis Ababa. In 1909, Menelik was forced to relinquish the throne to his grandson Lij Yasu after a series of paralytic strokes left him incapacitated. *See also* Abyssinia; Somaliland.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Mensheviks

A faction of Russian Social Democrats that emerged during the Social Democrats' 1903 London conference, the result of bitter clashes over questions of organization and policy. The leader of the Menshevik faction was Julius Martov, who favored a broad conception of the party, open to all who accepted Karl Marx's principles. In opposition, Vladimir Lenin stressed that the revolutionary party should be a secret, disciplined, hierarchical organization. During this conference the infamous names **Bolshevik** (from the Russian, *bol'she*, meaning larger) and **Menshevik** (from *men'she*, or smaller) emerged. These two factions never reconciled their views and thereafter developed sharply different organizations, programs, and expectations for a future revolution. In 1917, the Mensheviks opposed Lenin's plan to violently overthrow the Provisional Government; later, many joined the counter-revolutionary Whites in the Civil War of 1918–1921. After 1921, many Mensheviks were arrested and exiled, and under Stalin many were imprisoned and executed. *See also* Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Mercantilism

A set of principles and assumptions prevalent during in the development of European capitalism between 1500 and 1800, according to which national governments regarded competition for access to and distribution of wealth as a prime responsibility of the state. The supporters of mercantilist policy were generally less concerned with articulating a systematic economic theory than with enhancing national power and prosperity, a project they customarily assumed to be in large part predatory and therefore requiring a concentration of military and financial power. Because mercantilists also commonly held that the available wealth and trade available globally was fixed, they favored the acquisition of overseas colonies as a vital interest of the state in the pursuit of raw materials for domestic industry, precious metals, inexpensive labor, and markets. This zero-sum competition for wealth logically favored the development of large merchant marine fleets, professional armies and navies along with the construction of docks, warehouses, and repair facilities both at home and at strategic locations in overseas territorial possessions.

Mercantilist policy also sought to achieve a positive balance of trade through high tariffs on the import of manufactured goods and the export of raw materials,

combined with low tariffs on the import of raw materials along with an aggressive promotion of the export of finished goods. Raw materials were to be made readily and cheaply available to domestic industry, and foreign manufactures were to be kept out. Domestic industry, in other words, was to have monopolistic access to the home market while being given every advantage in exporting to foreign markets. A related phenomenon was the development of gold and silver mines in overseas colonies and the national hoarding of precious metal supplies. In the case of the Spanish Empire, monopolistic control of trade with colonies was so fanatically applied that it suffocated commerce and ultimately put Spain at a disadvantage against less restrictive competitors such as England and the Netherlands.

The argument that in fact mercantilist practice was inherently counterproductive to wealth accumulation—and antithetical in many cases to wealth creation—became the central thesis of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. With the nineteenth-century embrace of the free trade principle, despite the slower application of free trade practice, mercantilism acquired a pejorative association with absolutist regimes in an increasingly liberal age. The return of protectionism in the late nineteenth century, however, occasioned a revival of the mercantilist spirit and the popularity of economists such as Friedrich List in the newly created **German Empire**. At the same time intensified imperial competition among the European powers for territory in Africa in the last quarter of the century had an unmistakable mercantilist flavor. *See also* East India Companies; Navalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Metternich, Prince Klemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar, Fürst von (1773–1859)

One of the greatest statesmen of the nineteenth century, Prince Metternich was born in the Rhineland but entered the Austrian diplomatic service and served at The Hague, Dresden, Berlin from 1803 to 1806, and Paris from 1806 to 1809, where he became well acquainted with Napoleon **Bonaparte**. He was instrumental in persuading Emperor Francis I to open hostilities with France in 1809, notwithstanding Austria's defeat in the Austerlitz campaign only four years earlier. After the defeat of Archduke Charles at Wagram in July, Metternich replaced Count Stadion at the Foreign Ministry on October 8 and negotiated the Treaty of **Schönbrunn**, by which Austria ceded substantial territory to France and her allies. Between 1809 and 1813, a period in which Austria acted as a nominal ally of France, Metternich helped arrange the marriage between Napoleon and the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise. Metternich maintained amicable relations with France while the Habsburg Empire built up its forces and finances, expanding the army beyond the limits set by Schönbrunn. He also arranged for Austria to supply a contingent of troops for Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, although by secretly informing

Tsar Alexander that Austrian participation constituting nothing more than lip service to the French, Metternich understood the advantage of keeping Austria's options open.

When Napoleon's fortunes waned as a consequence of the retreat from Moscow, Metternich withdrew Count Schwarzenberg's forces from the alliance in February 1813 and sought a general negotiated peace. After an interview with Napoleon in Dresden on June 26, at which time Metternich secured an armistice between the two sides, he became convinced that Austria should throw in her lot with the Allies. Austria formerly entered the war in August in alliance with Russia and Prussia, although unlike the latter, he did not appeal to the nationalist instincts of his people for fear of sparking off separatist movements within the multiethnic **Habsburg Empire**.

Never on good terms with **Alexander I**, Metternich enjoyed good relations with the British foreign secretary, Lord **Castlereagh**, with whom he regularly conferred from January 1814. As the Allied armies crossed the Rhine and France appeared destined to be vanquished, Metternich sought to establish a postwar settlement in which France—with or without Napoleon in power—might serve as a counterweight to the growing power of Russia, as well as to Austria's traditional rival, Prussia. In conjunction with Castlereagh, Metternich is regarded as the architect of the settlement reached in 1815 at the Congress of **Vienna**, where his adept diplomacy averted war between Russia and Prussia through compromise over the fates of Poland and Saxony. He secured territorial gains for Austria, particularly in northern Italy, and extended Habsburg influence into the new German Federation. He also brought Austria into the Holy Alliance with Russia and Prussia. Metternich's principal long-term policy, influenced by his anticonstitutional, reactionary position, was to maintain the status quo of the restored monarchies through the cooperation of the Great Powers, particularly in combating resurgent revolutionary movements. Ironically, he was forced from office on March 13, 1848, by the revolution that broke out in Vienna in that year. *See also* Balance of Power; Congress System; Holy Alliance; Liberation, War of.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Mexican-American War (1846–1848)

A war in which **Mexico** ceded the present-day area from **Texas** to **California** to the **United States**, establishing the boundary between the two nations at the Rio Grande River and extending the United States "from sea to shining sea." Conflict over Texas and the American President James Polk's expansionist politics precipitated hostilities on April 25, 1846. When both nations signed the Treaty of **Guadalupe Hidalgo** on February 2, 1848, the United States fulfilled its self-proclaimed **Manifest Destiny** to expand westward.

Polk won the presidency on an expansionist platform in 1845, leading to the annexation of then independent Texas. As Texas became the 15th slave state, an

infuriated Mexican government broke diplomatic relations with the United States; Mexico never recognized its former territory's independence. In response, Polk incurred further ire by sending an envoy to Mexico City with an offer to settle Texas's disputed lower boundary at the Rio Grande and purchase Mexico's territories to the west. When the government refused to negotiate, Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to advance his troops through the disputed area to the Rio Grande.

Mexican cavalry, considering this an act of aggression, attacked an American patrol on April 25. Congress declared war on May 13, 1846. Polk argued that Mexico had shed "American blood on American soil." Taylor proceeded to push southwest into Mexico along the Rio Grande to defeat troops at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterrey and in February 1847, at Buena Vista against Mexican hero General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. A second force under General Stephen W. Kearney seized New Mexico and occupied California by January 1847. Finally, General Winfield Scott led an army from the coast to Mexico City, where he defeated Santa Anna in September 1847. Mexico ceded more than 500,000 square miles to the United States for \$15 million and \$3.25 million in American claims against the government. The United States became a continental power with vast natural resources and access to newly discovered gold in California.

Territorial expansion had its costs. Approximately 13,000 Americans and 50,000 Mexicans died during the war, most from disease rather than bullets or bayonets. The conflict lasted much longer than expected, costing the United States close to \$75 million. The war bitterly divided Americans along sectional lines; discredited many of the moderate voices who had previously held sway; contributed mightily to the breakdown of the two-party system; and helped bring about the **American Civil War**, which claimed in excess of 600,000 lives.

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JOHN FAITHFUL HAMER

Mexico

Mexico was a constitutional monarchy immediately after securing independence from Spain in 1821, a federal republic after 1824, and a country without durable peace until after 1867. Home to the Olmec and Mayan civilizations until the ninth century, present-day Mexico was largely conquered by the Aztec Empire in the fourteenth century. The next wave of conquest, from Spain, had destroyed Aztec power by the mid-1520s, but full Spanish control was not accomplished until 1600. Spanish rule in Mexico was oppressive and occasioned many rebellions, but all were easily defeated until Spain itself became the object of Napoleonic conquest in the **Peninsular War**. A series of revolts—starting with the peasant and Indian rising led by Hidalgo y Costilla, 1810–1811, and succeeded by that of Jose Maria Morelos y Pavón, 1811–1815—prompted limited reforms from Spain; but the critical breakthrough to independence came from a rival of Morelos, Agustín de Iturbide, who, in 1822, proposed a Mexican monarchy separate from the Spanish

throne. Iturbide and the throne were then replaced in 1824 by the proclamation of a republic with Guadalupe Victoria as its first president.

After General Antonio López de Santa Anna championed the defeat of Spanish forces attempting to reconquer Mexico in 1825, he was able to translate popular appeal into the capture of the presidency in 1833. He also revoked the federal constitution and in 1836 faced a rebellion in Texas, which led to that territory's independence from Mexico and his loss of the presidency after Santa Anna's army lost the Battle of San Jacinto River on April 21. Santa Anna returned to the presidency again in 1841 and 1846, on the latter occasion seizing control of the army and leading it and his country to a humiliating defeat in the **Mexican-American War**. Even then Santa Anna was able to return to power in 1853 before the liberal revolution of 1855 finally rid Mexico of him for good. Unable to fade away entirely, Santa Anna was involved in the ensuing civil war and the French intervention that led to the farcical empire of **Maximilian** in 1863.

With the restoration of the republic in 1867, Mexico embarked on a period of comparative peace and economic progress, most notably under the *de facto* dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz between 1876 and 1911. The period following Díaz's ouster took Mexico into a new phase of revolution combined with punitive expeditions by the **United States** into its territory in retaliation for incidents along the border. *See also* California; Manifest Destiny.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Michelet, Jules (1798–1874)

One of France's foremost nineteenth-century historians, Jules Michelet was born in Paris less than a decade after the French Revolution. Michelet worked from a young age in his father's print shop; however, in 1817, he passed the *baccalauréat* with high honors. He then held a variety of teaching positions until 1822, when he was appointed specifically to teach history—only recently added to the curriculum, and still viewed with suspicion by the government—at the Collège Sainte-Barbe. In 1827, Michelet was invited to teach philosophy and history at the École Normale and later became keeper of the national historical archives from 1831 to 1852 and held a Chair at the Collège de France from 1838 to 1851.

Michelet came to believe that the study of world history revealed a progressive movement from enslavement to liberty and that France had a crucial role to play in the next phase of world history—the unification of humanity. Hence, he sought to acquaint himself with every possible detail of France's past. In doing so, he produced a vast body of historical work. His massive *History of France* was published in 17 volumes between 1833 and 1869. His *History of the French Revolution—1847–1853*, seven volumes—and *History of the Nineteenth Century—1872–1874*, three volumes—were also written on a grand scale and in a florid, literary style.

Michelet eventually came to see the French Revolution as the moment when nations, and France in particular, attained the final stage of self-consciousness. His

glowing patriotism and intense sense of what it meant to be French, combined with a strong current of enlightenment universalism, meant that he came to view France as “the brilliant culmination of universal history.” As he recalled in retrospect, “I arrived both through logic and through history at the same conclusion: that my glorious motherland is henceforth the pilot of the vessel of humanity.” He believed that these views were justifiable because France had built its identity on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The popularity of Michelet’s work waned sharply after his death, but it was extremely well received during his lifetime and inspired in many significant public figures both patriotism and a belief in the unique mission of France to disseminate the values of the revolution abroad. *See also Mission Civilisatrice.*

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PAUL LAWRENCE

Mickiewicz, Adam Bernard (1798–1855)

Renowned Polish nationalist poet, born to a *szlachta* (noble) family in the Lithuanian province of the Russian Empire. During his studies at the University of Vilnius in the 1820s, Mickiewicz became involved in a secret circle that agitated for Polish-Lithuanian freedom from tsarist rule. In 1823, Mickiewicz was arrested for his political engagement and was banished to Central Russia. Tsarist supervision was loose, however, and in 1825 Mickiewicz visited the Crimea, which inspired a collection of sonnets, the so-called Crimean Sonnets. Three years later he published the narrative poem “Konrad Wallenrod,” which glorified the fights of the Lithuanians against the Teutonic Knights in the Middle Ages. The poem was an indirect attack on any foreign rule over Poland-Lithuania and therefore also of Russian rule. It escaped the Russian censors who allowed the publication. There was much pathos in Mickiewicz’s poems, especially in “Pan Tadeusz,” which described his homeland, Lithuania, on the eve of Napoleon’s intervention into Russia in 1812.

During the 1830s, Mickiewicz traveled to Germany, Italy, and France. In 1840, he was honored to be appointed to the newly founded chair of Slavonic languages and literature in the College de France in Paris. Mickiewicz’s thinking was deeply influenced by the mystical philosopher Andrzej Towianski. Religious mysticism and patriotic feeling characterized lyrics that had an influential impact on the Polish national movement in the nineteenth century. During the Crimean War of 1853, the poet went to Constantinople to form a Polish regiment fighting against the Russians. Two years later, Mickiewicz suddenly died of cholera.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Militarism

Militarism is an excessive influence of military over civil institutions in the political realm, customarily combined with the popularization of military virtues in

the social sphere. The term became a common pejorative in Europe during the late nineteenth century, usually in criticism of the increasing attention given to military demands and considerations among the priorities of national governments. In the last quarter of the century in particular, critics could point to the sheer ubiquity of the military in the maintenance, by large and small states alike, of heavier armaments and greater land and sea forces than ever before. The public acceptance of such forces as essential to national defense—partly in light of the scale of European conflict during the **Napoleonic Wars** at the beginning of the nineteenth century, partly due to a perceived need to protect overseas commerce and colonies at its end—afforded the military class enormous social prestige in the high summer of nationalist patriotism in the decades leading to World War I.

Viewed from this perspective, the father of nineteenth-century militarism was Bonaparte, both in his conception of war as a clash of whole peoples rather than professional armies and equally through Napoleonic France's intoxication with the martial spirit. Among the nations most traumatized by Napoleonic conquest, **Prussia** produced not only Clausewitz but also a *Junker* military class at the head of an army that under Otto von **Bismarck** united the German states by force. It is no exaggeration to say that, between the victory of 1871 that created a **German Empire** and the war of 1914, which destroyed it, the army was for many Germans the quintessence of national virtues. It was a society, the novelist Theodore Fontane noted, in which it was hardly possible to turn a corner without bumping into a uniform. Indeed, the militarization of society so ubiquitous in Germany was also evident in the other European powers. Monarchs and their families appeared in public, whenever possible in military dress and wherever possible to review columns of troops. An awed public meanwhile embraced military values of discipline, self-sacrifice, and physical courage—along with the acceptance of the inevitability of major armed conflict as a test of personal and national character. *See also* Jingoism; Navalism; Social Darwinism; War Studies.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Military Conversations (1906–1914)

Anglo-French military staff discussions of 1905 to 1914, subsequent to the Entente Cordiale of 1904. They were originally authorized by the faltering Tory government of A. J. **Balfour**, but received their most significant impetus from Edward **Grey**, foreign secretary in the new Liberal government of 1905. Grey, a Liberal Imperialist with a comparatively realist view of international relations, kept the conversations secret from his more radical cabinet colleagues. The conversations discussed the deployment of a relatively small—by continental standards—British expeditionary force of about half a dozen divisions to operate against potential German invaders in cooperation with the French Army.

Conversations continued over a number of years, but assumed renewed seriousness after the 1911 **Agadir** crisis. The conversations were conducted under the explicit conditions that no British commitment was implied; nevertheless they acclimatized the British command structure, including both the military and senior ministers, to thinking of themselves as French allies. The military conversations were a significant part of the increasing division of the major powers into two hostile blocs in the years before 1914. *See also* Entente Cordiale; July Crisis.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Mill, John Stuart (1806–1873)

The preeminent intellectual of Victorian Britain and the central philosopher of nineteenth-century **liberalism**. Brought up according to the educational theories of his father James Mill, a follower of Jeremy **Bentham**, and also a prominent philosopher, historian of British India, and political theorist, Mill famously mastered Greek at three and was functioning as his father's editorial assistant by early adolescence. Mill had a famous mental breakdown, recounted in his *Autobiography*, occasioned by Macaulay's *Essay on Government* of 1829, which led him to question the more dogmatic aspects of his father's worldview. Mill's friendships ran across political boundaries and included at one point Carlyle and many other key figures. His political journalism in the 1830s was radical in the sense of being rationalist and opposed to aristocratic privilege. In imperial affairs, he was a fierce opponent of slavery and supported Canadian self-government. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* of 1848 became the standard text of classical political economy, although, in contrast to the dogmatically anti-interventionist beliefs of most mid-Victorian liberals, it allowed a surprisingly wide scope for governmental intervention in the economy.

Mill's economic views moved leftwards throughout his career. The posthumously published "Chapters on Socialism" reflected an increasing self-identification as a socialist, although that term indicated more of a disposition to see society whole than a commitment to a specific program. One area in which he early supported government economic intervention was in the encouragement of state-assisted emigration to settler colonies. In 1851, he married Harriet Taylor, widow of a Unitarian businessman. Before their marriage, gossip of an illicit affair between Mill and Taylor led Mill increasingly to isolate himself from society. In 1859, he published what is possibly his most famous work, the small book *On Liberty*, advancing the radically libertarian principle that society may interfere with a person's liberty only to prevent harm to others, but then retreating from its more extreme implications by showing the scope of human connections. Mill's primary work of political philosophy was the *Representative Government* of 1861; it was an argument for active citizenship and made the case for a franchise that was at once wide and based on active involvement in the community. Mill was briefly member of Parliament for Westminster from 1866 to 1868, but practical politics did not suit him, and he was not reelected in part because of his high-minded refusal to campaign or to incur election expenses.

During his time in Parliament, he supported the passage of the second reform bill, although his attempt to extend the franchise to women was greeted with laughter; it was a position he later defended in *The Subjection of Women* of 1869. Mill led the **Jamaica** committee that protested the violent reaction of Governor Eyre to native disturbances; humanitarian causes were a consistent feature of his career and advocacy; however, Mill's relationship to imperialism was ambiguous. As chief examiner in the East India Company, in succession to his father, he defended the company's activities, and he resented its abolition following the **Indian** **mutiny**. He could be authoritarian in his attitudes, declaring in the *Liberty*, that peoples not capable of self-government needed, "an Akbar or a Charlemagne, if they are so fortunate as to find one." And yet, on specific issues, at least outside India, he almost invariably supported colonial self-government, emancipation, and opposed military intervention, the 1867 **Abyssinian** expedition being a rare exception to the latter. His primary importance, from the point of view of empire, must remain his anticoercive and rationalist liberalism. *See also* East India Companies.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Milner, Alfred, Viscount Milner (1854–1925)

Governor of the **Cape Colony** and high commissioner for other British South African colonies during the **Boer War** of 1899–1902, and subsequently secretary of war during the closing months of World War I. Milner was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he fell under the influence of the social reformer Arnold Toynbee. Milner began his political career as a liberal and always had an interest in social reform and a conviction of the power of intelligent leaders to act for good. He served as private secretary to the Liberal Unionist G. J. Goschen while the latter was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the government of Lord Salisbury. In 1889, he went to **Egypt** to work in a financial capacity under Lord Cromer; this marked the beginning of his career as an imperial proconsul.

Appointed high commissioner in South Africa in 1897, he negotiated with the Transvaal President Paul Kruger over the contentious issue of the rights of British subjects—most of them miners and entrepreneurs—in the Afrikaner republics. Milner's high-handed manner played a role in the failure of the Bloemfontein negotiations of 1899, and the subsequent Afrikaner ultimatum, which led to war. After the conquest of the Transvaal and the Orange River colony, Milner attempted to organize the political system of the united South Africa created by the war so as to give a predominant role to British and Anglophone settlers, under the guidance of his own Oxbridge-educated elite, sometimes referred in sarcastic allusion to Plato as "guardians." In this he failed, and by the time of his 1906 recall it was clear that South Africa's political future would be dominated by the Afrikaners. Opposition to Irish Home Rule led Milner into cooperation with the Tories, and it was with their support that he was brought into David Lloyd George's cabinet in 1916. He had much to do with appointment of Marshal Foch as allied generalissimo in the crisis

caused by the German offensive of the spring of 1918, and was subsequently appointed to the War Office. After the war, he served briefly as colonial secretary and died in 1925. Milner is remembered, not inaccurately, as the prototype of an overly imperious pro-consul. *See also* Chamberlain, Joseph.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Miranda, Francisco de (1750–1816)

A Venezuelan revolutionary known as “the Precursor” of Spanish-American independence who took part in three great political events: The American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the South American wars of emancipation from Spanish rule. Miranda was born in Caracas on March 28, 1750. His father, an immigrant from the Canary Islands, was a successful businessman. The colonial Miranda encountered prejudice from higher-status Iberian-born elites, who under the Spanish Bourbons enjoyed political and social privileges in Spain’s overseas empire. After attending university, Miranda sailed to Spain to purchase a commission in the Spanish Army, with whom he served in North Africa. In 1780, after a treaty with France brought Spain into the American Revolution, Miranda sailed to Cuba in a Spanish expedition that cooperated with the French in attacking English colonies in the West Indies. Accused of misuse of funds in 1783, he fled to the United States, where he met many of the leaders of the American Revolution, including George Washington.

Encouraged by the American Revolution, Miranda advocated Spanish-American independence. In 1785, he returned to Europe and under the relentless surveillance of Spanish agents traveled widely in an attempt to solicit funds. Many European leaders and aristocrats became Miranda’s patrons, including the Empress Catherine the Great, whom Miranda visited in Russia in February 1787. In France in 1792, Miranda joined the French Revolution and in September became a lieutenant general in the French Army, fighting with Charles-François Dumouriez’s forces, known as the Army of the North, which battled Prussians and Austrians near the Belgian border. Consequently, Miranda’s name was inscribed in the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. Maximilien Robespierre and the radical Jacobins distrusted Miranda, whose alignment with the revolution’s moderate republican Girondist faction led to his imprisonment during Robespierre’s Reign of Terror. Disillusioned with the French Revolution, Miranda left France in January 1798 for Britain, where for years he unsuccessfully urged Prime Ministers William Pitt and Henry Addington to fund an invasion for Spanish-American liberation.

Returning to the United States in 1805, Miranda privately raised a volunteer force of approximately 180 men to attack Venezuela. In February 1806, Miranda’s mercenary soldiers left New York on board the *Leander*. For more than a month Miranda and his men took shelter in Haiti, which in January 1804 had become the world’s first independent black republic. While there, Miranda chartered two additional U.S. schooners. Prepared for the arrival of the three vessels near Puerto Cabello in April 1806, Spanish colonial military leaders defeated Miranda and forced him

to flee to the island of Aruba. On his second attempt in August 1806, Miranda captured the town of Coro, but the townspeople failed to join his uprising against the Spanish crown. Defeated again, Miranda sailed to London.

In 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte installed his elder brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne after obtaining the abdication of Charles IV and his son Ferdinand VII. With French forces occupying Spain, a junta was created in Venezuela that claimed to rule on behalf of the deposed monarch, Ferdinand VII. Two years later, Miranda returned to Venezuela, which formally declared independence from Spain on July 5, 1811. Spanish loyalist forces under General Juan Domingo Monteverde, however, were too strong for Miranda and his supporters. In July 1812, Miranda signed an armistice with Monteverde and prepared to leave Venezuela. Seized by Spanish loyalists, Miranda was shipped back to Spain. He died in the prison of La Carraca in Cádiz on July 14, 1816. Venezuela won independence in federation with Colombia and Ecuador in 1821, breaking away to form a separate country in 1830. *See also* Bourbon Dynasty; Spanish Empire.

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DAVID M. CARLETTA

Missionaries

Missionaries played a major, albeit complicated and unofficial, role in the new **imperialism** of the nineteenth century. Until the 1820s, missionary activity was largely confined to existing colonial holdings in the New World, coastal regions of China, and portions of South East Asia. In Asia, obstacles to further expansion included prohibitions by the British and Dutch East India Companies on missionary activity in their holdings, lest it alienate potential trade partners and interfere with commerce. As for Africa, missionaries were discouraged from moving beyond existing mission fields in Portuguese Angola and Mozambique by a combination of physical danger from disease, African resistance, and opposition from practitioners of the transatlantic **slave trade** who worried about the effects that evangelical efforts would have on their operations.

The onset of the Industrial Revolution and the success of the abolitionist movement changed all that. Europe's Industrial Revolution not only estranged workers from religion, it also created a host of social problems including alcoholism, declining standards of living, and growing crime rates. Churches responded to these threats by developing temperance movements, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and urban missions to return the poor to God. As these European-based mission societies took shape, their members began talking about the need to expand their efforts and evangelize among so-called heathen populations elsewhere in the world. These calls gained additional impetus from the abolitionist movement, which highlighted the horrors of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. When the East India Company's charter was amended in 1813 to allow missionary

activity in **India**, the floodgates opened and missionaries rushed out to both Asia and Africa. By the early nineteenth century, Protestant missions from the United States and various European nations were active in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Catholics, on the other hand, were still reeling from the effects of the French Revolution and the dissolution of the Jesuit order and therefore preferred to concentrate the bulk of their efforts until the 1870s on winning people back to the faith in Europe. Thereafter interdenominational rivalries ensured that Catholic missionaries flocked to new mission fields around the world in an effort to make up for lost time.

Once in place, missionaries like David Livingstone helped promote interest in potential colonial areas through their work as explorers. Others helped pioneer ethnography and anthropology by studying and writing up their observations of indigenous cultures and societies. In the process, these early scholars made European business concerns aware of the commercial possibilities of colonial possessions. Missionaries soon joined business leaders in creating powerful colonial lobbying groups that pressured European parliaments to take on new colonies, arguing that only European rule could provide the necessary political stability that would enable both evangelical and commercial activities to flourish. For example, missionaries, merchants, and land speculators successfully joined forces and induced the British government to assume formal control over **New Zealand** in 1840. As French participation in the Second Opium War and their invasion of **Indochina** illustrates, the need to protect missionaries from indigenous peoples could also lead to additional colonial expansion. Once the late nineteenth century scrambles for territory began, missionaries not only cheered on Europe's acquisitions in the belief they would facilitate evangelical work by providing political stability, some also actively facilitated colonial expansion by serving as translators during negotiations with interior peoples. The most notorious and controversial example concerns efforts by Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company to secure mineral rights from Lobengula, king of the Ndebele in what is now Zimbabwe. Although Charles Helm, a member of the London Missionary Society, attested to having fully translated and explained the details of the negotiations leading up to the October 1888 Rudd Concession, Lobengula's subsequent repudiation of the agreement on the grounds that it was inaccurate gave rise to allegations that Helm deliberately mistranslated the document to facilitate a British takeover of Lobengula's lands.

Regardless of their location, missionaries played an active role in shaping and carrying out the New Imperialism's so-called "civilizing mission." Christian missions used the pulpit, schools, and hospitals to spread their religious message and teach the indigenous peoples about Western civilization and cultural norms. For example, missions argued against polygamy, polytheism, initiation rites, and secret societies, while simultaneously extolling the virtues of literacy, science, Christian morality, and Western notions of child rearing. Missionary societies also paid their own way by creating trading companies, workshops, and school gardens that were designed to generate working capital and teach Western notions of discipline and a European work ethic. Although Protestant missionaries were more likely than their Catholic counterparts to make regular use of local languages in churches and schools, all missions played a role in aiding the spread of European languages through colonized areas by offering at least some foreign language classes in their schools.

In addition to aiding the importation of European languages to colonized areas, missionaries also helped spread European gender norms as part of the civilizing mission. As products of their times, the governing boards of most missionary societies found it difficult to overcome Victorian notions about the frailty of women, their suitability for work outside the home, and the dangers of exposing them to unsupervised attention from natives and male missionaries alike. Nevertheless, most mission societies concluded that some female missionaries were a necessity if they were to successfully reach native women whose own societies and cultures often placed them out of reach of male missionaries. This was especially important given the prevailing wisdom that converting native women ensured future generations of converts as mothers passed on their beliefs to their children. As a result, missions recruited men and married couples most heavily, but they also turned to single women when necessary to reach as many potential converts as possible. Regardless of their marital status, female missionaries serving in colonies found themselves in an ambiguous position. Although they were often given more freedom to travel and work outside the home than if they had stayed in the metropole, female missionaries also faced strict limits on acceptable behavior, were expected to be obedient to heavily patriarchal mission hierarchies, and were usually confined to tasks like nursing, teaching school, and running Bible study classes.

Western women were not the only ones affected by mission work. Efforts to reach out to native women often upset the balance of indigenous societies in many different and often conflicting ways. Missionaries often held up polygamy, payment of bride price, and women's involvement in agricultural labor as examples of native backwardness. Consequently missions worked hard to abolish all three. Unfortunately, the campaign against polygamy often forced converts to abandon all but their first wives. Similarly, the combination of missionary emphasis on the notion that a woman's primary role was to be a wife and mother plus ongoing campaigns against the custom of men paying a bride price when marrying, a concept seen in the West as a form of slavery, and the fight to end the use of women as agricultural laborers undermined the value of women in many native societies, as their participation in remunerative work raising crops was no longer being acknowledged. Missions also found that their efforts to provide native women with an education, both academic and practical, often aroused protest from traditionalists in native society who openly complained that educated women upset the natural social order by becoming independent and less obedient to their husbands and fathers.

Missionary relations with European merchants, settlers, and government officials were ambivalent. In some areas, such as German **Cameroon**, Catholic missionaries were not only welcomed by merchants and government authorities, they were given active support in the form of land grants, transportation, cheap supplies, and advice. In French and Belgian colonies, however, Catholics fared less well. **Leopold II** banned them entirely from the Congo, a prohibition that lasted until 1908. The eruption of turn-of-the-century anticlerical sentiment in France led to a steady decline in relations between Catholic missionaries and colonial officials throughout the French Empire. Personality clashes and fierce interdenominational rivalries also played an intermittent role in souring official views of missionaries as the different societies engaged in a war of rhetoric, accusations and counter accusations against one another in the struggle to win the hearts and minds of indigenous peoples.

As if that were not enough, missionaries often created new problems that tarnished their reputations in the eyes of settlers, traders, and administrators alike. Not only were missionaries tainted by the whiff of having “gone native” as a product of their living in close proximity to colonized peoples, the expansion of their mission fields and their many reform campaigns sometimes provoked violent uprisings from native peoples that not only had to be put down with force but also adversely affected commerce. The **Indian Mutiny**, for example, was triggered in part by allegations that the British were actively seeking to convert Indian soldiers to Christianity. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries anxious to regain the trust of native peoples and expand the pace of their conversion efforts began championing native rights and argued against the sale of alcohol, the use of forced labor, and the expropriation of native lands. These activities often led to charges of unpatriotic behavior and earned the missionary community the enmity of the white colonial population.

Native reactions to missionaries were similarly ambivalent. Missionaries were successful in gaining real converts among colonized peoples, but many chose to take advantage of mission schools and hospitals simply in an effort to better their own circumstances and were quite astute at exploiting interdenominational rivalries to get what they wanted. In Cameroon, for example, pupils of mission schools frequently threatened to defect to rival denominations unless their demands for more academic subjects in mission school curricula were met. By the second generation of contact with missionaries, colonized peoples often chafed under restrictions placed on them by white missionaries. Disputes over leadership roles within local churches led some African congregations to split and develop into the so-called Ethiopian churches of West and South Africa. In other areas, indigenous peoples fused elements of Christianity with traditional culture and religious practices to create their own distinct religious movements. Examples include China’s **Taiping Rebellion** and the proliferation of African Independent Churches.

Although missionaries continued to play an active role in colonial life through the twentieth century, their activities were seriously curtailed by the onset of the two World Wars. The export of hostilities to colonies combined with chronic shortages of manpower, supplies, and funds forced missions throughout the European colonial empires to curtail their activities. The post-1945 rise of colonial nationalism and the granting of independence to former colonies in the 1960s further complicated missionary work, as former colonies sought to shake off symbols of colonial domination. *See also* Belgian Congo; British Empire; French Empire; German Empire; *Kulturkampf*; *Mission Civilisatrice*; Opium Wars.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Mission Civilisatrice

A slogan, expressed in the coin of doctrine, of French colonialism of the late nineteenth century, initially championed by Jules Ferry. Its central idea was that France had a unique mission to civilize the world, which could both elevate the nation's moral character after the humiliating defeat of the **Franco-Prussian War** and enlighten non-European peoples to the superiority of French culture. Coincidentally, the *mission civilisatrice* could assimilate colonial populations and ease colonial rule while enhancing French influence abroad at a time of increased imperial competition from other European powers—advantageous collateral benefits of a high-minded policy. Behind the slogan was the notion that the colonial policy of the Third Republic ought to be qualitatively different from that of the Second Empire by appealing to the ideals of 1789. Cultural enlightenment in the colonies was to have the effect of making overseas subjects citizens of a global civilization for which secular and democratic France was the model and capital. As a colonial policy the *mission civilisatrice* had two critical shortcomings. Its ideals too often stood in grotesque contrast to the brutal reality in many of France's colonies, while forcing colonial peoples to become French usually cultivated resentment rather than a sense of elevation. *See also* White Man's Burden.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Missouri Compromise (1820)

The legislative outcome of a bitter dispute between the House and the Senate of the United States Congress over the status of new states admitted to the Union. The quarrel was a collision of two realities of early American nationhood: slavery and rapid territorial expansion. The creation of new states from the enormous territory of the **Louisiana Purchase** upset a tentative balance that had been applied hitherto in which free states and slave states were admitted alternately to the Union. Under Spanish and then French rule slavery had been legal in even the northern regions of the Louisiana Territory.

Although the Compromise of 1820 admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state simultaneously, it also made slavery illegal in any territory north of 36°30' latitude. The constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise was struck down in 1857 by the U.S. Supreme Court over the status of a slave who had fled Missouri to live in a free state. The decision infuriated abolitionists and hastened the day when the United States would have to become, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "all one thing, or all the other." *See also* American Civil War; Manifest Destiny; Mexican-American War.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Mobilization Crisis

See July Crisis

Moldavia

See Danubian Principalities

Moltke, Helmuth von (1800–1891)

Helmuth von Moltke was a Prussian strategist and military modernizer. On graduation from the Military Academy of Denmark, Moltke entered the Danish service, but in 1822, he joined the Prussian army. He was seconded to Turkey as a military adviser between 1835 and 1839. In 1857 he became chief of the Prussian General Staff. Moltke advocated a system in which officers would be able to coordinate their units almost instinctively, without the need for specific orders. His idea was decentralization of command structure to achieve greater concentration of forces on the battlefield. This would allow movement in separated columns, leading to coordination for a decisive strike. By exploiting railway transportation and telegraph communication, Moltke hoped to bring greater numbers of troops to bear at crucial junctures.

Moltke attempted to implement such a system in the **Schleswig-Holstein War** of 1864, but his directives were ignored. The **Austro-Prussian War** in 1866, however, was different. Moltke was permitted both to plan and direct the action. The Prussian army entered Austria in three columns. They converged on the enemy at **Königgrätz** on July 3, thereby securing victory. When a war with France became imminent in 1870, no one argued with Moltke's plan for the campaign. Moltke correctly estimated that the French would concentrate their forces in two areas and that the Prussians should drive one great wedge between these concentrations, destroying first one and then the other before they could join together. The first French army was engaged in two great battles. The second French army was encircled at **Sedan** and had to surrender. Victory in the **Franco-Prussian War** was thus his greatest professional triumph. Taken together, Moltke's victories paved the way to the establishment of a unified **German Empire**. Wilhelm I made him a count, promoted him to field marshal, and made him the first chief of the German general staff. Moltke resigned in 1888, having grown deeply distressed over the influence of the belligerent clique that surrounded **Wilhelm II**. In 1890, Moltke warned that when a war broke out, its result would be incalculable.

As the architect of the modern German general staff, Moltke was a preeminent military innovator. For him, military strategy had to be understood as a system of options. He gave his subordinates liberty in making decisions, because he believed that no battle plan could survive contact with the enemy and that his military successes were due to the elasticity of his strategy. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; German Empire; Wilhelm I.

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MARTIN MOLL

Moltke, Helmuth Johannes Ludwig von (1848–1916)

Known as “The Younger,” Helmuth von Moltke was a Prussian general, chief of the German general staff from 1906 to 1914, and nephew of the victorious General Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke of the German Wars of Unification. Moltke participated in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 and enjoyed a military career that benefited from his uncle’s support, serving as his personal adjutant until 1891, as well as from the favor of Kaiser Wilhelm II. He became the monarch’s personal adjutant in 1891. By 1904, he had advanced to general quartermaster in the general staff, taking over as its chief from Alfred von Schlieffen in January 1906. He was the kaiser’s preferred candidate, although there was concern from within the military about his suitability for this important position.

From 1906, Moltke was responsible for German war planning and the preparation of the German army for the event of war. His time in office was characterized by his frequent demands for preventive war and by his fear of Russia, a country he felt would in the near future become invincible. Like his predecessor, he had to prepare Germany for a war on two fronts, and he adjusted the so-called **Schlieffen Plan** to changing circumstances. By 1914, Germany had but one plan for the eventuality of a European war. The German army was to concentrate its efforts in the West and violate the neutrality of Luxembourg and **Belgium**.

When war broke out in August 1914, Moltke soon lost confidence. The ill-fated Battle of the Marne destroyed his war plan and led to his dismissal in favor of Erich von **Falkenhayn**. Moltke never accepted his fate and attempted intrigues against his successor to regain his influential position. Instead, he was relegated to being the deputy chief of staff in Berlin, responsible for administrative matters only.

After his death in June 1916, Moltke became a perfect scapegoat, first for the lost Battle of the Marne and, after 1918, for the lost war. Countless critics blamed him for adulterating Schlieffen’s deployment plan and for not being skilled enough to lead Germany to victory. His belief in anthroposophy, shared by his wife Eliza, led to further bad press and called into question not just his wartime leadership but also his suitability for leading the general staff. This view was only partially revised from the 1930s onward, although in recent years his military skills have received more favorable estimations, but his role in the outbreak of the war now receives rather more criticism.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Monroe Doctrine (1823)

A sphere-of-influence statement enunciated by and named for James **Monroe**, the fifth President of the **United States**, in his annual message of 1823. The statement was occasioned by encroachments by Russia in the northwest of North America and alarm over a possible intervention by the Quadruple Alliance—Russia, Prussia, Austria, Britain—to assist Spain in regaining her former Latin American possessions. It stated that “the American continents, by the free and independent condition which

they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers,” and further cautioned that “we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.” Additionally, it pledged American non-interference in the “still unsettled” affairs of Europe.

In point of fact, the actual authorship of the pronouncement against European colonization and interference in the New World belongs to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. James Monroe’s warning did not worry the Old World unduly at the time. The continental powers had no concrete plans in November and December 1823 for reconquering the lost Spanish colonies, and British disapproval of use of force against the newly independent Latin American republics was actually more effective in cold-showering any serious thought of a European intervention.

The Monroe Doctrine was laid to rest for two decades until President James K. Polk reactivated it as a defensive measure in 1848 by proclaiming American opposition not only to colonization and reconquest by Europe, but also to any cession of territory in the Western Hemisphere to a European power. This new interpretation reflected both expansionist momentum and American uneasiness over the fate of the Western territories, which coincided with renewed European encroachments—real or imagined—in the Yucatán and the Caribbean. The doctrine had evolved into the geopolitical expression of two of the myths that most influenced U.S. foreign policy: exceptionalism and mission. It was shortly to become a national principle. Napoleon III’s Mexican ambitions and Maximilian’s short-lived reign from 1864 to 1867, like Spain’s reoccupation of Santo Domingo in 1861–1864, caused the United States to reassert the Monroe Doctrine vigorously during the Civil War years. The 1860s and 1870s saw its consolidation into diplomatic dogma first with William Seward’s repeated protests against France’s designs in Mexico and Spain’s scheming in the Caribbean, and next with Ulysses S. Grant’s and Hamilton Fish’s insistence on the no-transfer principle. In later years the ever-increasing interest in an isthmian canal would lead to the gradual substitution of the Monroe Doctrine for international law in the Western Hemisphere. By 1895, the doctrine had become the affirmation of American preeminence in the New World—the outcome of the **Venezuelan Crisis** being evidence that Great Britain, despite the irritation of the Foreign Office, tacitly approved of that supremacy.

Exceptionalism and messianism finally triumphed with the proclamation and application of the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine, which explicitly turned the Caribbean into the United States’ “backyard.” As a matter of fact, in his annual message of December 1904, Theodore Roosevelt enunciated not simply a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine but a wholly new diplomatic tenet: the United States was to act as policeman of the Western Hemisphere; it was to put to use the right of interference it continued to deny the European powers. Of course, U.S. interventionism had been at work in Latin America long before the 1904 pronouncement that was to legitimate it. But the great North American republic for the first time, as the 26th president was well aware, was now strong enough to monopolize interference in the New World; not only did it possess industrial and agricultural might, but it had acceded to world power status in 1898 at the close of the splendidly profitable **Spanish-American War**. This new condition called for a new diplomacy, especially in that part of the globe where the United States was predestined by geography to play a leading role. Monroe’s doctrine had the weakness

that nowhere was American preeminence clearly stated. A “corollary” was needed to remedy that omission and give the hitherto defensive dictum a markedly assertive coloration.

The catalysts for this were no other than Germany’s aggressiveness in the Venezuela affair of 1902–1903 and the projected isthmian canal, which by 1904 had become a reality thanks to the controversial acquisition of the Canal Zone, for Roosevelt had “taken” Panama the year before. It was out of the question to tolerate more European interventions in the Caribbean; the protection of the approaches of the future waterway, the defense, in other words, of the Panamanian lifeline, demanded that the latter be turned into an American lake. Despite its toning down in 1923 and 1928 and notwithstanding its official repudiation at the 1933 and 1936 pan-American conferences, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine remained in force unofficially and continued to guide hemispheric policy in both World Wars and during the Cold War. *See also* Manifest Destiny; Russian Empire; Spanish Empire.

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SERGE RICARD

Monroe, James (1758–1831)

The American statesman James Monroe was U.S. secretary of state (1811–1817), secretary of war (1814–1815), and fifth president of the United States (1817–1825). In his early years as a politician, Monroe joined the anti-Federalists in the Virginia Convention. He then moved on to become a United States senator in 1790. From 1794 to 1796, he served as minister to France. As envoy extraordinaire under the direction of President Thomas Jefferson, he helped to negotiate the Louisiana Purchase. Monroe was elected president of the United States in 1816 and was reelected in 1820. His presidency is labeled as “The Era of Good Feeling,” mostly because partisan politics were comparatively placid.

As president, Monroe initiated negotiations with Britain leading to the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817, which demilitarized the Great Lakes and laid the groundwork for peaceful relations between the United States and British North America. In the Anglo-American Treaty of 1818, he then furthered the cause of pacific relations with the British Empire in the West by establishing agreement on joint claims to the Oregon Territory. Lastly Monroe rounded out the project of formal territorial consolidation by settling with Spain the control of East Florida and delineating the border between Mexico and the Louisiana Purchase in a diplomatic situation highly advantageous to the United States, which produced the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.

Meanwhile, decree from Tsar Nicholas I in 1821 established territorial claims for Russian North America that overlapped with American and British claims along the Pacific Coast. Monroe successfully contested these claims and secured the Russo-American Convention of 1824 in which the Tsar agreed to pursue no Russian settlement south of 54°40' north latitude and recognized joint Anglo-American control of Oregon. To these continental territorial settlements Monroe added in the resettlement of freed slaves in West Africa in what became Liberia, governed by the American Colonization Society until 1847.

During his presidency Monroe therefore earned a reputation as a conservative man and as a president who preferred the path of compromise. But he was also an avid expansionist, and the message he delivered to Congress on December 2, 1823, which became well known as the **Monroe Doctrine**, was among the most ambitious assertions of territorial interest in modern history. In it Monroe proclaimed that Americans should be free from future European colonization or interference in American affairs; he also stated that the United States would remain neutral in Europe's wars. Any attempt by a European power to extend its territory into the Western Hemisphere would be seen as a threat to the United States. The doctrine guided policies of the United States for decades, remaining influential to this day. On retirement Monroe returned to his home in Virginia, where he died on July 4, 1831. *See also* British Empire; Madison, James; Manifest Destiny; Russian Empire; Spanish Empire.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Montenegro

The Latinized name for Crna Gora, a small mountainous region of the Balkans intermittently under Ottoman occupation. Because of its difficult terrain and the fighting quality of its people, Montenegro was able to establish *de facto* independence when all its neighbors were Ottoman subjects. This was officially recognized by the Porte in 1799, but clashes with the Turks continued. In 1852, an Ottoman army invaded Montenegro but withdrew in the face an Austrian threat of intervention. When Montenegro supported a Slav uprising in Herzegovina in 1860, the Turks moved against it yet again and were again forced to accept Montenegro's autonomy and boundaries.

In 1878, the Treaty of **Berlin** established its complete independence, although Austria-Hungary was given a naval protectorate on Montenegro's Adriatic coast. In 1912, Montenegro was the first state to declare hostilities against the Porte in the **Balkan Wars**, and it emerged from the Balkan conflicts almost double in size. In August 1914, it sided with Entente Powers but spent much of the war under Austro-Hungarian occupation. *See also* Ottoman Empire.

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York: Cosimo Classics, 2005; Stevenson, Francis Seymour. *A History of Montenegro*. New York: Arno, 1971.

CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Monterrey, Battle of (1846)

An early battle of the **Mexican-American War, 1846–1848**. As part of a three-pronged offensive to seize northern **Mexico**, Major General Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation advanced on Monterrey in summer 1846. Natural and constructed obstacles rendered this provincial capital virtually impregnable. Fortified heights and the winding Rio Santa Catarina protected the city to the south and west, while a network of redoubts guarded its eastern flank. To the north, a massive fortress, the citadel, commanded the approaches to the city. The Mexican commander, General Pedro de Ampudia, had 7,500 regular troops, plentiful artillery, and weeks to prepare for the expected American attack.

Without proper siege guns and considerably outnumbered, Taylor boldly divided his army of 6,000 effectives on September 20 and executed a double envelopment of the city. One division struck from the west, while the bulk of his force attacked from the east. Taylor's audacious strategy and his troops' perseverance despite heavy losses completely unnerved Ampudia, and the Mexican commander missed the opportunity to defeat in detail Taylor's divided army. Facing heavy canon and musket fire from the strongly entrenched defenders, the Americans in two days of hard fighting battered their way into the city proper. With streets barricaded, stone houses loop-holed, and rooftops garrisoned, further advance required clearing the defenders street by street and house by house. Nevertheless, the two wings of Taylor's army gradually closed on the city's central plaza.

On September 24, Ampudia asked for terms. Taylor granted an eight-week armistice and allowed Mexican forces to withdraw from the city unmolested. Infuriated, President James K. Polk immediately repudiated the truce and lost all confidence in Taylor. His situation, however, had been critical and a final assault would have decimated his exhausted and battered army. Capturing the fortress-city by any means was nonetheless an impressive feat, and Monterrey served as a major American base for the remainder of the war. *See also* Manifest Destiny; Texas.

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DAVID R. SNYDER

Moreno, Mariano (1778–1811)

One of the leading republican leaders in the early years of **Argentina's** struggle for independence. Moreno was an active figure in local politics in Buenos Aires during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Trained in theology and law, in 1810 he produced a key pamphlet, *Representación de los hacendados y labradores*, which

asserted the logic and the benefits of free trade and challenged colonial commercial restrictions. Its publication made him one of the leading liberal intellectuals in Buenos Aires. He helped introduce a broader range of anti-imperialist ideas by translating French revolutionary tracts into Spanish. When the city council declared independence in 1810, he served in the first revolutionary government formed in 1810. Moreno's belief in a centralized government and his preference for a single country rather than a collection of provinces in place of the defunct colony alienated many of his peers. Sent on a diplomatic mission to Europe, he died at sea. *See also* Spanish Empire.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

Moroccan Crisis (1905)

One of a string of international incidents that threatened to embroil Europe in war before 1914. In April 1904, France and Britain resolved some of their longstanding differences over Morocco and Egypt. When France attempted to enforce a reform program in Morocco in early 1905 and to extend its influence in the region, Germany decided to challenge France and provoked an international crisis. Arguably, Germany was less concerned for its economic interests in the region than for its international prestige. Resentful at not having been consulted by France and Britain over Morocco and worried about the recently concluded *Entente Cordiale*, Germany wanted to demonstrate that it was a power that could not simply be bypassed on important colonial matters. Friedrich von Holstein, a senior figure in the German Foreign Office, felt that Germany could not allow its "toes to be trodden on silently." The German Chancellor, Bernhard von Bülow, persuaded a reluctant Kaiser *Wilhelm II* to land in the port of Tangiers on March 31 to stake Germany's claim and to ensure the Sultan of Germany's support.

In addition Germany sought to undermine the Entente and to intimidate the French. During the ensuing diplomatic crisis, Germany insisted on the dismissal of the anti-German French Foreign Minister Théophile Delcassé and even threatened France with war. In 1904–1905, the Russians were losing their war against Japan, and in January 1905, revolution further weakened Russia, so that France could not rely on Russian support during the crisis. Germany's bullying had the opposite effect, however, and led to a strengthening of the Entente. At the international conference at *Algeciras* in 1906, convened at the insistence of the German government, Germany was diplomatically isolated and unable to achieve its aim of limiting the extension of French interests in Morocco.

During and after the crisis, Germany began to feel the full effects of its own expansionist foreign policy. British involvement in a future war was now more likely and as a result, Italy, allied to Germany and Austria since 1882, would be a less reliable ally, for it would be unable to defend its long coastlines from Britain and might therefore opt to stay neutral in a future war. France also looked on Germany as a likely future enemy. Far from splitting its potential enemies, Germany had only managed to strengthen their resolve to oppose Germany if necessary. *See also* German Empire; *Weltpolitik*.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Morocco

One of the Barbary States of Northwest Africa, effectively independent since the Middle Ages but poor and territorially ill defined. Morocco supported the *jihād* of **Adb el-Qadr** against French dominion in Algeria, for which it suffered brutal retaliation in 1845. Morocco's next clash with a European power came in 1859 in the form of invasion by Spain. Spain was not only geographically proximate to Morocco but also had been intermittently involved there going back to the fifteenth century. The invasion of 1859, however, was in response to Moroccan raids against outposts in northern Africa. A Spanish force captured the town of Tetuán in February 1860, and Morocco was forced to pay an indemnity and to cede more territory to Spain around the towns of Ceuta and Melilla.

A second war followed in 1892. From 1863 onward, Morocco was of increasing interest to France. In 1904, an Anglo-French agreement gave France a free hand in Morocco in exchange for French acceptance of British supremacy in Egypt. Later the same year a secret agreement between France and Spain divided the country into spheres of influence. Thereafter, Morocco became the object of the **Moroccan Crisis** of 1905 and the **Agadir Crisis** of 1911, which brought Britain and France closer together and prefigured World War I. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Algeciras Conference; French Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Morse, Samuel F. B. (1791–1872)

The inventor of the **telegraph**, Samuel Morse was born to a prominent New England family. In 1805, Morse entered Yale University and subsequently studied art in London. In 1815, he returned to Boston and opened an art studio. For the next 14 years he painted portraits but was never financially successful. In the 1830s, Morse began to consider how electricity could be used to send messages over a wire. In 1832, he invented a device that could send messages by opening and closing an electric circuit and another that could receive the messages and record them on paper as dots and dashes—the code that later bore his name. Morse continued to make improvements in his devices for the next few years, thanks to the financial support of Alfred Vail, a wealthy young man he had previously tutored in art. Morse filed a patent for an “electric telegraph” in 1837, but was unable to generate enough financial backing to market his communication system.

The **United States Congress** finally allocated some money in 1843 to build the first telegraph line between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland. On May 24,

1844, Morse transmitted the first telegraph message to Alfred Vail in Baltimore. Morse petitioned Congress for a grant of \$100,000 to design a telegraph system for the nation, but was turned down. Morse turned to Vail. With other business partners the two generated funding that enabled them to connect much of the nation by a telegraph line. In 1858, Morse founded the Magnetic Telegraph Company, after having finally achieved considerable financial success. By the time Morse died in 1872, a telegraph line connected the United States and Europe.

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GENE C. GERARD

Moscow

The capital and core of Russia. The name of Moscow first appears in Russian chronicles under the year 1147, now considered the birth date of the city, although the region was settled by various Slavic tribes probably in the tenth and eleventh centuries. During this early period in Russian history, from about 1054 to 1240, when the Kievan state became fragmented into individual principalities, Moscow seems to have been little more than a border town of the much larger principality of Vladimir. In 1547, Ivan IV, better known as The Terrible, was the first ruler to be crowned tsar and thereafter to use this title regularly and officially both in governing his land and in conducting foreign relations. In doing so, he made it clear that Moscow was no longer just one of many principalities; Russia had entered a new historical phase called Muscovite Russia. Ivan continued to expand the reach of Moscow, conquering Kazan and Astrakhan and building the famous St. Basil's cathedral in celebration of those victories.

From this point forward, Moscow would be the capital and center of the developing Russian Empire, remaining so until Peter the Great built his new capital at St. Petersburg in 1703. In 1812, after the bloody Battle of **Borodino**, Moscow was occupied briefly by Napoleon **Bonaparte's** troops. Although Napoleon ultimately retreated, the city suffered much destruction by both Russians and the retreating French troops. Fortunately, the spectacular churches of the Kremlin and its surrounding area, many dating back to the sixteenth century, survived. After the **Bolshevik** Revolution of 1917, Moscow became the capital once more and served as the seat of the government during the Soviet regime and the center of the country's transformation. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Moscow, Retreat from (1812)

Napoleon **Bonaparte's** retreat from the Russian capital after his disastrous invasion of that nation. After the significant military defeats at **Austerlitz** and **Friedland**

in 1805 and 1807 respectively Russia was forced to sign the Treaty of Tilsit and maintain peaceful relations with France from 1807 to 1812. During this period, Russia was part of Napoleon's **Continental System**, a reluctant collaboration of subjugated or conquered European nations who, through various trade embargos, were supposed to help Napoleon bring England to its knees. Russia's participation in this system, however, was only a product of Napoleon's military power, not common interests, for Russia had a long trading relationship with England. Moreover, Tsar **Alexander I** was suspicious of Napoleon's ambitions in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. When it became apparent that Alexander would no longer cooperate, Napoleon decided to invade Russia. He amassed an army of 600,000 men, 200,000 animals, and 20,000 vehicles and entered Russia in late June 1812. The Russians retreated eastward avoiding battle and drawing the French further into Russia and destroying everything as they went. Finally in September, the Russians took their stand at **Borodino**, under the leadership of Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov. Although the French won, they lost 40,000 men and failed to destroy the Russian army. Napoleon's forces then proceeded to Moscow, arriving on September 14, 1812.

Napoleon had expected to be greeted by a delegation of nobles; instead, he found the city abandoned and in flames. Napoleon took up headquarters in Moscow and waited for Alexander to admit defeat. When Alexander refused, Napoleon was faced with the grim prospect of staying in Moscow through the bitter Russian winter. He decided to retreat and on October 19, 1812, 95,000 troops left Moscow. Napoleon ordered them to destroy many of Moscow's great monuments, like St. Basil's Cathedral. During their retreat, French forces experienced cold, hunger, and attacks by Russian peasants and cossacks. Moreover, Russian troops prevented the French from taking a new road as they moved west, forcing them to leave by the same road they had entered, through land that was stripped and devastated. In the end, only about 30,000 of Napoleon's troops made it to the Russian border. Napoleon, traveling in disguise, reached Paris on December 18. The campaign had been a failure and was the beginning of the end of Napoleon's unbeatable war machine. Adolph Northern's painting, *Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow*, commemorates the Russian disaster. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Mudki, Battle of (1845)

The opening battle of the First Sikh War in the small village of Mudki in northwestern India. With war winds blowing, the Sikh army, the **Khalsa**, led by Lal Singh and Tej Singh, crossed the Sutlej River into British territory on December 11. The Sikhs did not go on the offensive immediately. Seven days after crossing the Sutlej,

on December 18, the Sikh army advanced against British forces at Mudki, where Lieutenant General Sir Hugh Gough, commander-in-chief in India, had about 10,000 troops assembled.

At about 4:00 P.M., the Sikhs opened fire and an artillery duel ensued. Then, after the Sikh cavalry was repulsed, the British infantry, 12 battalions in all, went on the attack and pushed back the Sikh army. The battle continued into the night and confusion reigned. Death by friendly fire was not uncommon. The British had 870 casualties, 215 killed and 655 wounded; the Sikhs lost an estimated 300 killed. Although not a decisive win, the British considered Mudki a victory. *See also* British Empire.

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DAVID TURPIE

Mukden, Battle of (1905)

The Battle of Mukden was the last major land battle of the **Russo-Japanese War** and the largest in history to that point. After the fall of Port Arthur, the Japanese began augmenting their forces in Manchuria for an assault on Russian positions in Mukden, which began on February 20, when the Japanese Fifth Army attacked the Russian left flank. On February 27, the Japanese launched a general attack on the right flank and despite heavy losses threatened to roll up the Russian flanks and encircle Mukden. General Kuropatkin ordered the evacuation of the city on March 10. The retreating Russian armies disintegrated, but the exhausted Japanese failed to destroy them. Mukden cost the Russians about 90,000 casualties out of 350,000 troops, and Japanese casualties were about 75,000 of 300,000. Russian defeats at Mukden and Tsushima prompted the tsar to accept an offer of mediation to end the war from President Theodore **Roosevelt** of the **United States**. *See also* Kittery Peace; Portsmouth, Treaty of; Tsushima, Battle of.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Münchengrätz Convention (1833)

A set of agreements reached by Count **Metternich** and Tsar **Nicholas I** in a meeting at the village Mnichovo Hradiště, then Münchengrätz, in the present-day Czech Republic. They agreed that the **Russian Empire** and **Habsburg Empire** would cooperate in sustaining the **Ottoman Empire** against collapse but to act in concert if such a collapse became imminent. They also agreed to guarantee their respective possessions in Poland and pledged mutual assistance in the

event of a Polish rebellion. At the time, Austria's problems in Central Europe required Russian cooperation, but Metternich wanted simultaneously to restrain Russian territorial opportunism over Ottoman decline. He therefore sought a Russian commitment to the maintenance of the diplomatic status quo generally and linked it to a shared fear of liberal revolt. A month later a third agreement was added when Prussia, too, declared a willingness to assist the Habsburg and Russian monarchies in defeating a liberal revolt. *See also* Congress System; Eastern Question; Holy Alliance.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan (1852–1912)

The emperor who presided over the transformation of Japan from a feudal realm into a modern nation and empire. Known posthumously as the Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito assumed the crown in 1867 and became the preeminent symbol of the dramatic changes and extraordinary accomplishments still associated with the era of “enlightened rule” of the **Meiji Restoration**: national unity, modernization, industrialization, military victory over China and Russia, and empire in Southern Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan.

Although an imposing figure of stocky build, bushy brow, and calculated reticence, the Meiji Emperor, unlike European monarchs in the Age of Absolutism or even the German kaiser on which the modern Japanese imperial institution was modeled, wielded primarily symbolic power. Emperors had theoretically reigned in Japan from 660 B.C., but from the twelfth through early nineteenth centuries, the most powerful warriors, *samurai*, in the land had actually ruled. Mutsuhito and his courtiers were living in obscurity in Kyoto, the traditional capital of the imperial family, when suddenly plucked to serve as the central symbol of a modern nation.

The “restoration” of authority to the emperor was a convenient pretext for the dramatic overthrow of the warrior family that had ruled Japan for more than 250 years, the **Tokugawa**. A boy of only 15 in 1867, Mutsuhito was useful not only in conferring political legitimacy on the young samurai usurpers of power but ultimately in fashioning an entirely new national polity. The founders of modern Japan painstakingly transformed the imperial institution into the central symbol of a modern nation and empire. All political, diplomatic, social, and economic reforms were promulgated in the emperor's name. The Meiji constitution of 1889 described the emperor as “sacred and inviolable” and placed all executive, legislative, and judicial powers in his hands.

Although the samurai founders of modern Japan actually ruled in their capacity as imperial “advisers,” Mutsuhito became the official face of Imperial Japan. First introduced to his subjects in a series of six Grand Circuits between 1872 and 1885, Mutsuhito's symbolic presence grew enormously during the **Sino-Japanese** and **Russo-Japanese** Wars. He was described as enduring the privations of a soldier at war and portrayed as the heroic and caring commander-in-chief in woodblock prints, war songs, and magic lantern shows. Mutsuhito's death in July 1912 spurred

deep and widespread mourning and ushered in a period of wrenching national uncertainty. *See also* Chrysanthemum Throne; Japanese Empire.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

N

Nanjing, Treaty of (1842)

The first of the so-called unequal treaties concluded between China and the Great Powers. Signed August 29, and followed by supplementary treaties in July and October 1843, it concluded the First **Opium War**. The treaties provided for Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai to be opened to conduct trade as “treaty ports.” They exempted British nationals from Chinese law and permitted the raising of foreign settlements in these ports, which were also subject to **extraterritoriality**.

The Nanjing Treaty abolished the system of *gonghang* in which 13 Chinese firms monopolized trade with Western countries and permitted British merchants free trade in China. The treaty included a most-favored-nation clause, which extended to the British any privileges negotiated from the Chinese by other countries. Further, the treaty violated China’s territorial integrity with the outright cession of Hong Kong to Britain. *See also* Boxer Insurrection; Extraterritoriality.

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ADRIAN-UJIN ANG

Nansen, Fridtjof (1861–1930)

A Norwegian scientist, diplomat, and explorer, Fridtjof Nansen crossed Greenland on skis in 1889; sailed across the Arctic Ocean in 1893–1896, and wrote many dissertations on these and other of his voyages. His energetic diplomatic effort secured support from the European Great Powers for Norwegian independence from Sweden in 1905, and he served as ambassador to London (1906–1908). He was also a deputy to the League of Nations, where he coordinated international aid efforts in the Ukraine during the Russian civil war (1919–1921), led the repatriation of Greek and Turkish deportees after World War I, and coordinated the aid

distribution to the Armenians in 1925. In 1922, he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Napoleon I

See Bonaparte, Napoleon

Napoleon III

See Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon

Napoleonic Code

Established by Napoleon **Bonaparte** in 1804, the Napoleonic Code became the foundation of the French legal system. The adoption of the French Civil Code (*Code civil des Français*), popularly called the *Code Napoléon*, realized a goal of the French Revolution. Formulated in 84 sessions of the Council of State, many of which were presided over by Napoleon himself, the code ended the chaotic and complicated legal system that had developed in France since Roman times and with it much of the freedom of judges to rule creatively in cases. The code was composed of 2,281 articles covering civil rights and duties, marriage, divorce, the mutual obligations of parents and children, and the division of property among children of a family. Later, other articles were added dealing with civil procedure, commerce, criminal justice, and penal standards. Judges became part of a tribunal system and applied the code in an administrative manner. The new system was hailed as a great achievement at the time, because it curtailed judicial power and elevated legislative power as representative of the people. The legal system was greatly simplified and made intelligible to the average person. The code's simplified and "rational" character was also favored by advocates of rule by reason.

Napoleon favored a uniform system of law for his empire, so the code was imposed on much of the territory he conquered, especially **Italy**, southern and central Germany, and the Duchy of Warsaw. It was also exported to French colonies, former French colonies, and to the former Spanish colonies in South America. Its administration made judges judicial bureaucrats and placed the weight of the law on the side of the State. Authoritarian governments found it useful for exercising a tighter control over the people than was the case in the Anglo-Saxon Common Law system. In North America, the code was adopted in Louisiana in 1821 and in Québec in 1866. *See also* French Empire.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815)

A period of more or less continuous conflict between France and shifting coalitions of the other Great Powers of Europe, finally ending with Napoleon's defeat at **Waterloo** and the inauguration of the Congress system of European diplomacy. The War of the First Coalition properly belongs to the French Revolutionary period, the ascent of Napoleon **Bonaparte** to the position of first consul in November 1799 marking the beginning of the Napoleonic era. There were six anti-French coalitions in all, a seventh only if the Anglo-Prussian combination that fought Napoleon at **Ligny**, **Quatre Bras**, and **Waterloo** between June 15 and 18, 1815, is included. The First Coalition (1792–1797) opposed Revolutionary France with Austria and Prussia, later joined by Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, the Papal States, and Piedmont-Sardinia. The Second Coalition (1798–1801) confronted Napoleonic France and Spain with Austria, Britain, Naples, Portugal, Russia, and Turkey. The Third Coalition (1805–1806) allied Britain with Austria and Russia, and the Fourth Coalition (1806–1807) added Prussia. The Fifth Coalition (1809) corresponded with Napoleon's creation of the **Continental System** and the prosecution of the **Peninsular War**. It combined Austria and Britain with Portugal. The Sixth Coalition, also known as the Grand Alliance, was orchestrated by Lord **Castlereagh** in 1812–1813 and brought Britain into alliance with Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Russia, and the smaller German states of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg. It ended with Napoleon's abdication in April 1814. The Congress of **Vienna**'s labors to establish a post-Napoleonic Europe were already underway when Napoleon escaped from exile to begin the campaign of the Hundred Days that Waterloo ended. After more than 20 years of rolling conflict, European diplomacy looked to recover its equilibrium, a task made newly complicated by revolutionary and Napoleonic upheaval.

This was particularly true in light of nature and consequences of the wars just concluded. The Napoleonic revolution in warfare began on August 23, 1793, with a decree of the revolutionary government that until such time as French territory had been cleared of foreign armies, all Frenchmen would be on permanent requisition for military service. With the reorganization of French army and the establishment of planned national war economy by Lazare Carnot, the French republic looked to defend itself by prosecuting war on an unprecedented scale. During the period of the Terror at home—roughly November 1793 to July 1794—this vastly larger army was additionally used to reflect the spirit of the regime by fighting with patriotic zeal and annihilating ferocity. France's new tool of war might nevertheless not have saved it from humiliating defeat at the hand of the professional armies of the European powers arrayed against the revolution, had it not come into the hands of an aggressive military innovator.

Napoleon Bonaparte was without peer or precedent in the use of combined arms—infantry, cavalry, and artillery deployed flexibly, both in combination and in sequence, as demanded by circumstance—to strike an opposing army with sudden and overwhelming force at its weakest point. He first demonstrated this at the head of the Army of Italy against a succession of Austrian and Piedmontese generals at Millesimo, Mondovi, and Lodi in 1796–1797. Napoleon demonstrated both strategic vision and a dangerous degree of recklessness with his early and ill-conceived expedition to Egypt in 1798. A British fleet commanded by Horatia **Nelson** destroyed the French fleet in **Aboukir Bay** and stranded Napoleon's army in Egypt. At that time, all of Napoleon's major victories were yet to come, but the episode at Aboukir Bay

testified to a British determination to check Napoleonic ambition with repeated and spectacular setbacks.

The storied triumph at **Marengo** in Italy during the war against the Second Coalition was in fact a near disaster, but Napoleon was saved by the action of General Louis Desaix. This was in part a product of Napoleon's leadership, insofar as he promoted soldiers on the basis of demonstrated merit, encouraged them to take initiative, and often entrusted his ablest generals with enormous responsibilities. With this ability to recognize talent and harness it, Napoleon combined a comprehensive reorganization of France's army, especially between 1801 and 1805, along the lines that became the norm for European armies for the next century and a half. The army was divided into army corps, each of which contained two or three divisions of infantry and cavalry of about 8,000 men supported by mobile field artillery. Each division had two brigades, each brigade two regiments, and each regiment two battalions.

When campaigning, Napoleon typically dispersed his corps for the purpose of masking his intentions. He would bring them together again to converge on any enemy army at a place and time of his choice. This required an intuitive understanding of maps, distance, and terrain in order to coordinate the movement of hundreds of thousands of troops from several directions to confront an enemy at the point of convergence with an assault of stunning intensity. The most basic ingredient of the enterprise, impatience, was supplied by Bonaparte himself. He infused his generals with the imperative for speed. His infantry undertook long and fast marches, often under appalling conditions, for the reward of crushing victory and plunder that Napoleon repeatedly delivered in engagements large and small. This formula smashed a combined Austrian and Russian army at **Austerlitz** in 1805 and demolished a Prussian-Saxon force at Jena-Auerstädt in 1806. After a rebuke by the one Russian army at **Eylau** in February 1807, the Grand Armée destroyed another at Friedland the following June. This compelled from Tsar Alexander I the Treaty of **Tilsit**. Victory over the Fourth Coalition found Napoleon at the apex of his success, a situation flawed only by the destruction of the combined French and Spanish fleets off **Trafalgar** by Nelson in October 21, 1805. This freed Britain and the implacably anti-Napoleonic government of William Pitt from the fear of invasion and enabled it to continue its support for continental coalitions against France.

The war of the Fifth Coalition in 1809, which included the **Peninsular War** in Spain, began the slow process of Napoleon's defeat. The Sixth Coalition, occasioned by his disastrous invasion of Russia in June 1812 and subsequent retreat of Moscow, completed it at the Battle of **Leipzig** in October 1813. Bugged down in Spain by British regulars and Spanish *guerrillas* even as he threw an army of 600,000 against Russia, Napoleon's forces were overextended, undersupplied, and more than ever frequently confronted by enemy armies that had mastered his art of war. At Leipzig, otherwise known as the Battle of the Nations, three allied armies totaling 335,000 men converged on 190,000 French. After Wellington's victory at **Vitoria** in Spain in June 1813, France itself was under invasion from the north and south. The Hundred Days that led to Waterloo represented the last hurrah of Napoleonic pluck and little more. After 1809, Bonaparte's destruction was ever more probable because Britain and Russia—one the world's greatest sea power, the other a great land power—could not be subdued. The other powers he had also repeatedly humiliated

ultimately added their weight to the overwhelming coalition against him. Finally, the most humiliated among them, Prussia, had been driven by Napoleonic arms to initiate the social and military reforms and, at the direction of Carl von Clausewitz, make its own contribution to the Age of Total War. *See also* French Empire; British Empire; Pax Britannica.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Narodna Odbrana

Narodna Odbrana, the People's Defense, was a Serbian nationalist organization founded in 1908 in reaction to the Austro-Hungarian annexation of the former Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Initially intended to defend ethnic Serbians newly subjected to Austro-Hungarian rule by training and equipping volunteers for armed struggle, it was ordered by the Serb government to reduce tensions with Vienna and to limit itself to cultural activities. It was thereupon immediately replaced by a more militant and secret organization, the **Black Hand**. Narodna Odbrana was indirectly implicated in the assassination of Austro-Hungarian heir Archduke Franz Ferdinand in June 1914, insofar as Black Hand agents operating in Sarajevo eluded detection by Austrian intelligence by using Narodna Odbrana as a cover for their activities. Narodna Odbrana therefore was cited explicitly in the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia of July 23, 1914 as an organization to be immediately dissolved. *See also* Habsburg Empire; July Crisis; Ottoman Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Navalism

A strategic vogue of the late nineteenth century based mostly on the writings of Alfred Thayer Mahan, which held that the possession of an oceanic navy to be an indispensable attribute of a **Great Power**. Mahan, a naval officer and lecturer at the U.S. Naval War College, published *The Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660–1783* in 1890 and followed it two years later with *The Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire*. In each he attempted to demonstrate that in the age of commercial capitalism, the sea power of England had provided that country both with security and a commanding control of global ocean lanes sufficient to make it the de facto dominant power of Europe. Owing to the time and place of the release of these books—the United States in the 1890s—Mahan's broader interpretation of the importance of sea power in shaping history, although compelling enough in its own right, was well received by a political leadership predisposed to embrace its implications. Both Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot

Lodge used Mahan to further the cause of a strong American navy at a time when the rapid commercial expansion of the United States might be threatened by European colonialism.

But Mahan's books were also instantly popular in Britain and were promptly translated into Japanese and several European languages. Mahan's following in the upper reaches of several governments was almost cultish, especially in Germany where Wilhelm II found in it an intellectual vindication of *Weltpolitik*; the Kaiser rhapsodized that a battleship represented "a consummate expression of human purpose and national character." When British naval muscle forced France to back down in the confrontation over *Fashoda* in 1898, Wilhelm mused that the poor French had forgotten to read their Mahan. In fact, they had not. From the 1880s, both France and Russia were devoting significant resources to the development of fast cruisers—both for commerce-raiding and hit-and-run tactics against stronger navies—as an alternative to constructing battle-fleets. It was initially the naval policies of France and Russia that in 1889 led to the adoption of the **two-power standard** and the passage of the British Naval Defence Act. In Germany, the **risk fleet theory** of Admiral von Tirpitz's then sought to challenge this standard for British naval supremacy with the construction of a fleet large enough only to challenge the Royal Navy specifically in the home waters of the North Sea. Calculations of this sort ultimately drove First Sea Lord Sir John Fisher to change the naval arms race qualitatively with the introduction of the *Dreadnought* in 1906.

The **Russo-Japanese War** meanwhile intensified Great Power interest in naval power as possibly the decisive factor in future major conflict. After the brilliant Japanese triumph in the straits of **Tsushima**, debate raged over specific lessons to be learned from the engagement—the role played by large-caliber long-range guns as opposed to short-range, small-caliber yet rapid-firing guns—but not over its general lesson. The Japanese naval triumph was apparently even more vital to the outcome of the war than Trafalgar had been to the **Napoleonic Wars** a century earlier. Whereas Napoleon **Bonaparte** had lasted for 10 more years after **Trafalgar**, Russia sought peace terms within three months of Tsushima. *See also* Fisher, Sir John; Strategy.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Navarino, Battle of (1827)

The last major naval action under sail, Navarino was fought on October 20, 1827, during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832) between an Egyptian-Turkish fleet at anchor in the Greek harbor of Navarino and a combined British, French, and Russian fleet. The governments of Britain, France, and Russia, in sympathy with the

Greek struggle against Ottoman oppression, demanded that Egypt and Turkey withdraw their troops from Greece. Both countries refused and brought reinforcements to Navarino, where a Turko-Egyptian squadron had anchored. A combined British, French, and Russian naval force entered the harbor and anchored amongst the opposing ships.

The ensuing battle was little more than a slugging match of artillery, with no maneuver. The Turko-Egyptian fleet, heavily outgunned, was annihilated, with three-quarters of its vessels sunk or set on fire by their own crews to prevent capture. The Allies lost about 700; their opponents' losses, although not known, are thought to have been very large. *See also* Ottoman Empire.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Navigation Acts

A series of mercantilist provisions designed to protect English shipping, as well as to secure huge profits at the cost of colonies. English customs practices aimed at the Dutch in 1651 had banned foreign vessels from shipping goods from non-European ports to English ports. They also forbade vessels from third-party countries to ship goods through European ports to England. The 1707 Navigation Acts imposed duties and restricted trade with all British colonies. A favorable balance of trade was maintained for the colonial power by exporting more finished goods to the colonies and importing raw materials. Heavy duties were imposed on export of molasses and sugar from the French West Indies to the 13 American colonies by the Molasses Act of 1733. These restrictions were a factor in both the Anglo-Dutch Wars and the American Revolution.

By the beginning of nineteenth century, mercantilism had fallen into disfavor, and the British government began to move toward a policy of *laissez faire*. The British merchant marine was supreme, and the Navigations Acts could be dispensed with. Moreover, British trade was hampered by retaliatory duties imposed by the Netherlands, Prussia, and Portugal. With the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814, Britain and the United States settled their commercial disputes and abolished mutual restrictions on trade. As president of the Board of Trade, William Huskisson promoted free trade principles in the Reciprocity of Duties Bill of June 1823. The bill did away with certain restrictions imposed on foreign ships bringing goods to British ports and made no distinctions between British vessels and those of foreign countries agreeing to trade reciprocity. Duties on imported items like raw foreign wool, imported raw, and manufactured silk were lowered.

The Navigation Acts were finally repealed in 1849, as Britain's domination of world shipping permitted the removal of a monopoly of trade with the colonies. In the self-governing colonies, tariffs could even be imposed on goods from Britain. The long-term effect was beneficial, as British shipping increased by 45 percent within two decades. With improved shipping technology and industrial supremacy, Britain witnessed no serious rival to British domination of world trade and shipping in the nineteenth century. *See also* British Empire; Mercantilism.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Nelson, Horatio (1758–1805)

A British admiral victorious in the greatest naval actions of the **Napoleonic Wars** and among the most celebrated military leaders of the period. Small in stature and less than physically robust as a boy, Nelson was nonetheless from an early age self-confident to the point of conceit. He demonstrated a recurrent capacity to make and take chances. At the age of 12, he asked to be taken to sea by his uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling, on a Royal Naval expedition to the Falkland Islands during a crisis with Spain. In 1777, Nelson was commissioned a lieutenant and two years later promoted to captain. He served in the American Revolution, but after 1787 had no command until 1793, when Britain went to war with Revolutionary France.

Under the command and tutelage of Admiral John Jervis, commander of the **Royal Navy Mediterranean fleet**, Nelson established a reputation for exceptional daring and imaginative tactics. These won him a promotion to rear admiral and a knighthood after his performance in the Battle of Cape St. Vincent in 1797. By that year he had also lost an eye and an arm in action. The next year Nelson was ordered to blockade the French fleet in the Mediterranean but failed to interdict the crossing of Napoleon **Bonaparte's** army to **Egypt**. This he quickly redeemed by pouncing on the French fleet at anchor in **Aboukir Bay** at the mouth of the Nile River, sinking or capturing 11 battleships and two frigates and stranding Napoleon's army in Egypt. Nelson's spectacular victory heartened potential British allies on the continent and was a factor in the formation of the Second Coalition against France. Nelson's warrior renown back in England now shielded his professional and personal life against charges of insubordination in action and ruinous scandal for his affair with Emma Hamilton, the wife of the British ambassador in Naples.

In 1800, Nelson was transferred to the Baltic and placed under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. In the Battle of Copenhagen, Nelson pressed the attack against the Danish fleet in direct violation of Parker's orders to disengage in the thick of the action. Emerging again with a lopsided victory, for his dashing disobedience he was made a viscount and commander of the Baltic fleet. After the brief peace of the Treaty of Amiens, Nelson was recalled to the Mediterranean and ordered to prevent the combined French and Spanish fleets from escorting an invasion force against England. In the effort he shadowed the French fleet under Admiral Pierre Villeneuve across the Atlantic to the West Indies and back before it was finally able to rendezvous with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Under pressure from Napoleon the combined fleets finally sailed and were brought to battle by Nelson off Cape **Trafalgar** on October 21, 1805. In all, 17 French and Spanish ships were sunk or captured, and the threat of a French invasion of England lifted. Trafalgar thus had strategic consequences for the remainder of the Napoleonic Wars, as a secure England could now support and subsidize allies on the continent. The cost of the triumph, however, was the death of Nelson himself. Felled by a sniper, he did not live to see the

end of the battle. His body was returned to London in a brandy cask and interred at St. Paul's cathedral. Beyond his enormous contribution to Britain's struggle against Napoleon, Nelson's tactical brilliance and will-to-combat set a standard for generations of Royal Navy captains and bequeathed a mythic status both to that navy and the British Empire for almost a century. *See also* British Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Nepal

A kingdom centered on the Katmandu Valley north of **India** in the Himilayas. Nepal was ruled by a number of caste and ethnic groups such as the Brahman, Chetri, Newar, Sherpa, and Tharu, and divided into as many as 50 principalities before it was united under Prithvinarayan Shah in 1743 who became Raja of Gurkha and established the Shah dynasty, 1743–1955. The Gurkhas expanded to Garhwal in the west and Sikkim in the east, bringing them into conflict with the East India Company. The southern boundary of Nepal with India, the Terai, the submontane belt, also led to a border dispute. In 1792, Nepal and the company signed a commercial treaty, but it was abrogated by a faction that came to power in 1794. Between 1795 and 1796, the British made economic and diplomatic overtures to Kathmandu but were ignored before they finally signed a 13-article treaty on October 26, 1801. Nepali hostility to the treaty, however, caused Lord Wellesley (1760–1842), governor-general from 1798–1805, to unilaterally terminate it.

Between 1813 and 1823, however, Francis Rawdon Hastings, first marquis of Hastings (1754–1826), served as governor-general of India and commander-in-chief of the Indian Army. He was determined to continue the expansion of the East India Company's territorial holdings in South Asia and initiated wars against the Pindaris, the Marathas, and Nepal. Hastings gave an ultimatum to Nepal in March 1814, ordering Kathmandu to recognize British authority over the border districts of Sheoraj and Butwal or face invasion. The British invaded but then withdrew in May as the malaria season approached. The Nepalese reoccupied the territory as the British prepared for full-scale war at the end of the rainy season. In September 16,000 troops marched into Nepal, but Nepali resistance delayed British victory until they had captured Kathmandu and forced the Treaty of Sugauli of 1815. It deprived Nepal of Garhwal, Sirmur, and Kumaon in the west, and Sikkim and Morung in the east and a slice of territory to the south, in all about one-third of its territory. It also forced a British resident on Kathmandu. From the war the British learned the difficulty of defeating the Gurkhas and accordingly accepted Nepal as a buffer state with China.

The **Indian Mutiny** of 1857 dramatically changed the relationship with Nepal as Jang Bahadur, the first of the hereditary Rana Dynasty of prime ministers (1846–1877), sent some 6,000 soldiers to aid the British. As a result, Britain restored the Terai lands to Nepal and established an entente with Nepal, allowing it to retain its internal autonomy and its isolationist policies, although it was treated as a

protectorate. In the treaty of December 21, 1923, the British recognized Nepal's independence.

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ROGER D. LONG

Nesselrode, Count Karl Robert (1780–1862)

A long-serving Russian diplomat and head of the Russian delegation at the Congress of Vienna, Count Nesselrode was thereafter a leading statesman of the **Holy Alliance**. Born in Lisbon, where his father served as Russian ambassador, Nesselrode had a background and education that was nonetheless German, qualities considered attractive in the Russian foreign service of the nineteenth century. Frustrated in his attempt at a navy career by chronic seasickness, he joined the army and then the diplomatic service under Tsar Alexander I and quickly proved a cool and reliable professional and assisted in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Tilsit.

After his role as an architect of the Holy Alliance, Nesselrode was a major influence in one capacity or another—between 1845 and 1856 he served as chancellor—for the next 40 years. Nesselrode was instinctively cautious and believed that Russian diplomacy ought to be also. He therefore opposed many of the ambitions of the Pan-Slavic movement in the Balkans, rejected imperial expansion in Asia, and favored conciliation rather confrontation with the **Ottoman Empire**, a policy that led to the Treaty of **Inkiar Skelessi** in 1833. Nesselrode also opposed the policy of **Nicholas I** in the Crimea but was unsuccessful in preventing the **Crimean War**. In 1856, it was on Nesselrode's counsel that **Alexander II** accepted the terms of peace. *See also* Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Netherlands, Kingdom of the

Established in 1814 through a union of Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, the Kingdom of Netherlands was the successor state of the United Netherlands or Dutch Republic (1581–1795). During the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic dominated world trade and built a large overseas empire. It came into conflict with an emerging rival, England, in the Anglo-Dutch Wars of 1652–1654 and 1665–1667, but thereafter was directly menaced by France under Louis XIV. In 1795, the republic was conquered by Revolutionary France and was annexed outright by Napoleonic France in 1810. The Congress of Vienna then reestablished Dutch independence in 1814 in the wake of Napoleon's overthrow. The kingdom nonetheless had ethnic and religious tensions that were aggravated by the economic division of the country between an agrarian Holland and industrial Belgium. **Belgium** seceded in 1830, and

its independence was recognized in 1839 both by the Netherlands and by the Great Powers in the Treaty of London. The Duchy of Luxemburg then became independent in 1890.

During the nineteenth century, therefore, Netherlands was a colonial power in decline. As a result of the **Napoleonic Wars**, it lost overseas territories to Britain and never wholly recovered them. Its commercial health was in large part dependent on the resources of the Dutch East Indies, the exploitation of which were partly the cause of revolts in **Java** starting in the 1820s and lasting until the 1890s.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

New Brunswick

A nineteenth-century British settlement colony south of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, north of the Bay of Fundy, and west of **Nova Scotia**. It was originally inhabited by native tribes and by French Acadian settlers. Many of the latter were expelled in the eighteenth century in response to their doubtful loyalty to the British Empire. As a consequence of the American War of Independence, an influx of loyalist Americans swelled the population, and led to the 1784 severance of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia. They gave the colony a pro-British and often Tory character. New Brunswick was particularly important as a source of masts for the **Royal Navy**. The exact line of demarcation of the boundary with the United States became a controversial issue in the 1830s, as rival parties of lumbermen clashed in contested territories, and troops were called out on both sides.

The boundary question was settled by the **Webster-Ashburton Treaty** of 1842, and New Brunswick ceased to be a cause of international concern. Like all British North American colonies, relations between the imperially appointed governor, his officials, and a popularly elected assembly were contentious in the early nineteenth century, with issues such as lands and revenues at the center of disputes. New Brunswick was among the last North American colonies in which the principle of **responsible government** became active, waiting until 1854. In 1867, New Brunswick entered the Dominion of **Canada** as one of the initial four provinces, along with Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario. *See also* British North America Act.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Newfoundland

An island off the east coast of **Canada**, first visited by Vikings, and in the modern era by John Cabot in 1497. Its fertile fishing grounds, especially on the grand banks, have long been known and exploited by fishermen from various Western European nations.

The island was annexed to Great Britain by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, but its exact dimensions remained unknown until its shores were mapped by James Cook in the 1760s. Newfoundland enjoyed prosperity during the Napoleonic Wars, in large part as a result of sales of fish to the army in the **Peninsula War**. Newfoundland was ruled by Admirals until 1825; an assembly was granted in 1832. **Responsible government** was effectively granted in 1855. Although entry into the Canadian confederation was discussed, a tentative agreement to that effect was repudiated by the island's electorate in 1868. Charles F. Bennett, a leading opponent of confederation, became prime minister of the colony in 1869. Confederation was rejected because it was felt that the interests, particularly in regard to the fishery, of Newfoundland conflicted with those of the mainland Maritime provinces. Newfoundland's politics in the late nineteenth century were dominated by fisheries disputes with France and the United States, and it was often felt that the imperial government represented the island's interests without enthusiasm. In World War I, however, Newfoundlanders fought with distinction, the Royal Newfoundland Regiment being almost wiped out on the Somme, and many fishermen serving in the **Royal Navy**.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

New Guinea

A large island off the northern coast of **Australia**, likened to hell by the French explorer Louis de Bougainville because of the cannibalism common among its native Negrito, Melanesian, and Papuan peoples. From the time it was first "claimed" by a European power—Spain in 1545—New Guinea was the object of negligent imperialism. No power sought New Guinea as a commercial prize in its own right, but British, Dutch, German, and even Australian commercial interests sought at least to exclude each other. In 1884, however, Germany annexed the northeast of the island and named it, appropriately, Kaiser Wilhelmsland. This prodded Britain to declare a protectorate in the southeast later the same year. The two powers agreed on a boundary dividing the island in half in 1885, but Germany surrendered its territory to Australia with the outbreak of World War I.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

New Zealand

A Pacific island **Dominion** of the British Commonwealth since 1907. The islands were first settled by the Maori, an Eastern Polynesian people thought to have arrived between 800 and 1300. New Zealand's first European visitor, Abel Janszoon Tasman, came in 1642 in the service of the Dutch **East India Company** and named the islands after Zeeland, his home in the southernmost province of the Netherlands. James Cook charted the islands in 1769–1770. American and British whalers frequented the islands in the 1790s; the first Protestant **missionaries** arrived in 1814. The first British settlers came to New Zealand during the 1820s, but a determined effort

in colonization began on the north island in the 1840s under the leadership of Edward Wakefield, a Quaker philanthropist and advocate of what he called “scientific” colonial settlement who also accompanied Lord Durham to Canada as an advisor in 1838. Wakefield believed that overseas colonies should yield a social benefit to Britain through the emigration of surplus population, not by forced removal or transportation but rather through the sale at attractive prices of “waste lands” in the colonies. In 1837, he established the New Zealand Association, a political lobby to persuade the British government to sell land in New Zealand to English settlers. In 1840, a delegation of Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi with the New Zealand Company in which they surrendered their sovereignty to the British crown while retaining their property rights.

In the 1840s and 1850s, New Zealand was on course for a federal system, the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852, establishing provincial legislatures for six settlement areas and a national legislature with overarching fiscal authority. Conflicting interpretations of property rights became the source of bitter conflict between the Maori and the increasing numbers of settlers pouring into the country in response to the offer of land, the final acquisition of which violated the terms negotiated at Waitangi. The **Maori Wars** of the 1840s and 1860s ultimately left the Maori devastated but were followed by rapid economic development from the 1870s onward, especially in the expansion of pastureland for the production of meat and dairy products. In 1875, however, New Zealand abolished the provincial legislatures and established a unitary political system. In the 1890s, it also rejected federation with **Australia**. *See also* Canada; Responsible Government.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Ney, Michel (1769–1815)

A famous Napoleonic marshal and Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s most loyal subordinate. Ney reached the rank of brigadier general in 1796 and commanded a division three years later. He distinguished himself in the Low Countries, on the Rhine, and in Switzerland during the Revolutionary Wars. Napoleon appointed him a marshal in 1804. During the campaign of 1805, Ney performed brilliantly at Elchingen against the Austrians, and later at Eylau and Friedland against the Russians in 1807. He was not very successful in the **Peninsular War**, where his relations with Marshal Masséna were poor.

He commanded III Corps during the invasion of Russia and distinguished himself during the retreat from Moscow. Leading the rearguard, Ney performed heroically and is believed to have been the last Frenchman to cross the border into Poland, having led the last remnants of the *Grande Armée* to safety. He fought in almost every battle thereafter in Germany and France, and joined Napoleon during the Hundred Days, but failed to achieve victory at **Waterloo** in his capacity as *de facto* battlefield commander, as the emperor remained well behind the front line. He was court-martialed and shot for treason by the restored Bourbons. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia (1796–1855)

Tsar of Russia from 1825 to 1855. Unlike his elder brothers, whose education was largely overseen by their liberal grandmother, Catherine the Great, Nicholas's education was guided by his mother and militaristic father, Paul I, who admired all things Prussian. It was the way in which his reign began, however, with the Decembrist uprising, that pushed him further along the path of conservatism. In December 1825, with the announcement of Alexander I's death, a group of intellectuals, long disgruntled by the slow progress of liberalism in Russia, staged an attempted coup. After a lengthy standoff, Nicholas used troops to disperse the would-be revolutionaries, and began a reign dominated by conservative and reactionary policies.

Nicholas inherited a country with many problems: industrial backwardness, an outdated socioeconomic order based on serfdom; an enormous, corrupt, and ineffective bureaucracy; and an impoverished nobility. Nicholas, however, believed in the soundness of the current social and political order and was unwilling to share his power. He chose instead to rule through an extreme form of absolute monarchy, combined with an emphasis on orthodoxy and nationality, set forth in 1833 in a doctrine called "Official Nationality." Domestically, Nicholas surrounded himself with military men and avoided the use of consultative bodies, preferring to govern through ad hoc committees and personal institutions. His conservatism made it difficult to implement any real reforms, particularly regarding the crucial issue of serfdom, which remained virtually untouched during his reign. Nicholas did succeed, however, in producing a new law code, the first since 1649, and also enacted some minimal reforms to improve the conditions of state peasants, but any hope of further reform ceased with the outbreak of revolutions across Europe in 1848.

Frightened by these revolutions, Nicholas became reactionary. He forbade Russians from traveling abroad; further restricted university admissions, autonomy, and academic freedom; and increased censorship. In foreign affairs, Nicholas also displayed conservatism, putting down an uprising in Poland in 1830, and imposing a policy of "Russification." His relationship with the Ottoman Empire was less consistent; he supported the Ottoman sultan in his struggles with internal challenges from the Egyptians but challenged the Turks on the question of which church, the Greek Orthodox or Roman Catholic, should have guardianship over the Holy Places in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. This conflict led to the Crimean War (1853–1856), during which Nicholas died in 1855. *See also* Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia (1868–1918)

The last tsar of Russia, Nicholas II and his family were murdered by the **Bolsheviks** after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Born on May 6, 1868, Nicholas was the eldest son of Alexander III. He officially became heir to the throne in March 1881 when his grandfather was assassinated by a revolutionary's bomb. As a boy and young man, Nicholas is often described as sensitive, emotional, soft-spoken, and meek. He grew up in a large family, with two sisters and two brothers. They spent most of their time in the suburbs of St. Petersburg at the royal residence called Gatchina, where Alexander III isolated himself and his family after his father's assassination. Alexander's strong mistrust of liberal reforms came to dominate his political and personal life, as well as the education of his children. In 1884, Nicholas met his future wife, Alexandra, the granddaughter of the English Queen Victoria, at the wedding of Alexandra's older sister, Ella, to Nicholas's uncle, Sergei—Nicholas was 16; Alexandra was 12. Five years later Alexandra appeared at the Russian court again, this time as a prospective bride for Nicholas, at his insistence. Although his parents disapproved, Nicholas and Alexandra became engaged in 1894. Only six months later, when Alexander III died in October, it became urgent for the new tsar to wed his fiancée. The ceremony took place on November 14, 1894.

It is generally accepted that Nicholas never wanted to be tsar. Although he met his duties throughout his reign, he always felt that it was taking time away from his family and from the time that he liked to spend outdoors. To make matters worse, his reign got off to a bad start. When he ascended the throne, the Russian people had great hopes that his reign would be different. These hopes led naive local councils to submit proposals and requests for all sorts of reforms that included a modest consultative role in the government. In January 1895, Nicholas and Alexandra presented themselves to the public for the first time and in the speech that followed, Nicholas called the suggestions of these councils "senseless dreams." Many viewed the meeting as a bad omen. Nicholas's inability to differentiate between the ideas of moderate reformers and the dangers of extremists pushed many liberals to the left. Nicholas's reputation was further damaged by another event the next year when, during the celebration following the Tsar's formal coronation on May 26, 1896, crowds at Khodynka Field stampeded, resulting in 1,300 deaths. Despite the tragic events of the day, that evening Nicholas and Alexandra attended a ball thrown by the French ambassador in their honor. Although they visited the injured in the days after the tragedy, the public remembered only one thing—that the royal couple had attended a ball on the night after so many lives had been lost. Henceforth, that tragic day became known as "Bloody Saturday" and the tsar became known as "Bloody Nicholas." Under Nicholas, the Russian government continued to severely curtail civil rights, censor the press, and tightly monitor education. In addition, religious persecution grew; Jews encountered restrictions and there were more pogroms. The policy of Russification continued, especially against the Finns who

were subjected to Russian laws and military service. In other realms, Nicholas was less resistant to change. He pursued an active policy of industrialization, led by his father's, and now his, minister of finance, Sergei Witte. In addition to railroad construction, Witte expanded iron, steel, textile, and oil production. In response to this industrial growth, Russia's two major cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg, grew as peasants moved to the city to find factory work, creating a large, but poor, working class.

These were not the only problems that Nicholas had to face in the early years of his reign. There were also international tensions, in particular between Russia and Japan. In the wake of the **Meiji Restoration**, Japan began to industrialize and to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy. Tensions had been growing between Russia and Japan for a decade, beginning with the construction of the **Trans-Siberian Railroad** and conflicting interests in **Manchuria**. On February 8, 1904, Japan executed a sneak attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur on the Liaotung Peninsula. The subsequent **Russo-Japanese War** was a humiliating defeat for Russia. After the annihilation of a Russian fleet in late May 1905, Russia agreed to an armistice and signed a peace treaty in August 1905 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The peace treaty came none too soon, for as fighting ceased, Russia was already in the grip of what came to be known as the Revolution of 1905. In January 1905, a strike broke out in St. Petersburg that culminated in a protest march to the Winter Palace. Nicholas tried to respond to the crisis—he established a commission of inquiry to look into the January disaster and met with a group of factory representatives to assure them of his concern—but his changes were minimal and failed to address the underlying problems. When strikes continued, Nicholas issued a manifesto in March, declaring his intention to create a consultative assembly; in addition, he proclaimed religious toleration and repealed some legislation against ethnic minorities. Even in this manifesto, however, Nicholas emphasized his authority and condemned all those who challenged that authority. In the summer of 1905, there were more strikes, peasant uprisings, and occasional rebellions in the armed forces, the most famous being the mutiny on the battleship *Potemkin* in the Black Sea.

Meanwhile, the promised assembly, or *duma*, was rigged in such a way that it would be ineffectual. In October 1905, the population erupted in protest once again, culminating in an enormous general strike that lasted from October 20 to 30. Nicholas was forced to grant concessions, outlined in the October Manifesto. This document guaranteed a variety of civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, religion, and association. In addition, it promised a Duma with true legislative functions. It resulted in little substantive change, but the October Manifesto nonetheless split the opposition, temporarily satisfying many liberals and moderates. The new political order, however, still faced many challenges. The tsar was reluctant to concede any legal authority to the Duma and repeatedly tried to limit its activities. On the other hand, Duma representatives and nonrepresentatives alike continued to call for reform.

The domestic situation was only aggravated by the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Russian forces performed well initially but quickly began to suffer major losses at the hands of the Germans. In 1915, Nicholas made a fateful decision to lead Russian forces at the front himself, leaving the country in the hands of his German-born wife and her spiritual advisor, the peasant monk, Grigorii Rasputin.

Nicholas was at the front when demonstrations erupted in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) in February 1917. Railroad strikes prevented him from making it back to the capital and, faced with the hopelessness of his situation, Nicholas abdicated the throne, both for himself and his son, the young heir to the throne, Alexei. Nicholas and his family were then moved to one of their palaces outside of Petrograd and kept under guard. In the spring of 1918, they were moved to Ekaterinburg, in the Ural Mountains, where they were all murdered under order of the Bolsheviks in July, bringing to an end the Romanov Dynasty that had ruled Russia since 1613. Their bodies were destroyed and then dumped and lay in an undisclosed location for decades. After the collapse of communism, their remains were located and given an official burial in St. Petersburg; Nicholas, his wife, and children were also canonized as saints in the Russian Orthodox Church. *See also* July Crisis; Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900)

A German philologist and philosopher of the nineteenth century, among the most misunderstood and disputed minds of his and our time. In the words of historian Golo Mann, “his work was a catastrophe which presaged and predicted Europe’s general catastrophe.” His major contributions, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, *Beyond Good and Evil*, *The Will to Power*, and *Ecce Homo* were little appreciated while he lived. This resulted in a professional and intellectual isolation that made some of Nietzsche’s later writing shrill and polemical in nature.

Some of his more controversial ideas—for example that of the *Übermensch* or superman, a free intellect unrestrained in thought and action by conventional morality and contemptuous of weakness, sentiment, and compassion—were influenced by his idolatry of Napoleon Bonaparte and were appropriated by the Nazis in the 1930s to lend an intellectual sheen to Adolf Hitler’s “will to power.” In the Second Reich of Otto von Bismarck and Wilhelm II, however, Nietzsche’s elegantly articulate cultural criticism was merciless in its condemnation of German nationalism, popular anti-Semitism, and what he called the “proletarianization of civilization.” He broke with Richard Wagner, a friend and influence, over Wagner’s anti-Semitism and the “horned Siegfried” heroes of his operas. In many ways a product of the Germany he professed to loathe, Nietzsche lacked any capacity for moderation even in his sanest moments. He was instinctively drawn to incendiary assertions. But in his vision of a future world of wars and revolution he was prophetic. *See also* Nihilism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Nigeria

A territory in West Africa that became a formal British colony in 1906. British colonization of Nigeria was a gradual process, which involved a combination of local British economic activity and metropolitan impulses stimulated by strategic concerns during the “Scramble for Africa.” British control in Nigeria was exercised through a system of **indirect rule**, usually associated with the first governor-general, Frederick **Lugard**. Nigeria is a large territory—distinguished by social, economic, and cultural differences between the coast and the interior—and it therefore proceeded to independence as a federation to accommodate these differences.

During the early nineteenth century British missionaries were active on the Yoruba coast, but the major British presence in the region that would later become Nigeria was the Royal Niger Company. The company expanded its operations through a combination of trade in palm oil, alliances with local chiefs, and military conquest. By the 1890s, the company had established a trade monopoly and tried to push down the price paid to Africans for their palm oil, which stimulated a native rebellion in 1894. Although the company was strong enough to suppress the rebellion it caught the attention of the British government. The government was concerned about the activities of the company because it was operating in an area in which British and French imperial ambitions clashed. To minimize the risk that the company might drag Britain into a war with France, the government extended its formal control by purchasing the company’s rights as the administering power. Company officials continued to act as the agents of the government, expanding British influence in the disputed areas, and in 1897 they were authorized to use force against French patrols. Meanwhile the British government negotiated with the French to demarcate their respective spheres of influence in the region, upon which they agreed in the Anglo-French Convention of June 14, 1898.

Frederick Lugard, who had served as the Royal Niger Company’s military leader, was instrumental in the development of British rule in Nigeria over the next 25 years. He first served as high commissioner of the Northern Nigerian Protectorate from 1900 to 1906, during which time he imposed British overlordship on the Muslim emirs of that region. After serving as governor of Hong Kong, Lugard returned to Nigeria as governor-general in 1912, and by the outbreak of World War I he had successfully united the administration of North and South Nigeria. Lugard has often been credited with establishing the principles of indirect rule, by which the British governed at minimal expense through the extant authority of African tribal leaders. In fact the British had used such techniques for a long time in **India**.

Lugard’s rule brought a number of positive developments in Nigeria, not the least of which was the gradual abolition of slavery. However, Lugard and several other British colonial administrators who served under him and went on to become governors in other African colonies tended to resist the development of an educated indigenous elite, which caused friction and resentment. In Nigeria and other West African colonies, the culture of the prosperous southern coastal regions was very different from the northern interior. Africans along the coast had been exposed

to contact with Europeans for a much longer period. They had become Christian, were relatively wealthy and literate, and had therefore developed expectations that they would play a greater role in British administration. In the longer term, the distinction between the partially westernized African elite in the south and the majority of the African tribal population in the north had significant implications for independence. The British fully recognized this fact and during the 1950s, Nigeria was ushered along a path to independence as a federal state, which it achieved in 1960 under the leadership of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire.

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CARL PETER WATTS

Nihilism

A philosophical doctrine most prodigiously articulated by German philosophers Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) first and foremost and then Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). Nihilists were also followers and sympathizers of the Nihilist movement, a cultural and political movement that emerged in 1860s Russia. Etymologically "nihilism" comes from the Latin *nihil*, meaning "nothing." The earliest documented mention is that of the French *nihiliste*, in a 1787 French dictionary that references the use of the term in 1761 in a context where it meant "heretic." The term was used by the German philosopher Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819) in his critique of Immanuel Kant's concept of speculative reason, instead of which Jacobi favored faith and revelation as instruments of understanding.

The fundamental position of nihilism is that the world and human existence in particular have no meaning, which renders superfluous the notions of purpose, truth, or value. This Nietzsche applied to Christianity, which, according to him, had removed meaning from earthly existence and transferred it to a hypothetical afterlife. He saw the materiality of lived experience as the only means of recuperating meaning and nihilism as the ethical reaction to the realization that "God is dead." Heidegger's claim was that lived experience, "being in the world" as such, is no longer possible because all that is left, all that humans have left to operate with, is the illusion of value and the sense of life has been reduced to its exchange and appreciation.

In literature nihilism was made popular by the Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev (1818–1883) who used the term in *Fathers and Sons*, published in 1882 to characterize the attitude of the contemporary intelligentsia in Russian society. These intellectuals protested the social stagnation base of tsarist Russia and demanded reforms. Their social activism peaked in the 1870s with the creation of several secret organizations like the Circle of Tchaikovsky, Land and Liberty, and the People's Revenge. From Land and Liberty emerged *Narodnaia Volia*, People's Will, the first organized

revolutionary party in Russia, from which the name of the movement, Narodnik, and the philosophy of Narodism were derived. Eventually they did embrace **terrorism** as a revolutionary resource. Early in 1881, a group of young nihilists organized a plot to assassinate Tsar **Alexander II** who had already known several attempts on his life. The plot was carried out on March 13, near the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, when he was attacked with hand grenades and killed by Ignacy Hryniewiecki (1856–1881), a Polish mathematics student from Lithuania. The Poles, living in various areas occupied by Russia since the fourth Partition of Poland in 1795, were at the being subjected to Russification. Hryniewiecki was wounded and died in the attack. Following this incident nihilism was classified as a destructive ideology and associated with terrorism in a manner similar to anarchism. *See also* Anarchism; Narodna Odbrana.

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GEORGIA TRES

Nile, Battle of the

See Aboukir Bay, Battle of

North German Confederation (1867–1871)

The North German Confederation (*Norddeutscher Bund*) was a transitional stage in the unification of the German states after the Prussian victory in the **Austro-Prussian War** of 1866. It involved the union of **Prussia** with 21 other German states north of the Main River. Otto von **Bismarck** drafted its constitution, which made **Wilhelm I**, King of Prussia, the Confederation's president and himself its chancellor. A *Bundesrat* or Federal Council of 43 seats—17 of which were Prussia's—shared legislative authority with an elected lower house, the Reichstag; but the chancellor was generally unaccountable to the legislature, retained control over the military budget, and provided the link between the crown and people. The *Zollverein* extended a degree of unity with the states of southern Germany until Prussia's victory over France in 1871 brought Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg into political union with the Confederation to form the **German Empire** under Wilhelm I. *See also* German Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Norway

A Danish domain dragged into the **Napoleonic Wars** in 1799. A seafaring nation highly dependent on grain import, Norway suffered badly under blockade from the **Royal Navy**, and only the recent introduction of the potato saved Norwegians from famine. The Treaty of Kiel transferred the rule of Norway to victorious Sweden. But

in the short interregnum in 1814, a Norwegian constitution and parliament were established. The parliament controlled the legislative powers and the judiciary, and the king the executive.

The ruling class of civil servants made up only a tiny fraction of the population, less than 3 percent in 1815. Males over 25 years old enjoyed suffrage, provided they had a certain income or sufficient landed property. Full universal suffrage for men and women was introduced in 1913. Although the majority of the population were yeomen, the first half of the nineteenth century saw a growing population in general and a rising number of *husmenn*, peasants renting land, paying either a fee or in labor, servants and laborers, numbering 173,000 in 1801 and 261,000 in 1850. Also, ever more marginal lands were cultivated. The situation for these groups was mixed, however, and many were able to combine farming with fishing and forestry, and agriculture saw a wave of modernization around the mid 1840s and 1850s, called *det store hamskiftet*, the great transformation or more literally “the great shedding.” Many emigrated to the **United States** from the 1860s, and only from Ireland did a larger proportion of the population emigrate to North America.

A radical social rising around 1850, the Thranites, was quashed, but at the same time the yeomen asserted themselves as a political force along side the civil servants. Their agenda was lower taxes and small government, as well as a greater degree of local self-rule. A major breakthrough in the latter came with an 1837 law, dividing Norway into municipalities. The ideals of the 1814 constitution, as well as the civil servant class were liberal. Servitude was banned and certain civil rights guaranteed.

From the 1840s, there was a significant improvement of internal communications. The first railroad opened in 1854, but only from the 1870s did railroad building really gather pace. By 1853, steamers covered almost the entire coast. From 1850 to 1880, Norway's merchant fleet grew from the eighth to the third largest in the world, stimulated by Great Britain's repeal of their **Navigation Acts** in 1849, a general liberalization of world trade and the availability of skilled sailors at low wages. From the 1880s, Norwegian high seas shipping also shifted to steam. The nineteenth-century Norwegian economy followed a boom and bust pattern, but long-term growth was ensured by the steady reduction of government regulations, stimulating growth of industry and crafts both in the cities and rural areas. Norway's old industries—shipbuilding, mining, and forestry—still thrived; but from the 1870s new, export-oriented industries of wood-processing, food canning, and electrolysis emerged, based on innovation and abundance of hydroelectric power. The most famous single industry, perhaps, was Norsk Hydro's production of artificial fertilizer. Many new industries were financed by overseas capital, and legislation was introduced to ensure national ownership of natural resources toward the end of the period. Domestic finance also saw the introduction of cooperative banking, especially in rural areas. Cooperative solutions were also chosen in many areas relating to agriculture, that is in dairy processing.

Norway, too, was swept by the nationalist sentiments throughout Europe after 1848. The medieval greatness of the Vikings and folklore came into fashion, but a more long-lasting effect manifested itself in a prolonged struggle for national independence. Until the 1840s, the civil servant class had kept Swedish overtures for more integration at bay. From then on, the king was put on the defensive. Following an impeachment of the government in 1884, parliamentarism asserted itself, and

the first political parties were established: Venstre, the Left, and Høyre, the Right, in 1884. The Norwegian Labor Party soon followed in 1887. The late nineteenth century also brought a surge of organizations in every aspect of public life besides pure politics, from religious societies, culture, in labor and trade, sports, and leisure activities.

In addition to the more fundamental cleavage produced by the desire of national independence, Norway also had a different alignment regarding foreign trade. Sweden was oriented toward continental Europe and chiefly Germany, but Norway's greatest trading partner was Great Britain, and, as a seafaring nation, good relations with the British as the rulers of the seas was paramount to Norwegian national interest. The dispute leading to the final abolition of the union with Sweden in 1905 came after Norway demanded separate foreign legations. On the basis of referenda Norway chose independence, but maintained the monarchy and handed the throne to the Danish Prince Carl, who became King Haakon VII. Following independence, Norway pursued expansion in form of explorations and land claims in polar areas and stayed neutral in World War I. *See also* Scandinavia.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Nova Scotia

A British colony on the northeast coast of North America, and from 1867 a province of the Dominion of **Canada**. In the eighteenth century, Nova Scotia included what later became **New Brunswick** and Prince Edward Island. It was the only British colony on the coast of North America to remain loyal during the War of American Independence and thereafter saw a large influx of loyalist refugees, almost tripling its population. The port of Halifax, first settled in 1749, became a major British naval base, and was particularly important during the Anglo-American War of 1812. Although Lord **Durham**'s report of 1839 concerned the Canadas, and not Nova Scotia, it was quickly picked up by Nova Scotian reformers, who successfully demanded responsible government for themselves.

In February 1848, Nova Scotia became the first British colony in which the principle was put into effect. Although Nova Scotia participated in the negotiations among the British North American colonies leading to the formation of the Dominion of Canada under the **British North America Act** of 1867, a majority of members hostile to confederation was elected in the first federal election. An effort to persuade the British Parliament to repeal Nova Scotia's entry into the confederation failed, and the province became reconciled to its membership in the Dominion. Its economy in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century centered on fish, lumber, coal, and shipping. *See also* Responsible Government.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Novipazar, Sanjak of

A corridor of territory wedged between **Montenegro** and **Serbia**. At the Congress of **Berlin** in 1878, **Austria-Hungary** was authorized to keep troops in the Ottoman district (*Sanjak*) of Novipazar on a permanent basis. The territory along the Lim River was judged to be of strategic value because it connected **Bosnia-Herzegovina**, occupied and administered by the **Habsburg Empire** since 1878, to Ottoman Macedonia. The Sanjak of Novipazar also formed a buffer between the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. It was reasoned that an Austro-Hungarian military presence there would safeguard the Habsburg's monarchy's economic and political interests on the Balkan Peninsula. In 1908, Austria-Hungary's foreign minister Aloys Lexa von Aehrenthal, decided to surrender the right to station troops in the Sanjak of Novipazar to mollify Ottoman and international reactions to the unilateral annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the defeat of the **Ottoman Empire** in the First Balkan War of 1912, the Sandjak of Novipazar was annexed by Serbia and Montenegro. *See also* Balkan Wars.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER



October Manifesto (1905)

The response of **Nicholas II** to Revolution of 1905 in Russia. By 1900, Russia faced serious problems: a changing social structure, a growing revolutionary movement, and political stagnation. Coupled with the disastrous **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905, these factors led to social unrest and revolution. Nicholas attempted to placate the public with this document that guaranteed civil liberties: freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and association and freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. It also created a Duma with the power to approve all proposed laws and promised further reform in the future. In principle, it created a constitutional monarchy; in reality, Nicholas had no intention of sharing power. Once order was restored it became clear that very little had been accomplished by the revolution. For the tsar, however, the manifesto split the opposition, satisfying liberals and moderates and temporarily stripping the revolutionary movement of much of its strength. *See also* Bolsheviks; Lenin, Vladimir Illyich.

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LEE A. FARROW

Oil

The vernacular for petroleum, a naturally occurring liquid composed of hydrocarbons, the industrial use of which increased dramatically during the nineteenth century. Much of the exploration and industrial development of uses for oil was done by American oil companies. Oil usage was low at the beginning of the period. Small quantities were gathered from natural oil seeps to be used as pitch to seal boats,

as axle grease or for medicinal purpose. In the 1840s, Canadian Abraham Gesner invented kerosene, and the first modern oil well was sunk in 1848 by the Russian engineer F. N. Semyonov near Baku on the Caspian Sea. It soon replaced whale oil as the fuel for lighting in homes and offices. By 1900, gasoline for internal combustion engines and heavy oil to power ships—especial naval vessels, since the age of sail depended on massive quantities of coal for fuel—had caused the demand for oil to increase dramatically. Together with the importance of oil to industrial development generally, the invention of the Parson's turbine engine increased the range of ships, for commerce and naval warfare, and made oil a strategic commodity.

The growing demand for oil was supplied by the cable-tool method of oil well drilling. In 1859, Captain Edwin L. Drake drilled the first oil well in western Pennsylvania. The rotary drill method was used in 1901 at Spindletop, Texas, to bring in the first gusher. Discoveries were made in California, Canada, the Dutch East Indies, Iran, Mexico, Peru, Romania, and Venezuela and elsewhere by increasingly powerful oil companies, the greatest of which was John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Trust. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company, founded in 1909, was the first company to exploit the oil potential of the Middle East. *See also* Globalization.

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ANDREW J. WASKEY

Omdurman, Battle of (1898)

A critical engagement resulting in the reestablishment of Anglo-Egyptian control over the Upper Nile Valley. Fought on September 2, 1898, during the British campaign against the Dervishes of the Sudan, Omdurman brought Lord **Kitchener** to prominence. Kitchener's army of 26,000 men, half British and half Egyptian, came under attack in its fortified encampment near Omdurman by 40,000 Dervishes commanded by the **Mahdi**, who, despite fanatical perseverance, failed to make headway against the concentrated **machine guns** and modern repeating rifles of their opponents. Having repulsed the tribesmen, Kitchener then marched toward Omdurman where the Dervishes, on rallying, attacked again, including a force concealed in a ravine, which although driven off by a lancer charge, inflicted heavy casualties on the horsemen. Modern technology proved too much even for the bravery of the Dervishes, who fled leaving 20,000 casualties on the field while inflicting only 500 on the Anglo-Egyptians. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire; Egypt; Fashoda Crisis.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Open Door

A **free trade** principle promoted by the **United States** following Japan's victory in the **Sino-Japanese War** and motivated by a concern to contain the establishment

of exclusive spheres of influence by the Great Powers in **China**. In September 1899, Secretary of State John Hay directed a series of circular diplomatic notes toward Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia. The first note called on the powers to regard China as an open international market yet to pledge noninterference with commerce within existing spheres of influence. It also sought the retention of tariff duties collected by the Chinese government on goods at all treaty ports and the application of the duty without discrimination as to the country of origin. Lastly, it called for all nations to be treated equally in terms of harbor fees and railway duties.

Most of the other powers announced their willingness to make a declaration of agreement—the British government noted its “pleasure,” the Russian its “happiness”—but compliance was another matter. Above all, the Open Door Notes testified to an increased American engagement in international affairs generally, along with a special interest, following the acquisition of the Philippines in the **Spanish-American War**, in the affairs of the Western Pacific. At the time the United States had no capacity to enforce Open Door principles, and the other powers, save Italy, had no intention of being bound by them. American interest in the region nonetheless asserted itself again five years later with Theodore Roosevelt’s mediation of a peace in the **Russo-Japanese War**. *See also* Boxer Insurrection.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Opium War (1839–1842)

A conflict that opened China physically to political, economic, and social influences from the outside world and heralded the period of unequal treaties in which the Great Powers carved out spheres of influence to exploit the country’s markets and resources. By the late eighteenth century, Britain had established trading ties with China in the belief that it was a natural market for British manufactured wares. While Britain imported tea, silk, spices, and porcelain, a largely self-sufficient China demonstrated little interest in purchasing Western goods, which resulted in a deteriorating trade deficit for the British. British merchants found a product for which a Chinese demand existed, opium, and started a highly profitable but illicit trade.

By the early 1800s, the large-scale trade in opium from British **India** had reversed the trade deficit and created widespread misery as millions of Chinese became addicted to the drug. In 1839, in an attempt to deal with social and economic dislocations caused by the opium trade, the emperor issued 39 articles that imposed severe penalties, including death, for smoking and smuggling opium. A special commissioner, Lin Zexu, was dispatched to Guangzhou (Canton) to ensure that the regulations were enforced. Lin arrested thousands of addicts and demanded that foreign merchants surrender their inventory of opium. The British chief superintendent of trade in Canton, Captain Charles Elliot, was forced to turn over 20,283 chests of opium to Lin, who proceeded to destroy them publicly. Elliot, however, refused to hand over British sailors accused of killing a Chinese national, insisting on the right

of extraterritoriality. The situation escalated when Lin ordered Canton completely closed to foreign trade. The British dispatched a naval force to China and hostilities commenced in November 1839. Chinese military forces were no match for the British and were forced to sue for peace. The Treaty of **Nanjing** of August 29, 1842, and the supplementary treaties of July and October 1843 concluded the First Opium War, and were the first of the so-called unequal treaties. Between them, the treaties provided that the ports of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai be open to British trade and residence, as well as the cession of Hong Kong in perpetuity to Britain. A Second Opium War, the **Arrow War**, erupted in 1856. *See also* Qing Dynasty.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Orange Free State

A Boer republic of South Africa established when Boer settlers migrated north from the Cape Colony during the Great Trek to escape British rule. Britain annexed the territory in 1848 but in 1854 returned it to the Boers in the Bloemfontein Convention, at which time it acquired its name. From the 1860s to the 1890s, the Orange Free State prospered because of the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Transvaal to the north. Railroads were built from the Cape Colony across its territory even as demand for its agricultural products increased.

The Free State established a customs union with the Cape Colony, but it was not from this economic connection that its political autonomy was imperiled. Rather, it formed an alliance with the Transvaal following the **Jameson Raid** in 1895 and was thus drawn directly into the Second **Boer War** in 1899. After the war, the Orange Free State was again joined to the British Empire as the Orange River Colony. The colony was given responsible government in 1907 and in 1910 became a province of the Union of South Africa as the Orange Free State.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Oregon Question

A territorial dispute involving the lands west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and between latitudes 42° and 54°40', encompassing approximately a half-million square miles. Until the early nineteenth century, the United States, Great Britain, Spain, and Russia each asserted colonial rights to the territory, based on either discovery, exploration, or settlement. Spain conceded its title to Oregon to the United States in 1819 with the **Adams-Onís Treaty**, and in treaties with the United States and Britain in 1824 and 1825 respectively Russia renounced its rights. Although the Oregon territory was on the periphery of the British and American empires, both

powers valued it for its economic and strategic potential. Britain sought to divide the territory on the basis of settlement, extending the U.S.-Canadian border along latitude 49° to the Columbia River, then following the river to the Pacific Ocean. The United States refused, biding its time until in a stronger position to assert its claims. Instead of a final settlement, for more than 20 years after the 1818 Convention, the United States and Britain established a joint occupation of Oregon that was open to equal settlement.

Awareness of Oregon intensified in the United States as a consequence of the 1842 Wilkes expedition, as thousands of migrants pioneered across the Oregon Trail. The popularity of Manifest Destiny, abundant fertile lands, a deep water port, and a burgeoning commercial interest in the Orient made Oregon high priority for many Americans. Publicly, President James K. Polk insisted that all of Oregon was U.S. territory, echoing jingoist demands of “54°40' or Fight!,” but privately he promoted compromise at 49°. The British desired to retain the disputed territory between 49° and the Columbia River, but were unwilling to go to war for it. British Foreign Secretary Lord Aberdeen, realizing that American migration would not abate and that American war cries were intensifying, that Britain was unable to defend Oregon, and that the fur trade was stagnant, conceded the disputed territory. The Buchanan-Pakenham Treaty of 1846—also known as the Oregon Treaty and the Treaty of Washington—established the American-Canadian border at 49°, extending through the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The final settlement resolved a longstanding Anglo-American colonial dispute, guaranteed the United States greater access to the Pacific Ocean and Oriental markets, and paved the way for American redevelopment of Oregon. The steady influx of Euro-American culture in subsequent decades undermined traditional indigenous tribal societies, resulting in their eventual displacement or annihilation. *See also* Canada; Jingoism; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Manifest Destiny.

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JONATHAN GANTT

Orientalism

A term fraught with political and cultural baggage referring vaguely to the East and long used to refer to collectively, if imprecisely, to the diverse societies east and south of Europe. The term *Orientalism* was originally used to name the expertise of specialists in Semitic and Indo-European languages and societies. Sir William “Oriental” Jones was the archetypal Orientalist; an official of the **East India Company**, he noted the similarities between Sanskrit and classical Greek, and hypothesized the now widely accepted common origins of the languages of India and those of Europe. In British India, the term *Orientalist* referred to those such as Jones who did not think that the cultures they studied should be ranked below that of the West. By contrast, anglicizers such as Thomas Babington Macaulay held that Oriental learning was obsolete and that Indians should be trained in the language and culture of the superior Western society.

Outside **India**, the term *Orientalist* was in general applied to students of Islamic and Asian languages and societies, and normally implied great and recondite

learning. In the arts, Orientalism referred to the use of the Orient as a setting or character, symbolizing a diverse range of attributes from splendor to squalor, majesty to decadence. This was true in 1819 for Goethe's *West-östlicher Diwan*, a collection poems inspired by the Persian poet Hafiz, as well as for Richard Strauss's *Salome*, an opera first performed in Dresden in 1905. In 1978, Edward Said published his study—some would say his polemic—*Orientalism*, which argued that Orientalists had constructed a hostile caricature of the Orient designed to justify imperial conquest. Though Said's work has been subjected to destructive criticism on many grounds, under his influence the term *Orientalism* has become almost impossible to use in its earlier sense; for many, especially in leftist and so-called postcolonial circles, it signifies the imposition of hostile categories on oppressed peoples rather than erudition. *See also* Kipling, Rudyard; Imperialism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Ossetia

A region in the Caucasus and lying between Russia to the north and Georgia to the south. Ossetia consists of two parts, North Ossetia and South Ossetia, both of which were absorbed into the **Russian Empire**. Under Catherine II (1762–1796), Russia first advanced into the Caucasus region and established a military presence at the town of Vladikavkaz in North Ossetia, and in the eighteenth century Russia absorbed North Ossetia. Between 1801 and 1806, Russia annexed South Ossetia with its main town of Tskhinvali as part of the process of acquiring all of the Kingdom of Georgia. The Ossetians speak an Iranian language, Ossetic, unrelated to either Russian or Georgian. Ossetians are mostly Orthodox Christian in the south and Sunni Muslim in the north. Because of its long association with Georgia, South Ossetia had a strong imprint of Georgian culture.

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JONATHAN GRANT

O'Sullivan, John Louis (1813–1895)

The probable coiner of the expression **Manifest Destiny**. A lawyer, journalist, editor, and diplomat and onetime U.S. minister to Portugal, O'Sullivan used this immortal phrase in 1845, first in his *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*—a leading Democratic and nationalist organ—about the annexation of Texas and next in the *New York Morning News* about the acquisition of Oregon. O'Sullivan, who was arrested twice on account of his **filibuster** activity, was among other things a cultural nationalist who endeavored to promote a genuinely American literature.

The discoverer and publisher of Nathaniel Hawthorne, a lifelong friend, and Walt Whitman, he also published such authors as William Cullen Bryant, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edgar Allan Poe, George Bancroft, and John Greenleaf Whittier. *See also* California; Jingoism; Mexican War; Oregon Question.

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SERGE RICARD

Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire originated as one of more than a dozen small Anatolian principalities that came into existence in the wake of the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. These Turkish principalities were Islamic warrior states whose ongoing military confrontations with Christian Byzantium were inspired by religious motives, as well as by a desire for material gain. The tradition of *ghaza*, warfare against non-Muslims for the purpose of extending the domains of Islam, was a driving force among the Muslim frontier warriors (*ghazis*), and the *ghazi* spirit played a decisive role in shaping the Ottoman Empire.

Much about the early history of the Ottoman state remains obscure, but its beginnings are usually traced to the achievements of a Turkish chieftain named Osman, the ruler of one of the smaller *ghazi* principalities. During the early 1300s, Osman's *ghazi* warriors achieved a series of military successes against the Byzantine forces. These victories enhanced Osman's reputation and attracted other chieftains and tribesmen to his realm. The growing military power at Osman's disposal enabled him and his son Orhon to expand their domains in northwestern Anatolia. In 1326, Orhon captured the city of Bursa from the Byzantines and made it the capital of his state. As Orhon's *ghazi* principality made the transition from a frontier society to an established state, his subjects came to be known by his family name, Osmanlis, or Ottomans. The sense of belonging to a single dynastic house created sentiments of solidarity and loyalty that gradually transcended tribal affiliations.

Ottoman Expansion

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans had expanded to the shores of the Sea of Marmara, which forms part of the water connection between the Black Sea to the north and the Aegean Sea to the south. Over the course of the next two centuries, all of southeastern Europe came under direct Ottoman control. The Ottomans not only added new European territories to the domains of Islam, but they also extended their rule to the Arab lands where Islam had originated. The transformation of the Ottoman state into a world power began with the conquest of the city of Constantinople. On May 29, 1453, following a long siege, the forces of Sultan Mehmet II, the Conqueror, entered the Byzantine capital and brought an end to Constantinople's role as the symbolic center of eastern Christendom. Henceforth known as Istanbul, the city became the seat of the Ottoman government and was restored to its former splendor by Mehmet II's program of reconstruction and repopulation.

The occupation of Istanbul provided the Ottomans with an unparalleled strategic base from which to dominate the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean. Mehmet the Conqueror constructed shipyards in Istanbul; gathered skilled carpenters, merchants, and sailors from the coastal regions under his rule; and forged an Ottoman navy that eventually drove Venice from the Eastern Mediterranean and established the Ottomans as the supreme maritime power from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. The creation of a fleet also enabled the Ottomans to conquer and occupy such strategic Mediterranean islands as Rhodes (1522), Cyprus (1570), and Crete (1664).

The creation of a successful navy was accompanied by improvements in the Ottoman land army that made it the most formidable military force of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the heart of the Ottoman military superiority was the development and extensive use of gunpowder weapons. The Ottomans adapted artillery technology to serve their special needs, most notably by developing light field guns that could be transported on wagons to distant battlefields. These guns were used against the feudal armies of Europe, whose infantrymen still fought mainly with pikes. These technological advantages enabled the Ottoman armed forces to defeat the armies of both Europe and the Middle East.

The Ottomans sent their army regularly to the east to repel the advances of the Safavid Empire of Iran. When Sultan Selim I led the Ottoman army on an eastern campaign in 1516, his objective appeared to be the occupation of the Safavid imperial capital at Tabriz. However, he decided instead to neutralize the threat posed by the Mamluk Empire, which was centered in Egypt but which also controlled Syria and certain territories in southern Anatolia. The Ottoman army drove the Mamluks out of Syria, and, in early 1517, Selim marched his forces across the Sinai Peninsula and captured Cairo. This victory resulted in the Ottoman acquisition of most of the classical heartlands of Arab Islam and brought about the integration of the Arab and Ottoman Islamic traditions.

The Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands established the sultans as the supreme rulers within the universal Islamic community. They were recognized as the protectors of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and therefore assumed the important duty of ensuring the security of the annual pilgrimage. To fulfill this responsibility, and also to contain the expansive Portuguese seaborne commercial empire, Selim ordered the creation of a Red Sea fleet. Although the Ottomans proved unable to compete with the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, their domination of Egypt allowed them to establish hegemony in the Red Sea and to incorporate Yemen, on the Arabian Peninsula, into their empire. In addition, Selim's occupation of Egypt enhanced the Islamic standing of the Ottoman sultans by enabling them to gain access to the title of **caliph**. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, the reigning caliph was taken to Istanbul and allegedly transferred the title to Selim and his successors in the Ottoman dynasty.

Although Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), the most powerful of the Ottoman rulers, achieved important military victories at sea and on the eastern front, he was primarily a *ghazi*-inspired sultan who concentrated on pushing the Ottoman frontier deeper into Europe. In 1520, Suleyman led the Ottoman forces in the capture of Belgrade, which became the primary staging ground for subsequent Ottoman campaigns. During the rest of the 1520s, Budapest and most of Hungary were brought under Ottoman control. Then, in 1529, Suleyman laid siege to Vienna,

the Habsburg imperial capital and the gateway to central Europe. Although the outskirts of Vienna were destroyed and the city walls were breached in several places, the defenders held out until the threat of winter forced the Ottomans to begin their long withdrawal to Istanbul.

In the years to come, Suleyman's European campaigns consolidated Ottoman rule in Hungary and Serbia, but the sultan was unable to mount another siege of Vienna. Central Europe was beyond the limits of Ottoman territorial expansion; the area that did lie within those limits was so extensive—stretching from the Danube to Yemen, from Albania to the northern shores of the Black Sea, and from Algeria to Baghdad—that the Ottoman Empire was, at Suleyman's death in 1566, the major European, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern power. It was not only the leading Islamic state of the sixteenth century, it was a world empire of vast influence and territorial expanse.

Ottoman Rule

At the pinnacle of the Ottoman hierarchy was the sultan-caliph, an absolute monarch whose right to rule was derived from his membership in the house of Osman. As the Ottoman state changed from a *ghazi* principality to a world empire, the sultans instituted an imperial council, or *divan*, to deal with the increasingly complex affairs of government. The *divan* was presided over by the grand vizier, the most powerful official in the government hierarchy whose court was referred to as the *Bab-i Ali*, or Sublime Porte, most usually in the context of Ottoman diplomacy. He was the absolute deputy of the sultan and acquired the right to exercise executive authority in the sultan's name. During the reigns of weak sultans, the *grand viziers* sometimes assumed extensive powers and made decisions without consulting the monarch.

The three major groupings within the Ottoman ruling elite were the military, the civil service, and the religious establishment. The two main branches of the Ottoman armed forces came from quite different sources. The provincial cavalrymen, or *sipahis*, were freeborn Muslims who fulfilled an administrative as well as a military function. In an attempt to maintain a large army without making huge cash payments, the sultans awarded *sipahis* the rights to the income from agricultural land, known as *timars*. Each *sipahi* was assigned a specific *timar* from which he was allowed to collect the taxes that served as his salary. In return, the *sipahi* was expected to maintain order in his *timar*, to report for military service when called on by the sultan, and, depending on the size of his income, to bring with him a certain number of armed and mounted retainers.

Although *sipahis* and their retainers made up the bulk of the Ottoman armies, the most efficient imperial military unit was the professional standing infantry corps known as the Janissaries. In the fourteenth century, the Ottomans institutionalized a method for procuring slaves from among their European Christian subjects. Known as the *devshirme*, a collecting system, it consisted of a levy every few years on adolescent male Christian children from the European provinces of the empire. The children were removed from their families and taken to Istanbul, where they were converted to Islam, tested and screened, and then trained for service in the empire. Most of them were eventually enrolled in the ranks of the Janissary corps, which, at its peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was the outstanding military unit in Europe.

As a centralized imperial state, the Ottoman Empire was characterized by an immense and elaborate bureaucracy. The Ottomans drew on the administrative traditions of the Byzantines, the Iranians, and the Arabs to create a highly differentiated civil service. Most of the middle-level Ottoman civil servants were freeborn Muslims who received on-the-job training as apprentices in one of the several ministries. Along with the bureaucratic and military elite, the *ulama* formed the third pillar of the Ottoman ruling class. The Ottomans endeavored to establish *shari'ah* norms of justice by organizing the *qadis*, judges, into an official hierarchy and arranging for their appointments in the various administrative subdivisions of the empire. Over the course of time, an official known as the *shaykh al-Islam* emerged as the chief religious dignitary of the empire. He oversaw the appointment of *qadis* and *madrasah* teachers in the far-flung Ottoman territories and acquired status as the official whose legal opinion the sultans sought when they contemplated the introduction of certain administrative and fiscal measures.

The European Challenge

The once prevalent idea that the Ottoman Empire entered into a period of decline after the reign of Suleyman is no longer accepted. It is perhaps preferable to view the Ottoman experience from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries as a period of transformation during which the Ottomans struggled to find a new imperial synthesis in a changing international environment. External factors, most prominent among them the penetration of European merchant capital into the empire, caused a wrenching dislocation of the Ottoman economy. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, Ottoman raw materials, normally channeled into internal consumption and industry, were increasingly exchanged for European manufactured products. This trade benefited Ottoman merchants but led to a decline in state revenues and a shortage of raw materials for domestic consumption. As the costs of scarce materials rose, the empire suffered from inflation, and the state was unable to procure sufficient revenues to meet its expenses. Without these revenues, the institutions that supported the Ottoman system, especially the armed forces, were undermined.

The penetration of European manufactured goods into the empire and the eventual domination of Ottoman commerce by Europeans, and their protégés were facilitated by a series of commercial treaties, known as the Capitulations, which the Ottoman sultans signed with the Christian states of Europe. The first Capitulation agreement was negotiated with France in 1536. It allowed French merchants to trade freely in Ottoman ports, to be exempt from Ottoman taxes, and to import and export goods at low tariff rates. In addition, the treaty granted extraterritorial privileges to French merchants by permitting them to come under the legal jurisdiction of the French consul in Istanbul, thus making them subject to French law. The first treaty was the model for subsequent agreements signed with other European states.

The Capitulations were negotiated at a time of Ottoman military domination and were intended to encourage commercial exchange. When the military balance between Europe and the Ottomans tilted in favor of Europe, however, European merchants, backed by the power of their states, were able to exploit the Capitulations to the disadvantage of the Ottomans. The treaties not only had a devastating effect on the Ottoman economy, but they also had long-term political implications.

By granting the various consuls jurisdiction over their nationals within the Ottoman Empire, the Capitulations accorded the consuls extraordinary powers that they abused with increasing frequency in the course of the nineteenth century.

External economic factors combined with a range of domestic problems, such as incompetent sultans, succession struggles, and political discord within the court, weakened the effectiveness of the central government. The shortage of revenue and the rise of inflation had a devastating effect on the large numbers of state employees on fixed salaries and created an atmosphere that fostered bribery and other forms of corruption. And finally, the government's inability to make regular payments to the Janissaries or to fund the acquisition of new military equipment meant that the Ottoman armed forces lost the absolute dominance that they had earlier possessed.

This loss of dominance was manifested on the battlefield. In 1683, the Ottomans mounted a second siege of Vienna, but they were defeated outside the city walls. In the 1690s, the Ottomans engaged in simultaneous wars with **Austria** and **Russia** and were defeated on both fronts. The Treaty of Karlowitz, signed with Austria in 1699, ceded most of Hungary to the Hapsburgs and marked the first major surrender of European territory by the Ottomans. The next year, the sultan signed a treaty with Peter the Great acknowledging the Russian conquest of the northern shores of the Black Sea. From this point on, the Ottomans were on the defensive.

During the eighteenth century, the Ottoman forces defeated the Austrian army in two wars as well as the Russian army in two wars. These victories may have led the Ottoman ruling elite to conclude that the armed forces of the state were as relatively powerful as ever. That this was not true was demonstrated in the Ottoman-Russian war launched by the Ottomans in 1768. In the course of this war, the Russian Baltic fleet entered the Mediterranean and destroyed an Ottoman fleet off the coast of Anatolia. The land war was equally devastating for the Ottomans, as the Russian forces drove them out of Romania and the Crimea on the Black Sea. The settlement that ended the war, the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarja (1774), was one of the most humiliating agreements ever signed by the Ottomans. In addition to ceding territory, the sultan granted Russia the right to construct a Greek Orthodox church in Istanbul and to make representations to the Ottoman government on behalf of the Greek Orthodox community. These provisions laid the foundation for Russia's claim to be the protector of the entire Greek Orthodox *millet*, the Ottoman term for a self-governing religious community, within the Ottoman Empire.

Decline, Reform, Decline

Thus beginning in the early eighteenth century, the Western powers achieved and maintained military, political, and economic superiority over the Middle East. In the nineteenth century, Russia's drive towards the sea, leadership of the Orthodox Christians, and promotion of **pan-Slavism** combined at times to produce an aggressive Middle East policy. Russian troops went into the **Balkans** during the 1806–1812 conflict with the Ottomans, the Greek struggle for independence in the 1820s, the Rumanian uprising of 1848, the **Crimean War** of 1853–1856, and the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877–1878.

The **Eastern Question** centered on whether Russia would gobble up the Ottoman Empire's European possessions, especially the straits, or be prevented from doing so by the other Great Powers. In the nineteenth century, many feared that if Russia

ruled the Balkans and controlled the straits, all Europe would be at the mercy of the tsars. The **Habsburg Empire** bordered directly on Ottoman-held lands in southeastern Europe. It conquered Hungary in 1699 and naturally hoped to move down the Danube River toward the Black Sea. The Habsburgs also wanted to control lands south of the Danube, especially **Bosnia** and **Serbia**. The interests of the Habsburg emperors seem to have been mainly economic, but they also saw themselves as carrying an old crusading tradition against the Muslim Ottomans. As various Balkan states wrested their independence from the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburgs would often step forward as their patron, protector, and trading partner.

The **British Empire**, suspicious of Russia's aims during the nineteenth century, tended to back Austria in the Balkans. This suspicion also led to a general British policy aimed at preserving the Ottoman Empire against all outside attempts to divide or control its territory. The overriding reason for this policy was that Britain wanted to ensure a safe route to **India** for its navy and merchant ships. From about 1820, the beginning of steamship travel and better overland communication made it faster and safer to transship goods and people across Egypt or Mesopotamia, both of which were Ottoman lands. In a further attempt to secure its shipping routes to India, Britain also took Aden in 1839 and Cyprus in 1878, occupied Egypt in 1882, and made treaties with most of the Arab rulers along the Gulf from Oman to Kuwait.

The best friend of the Ottomans was usually France. Its strategic location, with major ports on both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, made France a frequent contender for the mastery of Europe. Up to the nineteenth century, its greatest rival in the Mediterranean was the Habsburg Empire, which tended to bring France into alliance with the Ottomans. France claimed to have the oldest capitulatory treaty, and its merchants and investors were almost always foremost among Europeans doing business with the Ottomans. Religion, too, furthered the French connection. When Russia claimed to protect Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule, France advanced similar claims on behalf of Catholics.

To stop the annexation of its territories, the Ottoman government attempted internal reform, which should be divided into three phases. In the first, such reformers as the Korpulu viziers of the late seventeenth century tried to restore the administrative and military system to what it had been when the empire was at its height in the sixteenth. When this failed, some of eighteenth-century sultans and viziers tried a selective westernizing policy, primarily in the army, but this second phase did not check Russia's advance into the Balkans or **Napoleon's** occupation of Egypt. In the third phase of Ottoman reform, mainly in the nineteenth century, the government tried to westernize many parts of the empire in an effort to halt the secession or annexation of its territories.

Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) was aware of the European designs on his country, as well as its internal problems, with some provinces in open revolt and a serious shortfall in tax revenues. He planned a full-scale housecleaning, a *nizam-i-jedid*, that would reform the whole Ottoman government. But with the military threat so imminent, Selim concentrated on creating the westernized elite army to which the name *nizam* is usually applied. The training of the *nizam* soldiers had to be carried out secretly. The Janissaries feared that an effective fighting force, trained by European instructors and using modern weapons, would expose them as useless parasites of the state. They also were not about to let their privileges be jeopardized by military

reform, however necessary. As a result, they revolted, slaughtered the new troops, and locked up Selim. While **Mahmud II** held power, from 1808 to 1839, the whole empire fell into disorder. Several of the Balkan provinces had become independent in all but name under local warlords. A nationalist uprising of the Serbs threatened to affect other subject peoples. Local landowners in parts of Anatolia were taking the government into their own hands, and the garrisons in such Arab cities as Aleppo and Mosul were held by dissident mamluk or Janissary factions. Russia was at war with the empire and had invaded its Danubian principalities. Although the Sultan wanted to reform and strengthen the Ottoman Empire, he also realized that westernizing reforms had to include all aspects of Ottoman government and society, not just the military; reformed institutions would work only if those they replaced were wiped out, and any reform program must be preceded by careful planning and mobilization of support.

At first, Mahmud kept a low profile, quietly cultivating groups that favored centralization of Ottoman power, and slowly built up a loyal and well-trained palace guard to be used eventually against the Janissaries and their supporters. In 1826, he ordered a general attack on the Janissaries. This time the sultan had a strong army, the *ulama*, the students, and most of the people on his side. As a result, the **Janissaries** were massacred, their supporting groups abolished, and their properties seized for redistribution among Mahmud's backers. This action cleared the way for a large-scale reform program. Highest priority went to developing a new military organization to replace the Janissaries, for the Greeks, backed by the Great Powers, were now rebelling against Ottoman rule. Mahmud gathered soldiers from all parts of the old military system into his new army, which was issued European uniforms and weapons and put in the charge of Western instructors. Ottoman youths had also to be trained in technical fields closely tied to the military; existing schools of military and naval engineering were therefore expanded, a new medical college founded, and new institutions later set up to teach military sciences.

The general aim of the reforms was to concentrate power in the hands of the sultan and his cabinet. The ministries of the government were organized more tightly to eliminate overlapping jurisdictions and superfluous posts. In addition, Mahmud abolished the system of military land grants that had sustained the *sipahis* since the beginning of the empire. He also had to overcome opposition from most local and provincial officials, the feudal *sipahis*, the traditional government scribes, and the *ulama*. Often he failed. Too many members of the Ottoman ruling class had a vested interest in the status-quo. Worse still, westernization did not save the army from losing wars. By 1829, the Greeks had won their independence, their success due mainly to intervention by Russia, which in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 gained significant new territories east of the Black Sea. The advances of Ibrahim Pasha al Wali's Egyptian armies into Syria were yet another blow to Ottoman prestige, especially when Mahmud's new army failed to dislodge them. Outside help would be needed if the empire was to survive. The first choice should have been France, but that country was backing **Mehmet Ali** and Ibrahim, so Mahmud turned instead to Russia. In the Treaty of **Inkiar Skelessi**, Russia agreed in 1833 to defend the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Britain, however, believed that the treaty gave Russian warships the right to use the straits, from which Western navies were excluded, so London campaigned against the threat of Russian domination in Istanbul. In a commercial treaty signed

in 1838, the Porte increased Britain's capitulatory privileges and limited to 9 percent its import tariffs on British manufactures. This relatively low rate stimulated British exports to the Ottoman market, thus wiping out many Ottoman merchants and artisans who could not compete against British mechanized production. But another result of the 1838 treaty was to increase Britain's economic interest in the Ottoman Empire and hence its desire to keep the empire alive.

Mahmud II died while Mehmet Ali's army was invading Anatolia, whereupon the sultan's navy defected to Alexandria. Mahmud's successor was Abdulmejid (1839–1861), who reigned during the reform era of the *Tanzimat*. The guiding man of the early *Tanzimat* was Mahmud's foreign minister, Mustafa Reshid, who happened to be in London seeking British aid against Mehmet Ali at the time Abdulmejid took over. On the advice of both the British and Reshid, the new sultan issued a proclamation called the Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber, which authorized the creation of new institutions guaranteeing his subjects' fundamental rights, assessing and levying taxes fairly, and conscripting and training soldiers. Mustafa Reshid had an entourage of young and able officials who believed that liberal reforms would save the Ottoman Empire. Almost all aspects of Ottoman public life were restructured. This restructuring meant creating a system of state schools to produce government clerks; reorganizing the provinces so that each governor would have specified duties and an advisory council; extending the network of roads, canals, and rail lines; and developing a modern financial system with a central bank, treasury bonds, and a decimal currency.

The *Tanzimat* was not a total success. The subject nationalities expected too much from the 1839 rescript and were disappointed by the actual reforms. Balkan Christians did not want centralization of power; they wanted autonomy. Some now sought outright independence. The Rumanians rebelled in 1848, and it took a Russian invasion to quell their revolt. Without firm British backing, the Ottoman reform movement would have collapsed altogether. Britain's insistence on upholding Ottoman territorial integrity was on a collision course with Russia's attempt to increase its influence in the Balkans; the result was the Crimean War of 1853–1856. The Ottoman Empire, aided by British and French troops, defeated Russia and regained some territory.

The price for Western support was a new official proclamation, Sultan Abdulmejid's Imperial Rescript of 1856. All Ottoman subjects, whether Muslim or not, were now to enjoy the same rights and status under the law. Many Ottoman Muslims objected to giving Jews and Christians the same rights and status as themselves, an act contrary to the basic principles of the *Shari'ah*. The *Tanzimat* reforms, however, continued in such areas as land ownership, codification of the laws, and reorganization of the *millets*. Nationalism in the modern sense first appeared among such Christian subjects as the Greeks and the Serbs, who were closer to Western or Russian cultural influences. As nationalist movements proliferated in the Balkans, the Ottoman rulers grew even more worried about how to hold the empire together. Westernizing reforms were their first answer, but these raised more hopes than they could meet and did not create a new basis of loyalty. The reformers began pushing the idea of Ottomanism, loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, as a framework within which racial, linguistic, and religious groups could develop autonomously but harmoniously. To this the New Ottomans of the 1870s added the idea of an Ottoman constitution that would set up an assembly representing all peoples of the empire. The constitution was drawn up in 1876, with several nationalist rebellions going

on in the Balkans, war raging with Serbia and Montenegro, and Russia threatening to send in troops. The New Ottomans seized power in a coup and put on the throne Abdulhamid II (1876–1909), who promised to uphold the new constitution. The ensuing Russo-Turkish War put the empire in such peril that almost no one could have governed under the constitution. Abdulhamid soon suspended it and dissolved parliament. For 30 years, he ruled as a dictator, appointing and dismissing his own ministers, holding his creditors at bay, keeping the Great Powers sufficiently at odds with one another so that they would not carve up the Ottoman Empire, and suppressing all dissident movements within his realm.

Many Ottomans, especially if they had been educated in Western schools, thought that the only way to save the empire was to restore the 1876 constitution, even if it meant overthrowing Abdulhamid. Many opposition groups were formed, but they tend to get lumped together as the **Young Turks**. The key society was a secret order founded at the military medical college in 1889 by four cadets, all Muslim but of several nationalities. It came to be known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Over time, many groups within Ottoman society accepted the CUP program that the empire must be strengthened militarily and morally, all religious and ethnic groups must be put on an equal footing, the constitution must be restored, and Sultan Abdulhamid must be shorn of power. In July 1908, the CUP inspired a military coup that forced Abdulhamid to restore the Ottoman constitution and elections were held for a new parliament. The coup did not ward off disintegration, however, as Austria annexed Bosnia, Bulgaria declared its independence, and Crete rebelled, all in late 1908. Hopes for rapid economic development were dashed when a French loan deal fell through in 1910. The next year, Italy attacked the Ottoman Empire in an attempt to seize Libya; Italian success was assured when Bulgaria and Serbia joined forces in 1912 and attacked the empire in the Balkans. In a few months, the Ottomans lost almost all their European lands. Even Albania rebelled in 1910 and later won Great Power recognition as an independent state. These losses were the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire, which was dissolved in the aftermath of World War I. *See also* Balkan Wars; Disraeli, Benjamin; Greece; London Straits Convention; San Stefano, Treaty of.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Oyama, Iwao (1842–1916)

A Japanese soldier and hero of the Meiji period, Oyama was born into a samurai family and served in the Boshin War of 1868–1869, which overthrew the Tokugawa

Shōgunate, and also in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. In the interim he attended the École Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr in France and witnessed France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War; he also studied foreign languages in Geneva and achieved fluency in Russian. After promotion to major general, Oyama was a key figure in the establishment of the Imperial Japanese Army that routed the Satsuma rebels. He commanded the Second Army in the **Sino-Japanese War** and captured Port Arthur and the fortress of Weihaiwei. Oyama was promoted to the rank of field marshal and, as chief of general staff in 1904, appealed successfully to the emperor for permission to go to war against Russia. As commander of the Manchurian army in the **Russo-Japanese War**, Oyama inflicted defeats on the Russian army at Liaoyang, Shaho, and Mukden.

Oyama was elevated to the rank of *koshaku*, roughly the equivalent of a duke, and subsequently served as war minister and as lord keeper of the Privy Seal. He was awarded the Order of the Golden Kite and the Order of the Chrysanthemum. In 1906, he was also given the newly established Order of Merit of the British Commonwealth by King George VII. The town of Oyama in British Columbia is named after him. *See also* Japanese Empire; Meiji Restoration; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

P

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Lord (1784–1865)

The Liberal prime minister of Great Britain from 1855 to 1865, with a hiatus in 1858–1859, and often foreign secretary in the preceding decades. Although he did not set out to expand the **British Empire**, Palmerston was the last Liberal prime minister able to position the **Liberal Party** as the voice of an assertive British nationalism. Palmerston first entered politics as a supporter of William Pitt the Younger; he was first elected to the House of Commons in 1807 after several unsuccessful attempts. He attained office at an unusually young age as secretary for war under Spencer Perceval in 1809. Palmerston sympathized with the growing movement for reform in the 1820s, and eventually resigned from the duke of Wellington's cabinet in 1828 over its refusal to contemplate even small measures of electoral redistribution.

He became foreign secretary in Lord Grey's Whig government of 1830, and held that post when the Whigs or Liberals were in power over most of the following 25 years. Palmerston was a cautious reformer in domestic matters, and his foreign policy generally supported liberal causes where it could. In European affairs, he supported Italian, Hungarian, and Polish nationalism, but not to the extent of seriously offending major powers. In imperial affairs, he waged war against China in 1839–1842 and again from 1857–1860, opening Chinese ports to British commerce in the **Opium Wars**. He sought to put down the slave trade, threatening Portugal and Brazil, and expanding British power around the coasts of Africa as he did so. In the famous Don Pacifico affair of 1850, he used the Royal Navy to collect minor debts owed a British citizen by the Greek government, famously proclaiming that the Englishman, like the Roman of old, could say, "*civis Romanus sum*." Unusually, Palmerston served as home secretary in Lord Aberdeen's government of 1852–1855, thus avoiding blame for the blunders that led to the **Crimean War**. When Aberdeen fell because of his handling of the war, Palmerston became prime minister on the back of popular feeling that the war needed more vigorous prosecution.

As prime minister, Palmerston was generally friendly toward Louis Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s France, so much so that he fell from power in 1858 over the Conspiracy

to Murder bill, put forward in response to an assassination attempt against Napoleon that had been plotted in Britain, a bill perceived to be craven in its attitude to the French. The minority Tories being unable to govern, Palmerston came back into power in 1859, and remained prime minister until his death in 1865. He preserved a friendly neutrality toward France and Sardinia during their 1859 war with Austria, kept Britain out of the American Civil War, and admitted that support for Denmark in the 1864 war over Schleswig-Holstein was beyond Britain's power. Critics on both left and right observed that Palmerston was more cautious in dealing with Americans and Prussians than with Greeks and Chinese, and accused him of hypocrisy; defenders credited his pragmatism. Although personally an aristocratic Whig and a man about town, Palmerston was effective as a democratic politician, using his forthright British nationalism to attract support from all classes—an appeal later taken over by Benjamin Disraeli. Palmerston is perhaps best understood as a nationalist: he believed that Britain was a great power that should use its power abroad for good and in its own interests, two purposes that did not in his mind often conflict. *See also* Liberalism; Pax Britannica.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Panama

A province of Colombia until 1903. Colombia's rejection of the **Hay-Herrán Treaty** on August 12, 1903, greatly disappointed the province of Panama and sparked off its secession. The conspirators, prodded and manipulated by a Frenchman, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a frustrated stockholder of the New Panama Canal Company who had been chief engineer of the initial organization, all lived on the Isthmus and were all connected, one way or another, to the isthmian railroad company: Senator José Agustín Arango, Doctor Manuel Amador Guerrero, Senator José Domingo de Obaldía, governor of the province, as well as lesser figures. They formed a junta headed by Arango in late May, began to establish contacts in Washington in September, and eventually received unofficial assurances by early October.

On November 3, 1903, the Panamanian secessionists launched their revolution with the blessing of the **United States**, and the next day proclaimed the independence of the Isthmus—recognized by Washington on November 6. Arango headed the provisional government, which appointed Bunau-Varilla minister plenipotentiary to Washington. Signed on November 18, the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** was less advantageous than the abortive Hay-Herrán accord and virtually made Panama an American **protectorate**. Obaldía would ultimately succeed the discredited Bunau-Varilla as Panamanian minister to Washington, then Amador as president of the Isthmian republic. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Roosevelt Corollary.

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SERGE RICARD

Panama Canal

An interoceanic waterway across the Panamanian isthmus initially envisaged by Spanish conquerors in the sixteenth century. Between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries there was an isthmian road that suddenly became vitally important in 1848 with the California Gold Rush, as unloading and reloading were less time-consuming than rounding Cape Horn. After 1855, an American railroad had linked **Panama** and Colón. After completing the Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps obtained in 1880 the right to build a canal alongside that railroad, where the isthmus was only 50 kilometers wide. Lesseps gave up in 1889 as a consequence of tremendous, unforeseen financial and material difficulties, an episode known in France as the **Panama Scandal**, which rocked the Third Republic.

At the turn of the century American interest in the canal, for reasons of security, prestige, and trade, was increased by the acquisition of **Hawaii** and the **Philippines**; and it actually underlay the annexation of Puerto Rico and the supervision of Cuba at the close of the war with Spain. The only problem was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, which provided that the **United States** and Great Britain would exercise joint control over the projected canal. The British at first attempted to use its abrogation to increase their bargaining power in the Alaskan boundary controversy, but they quickly gave in when they realized that the U.S. Congress was ready to pass a bill that would nullify it and empower the McKinley administration to build a Nicaraguan canal under exclusive American control. A new accord was negotiated on February 5, 1900, the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty**, which stipulated that the United States could build and own an isthmian canal but could not fortify it. The nonfortification clause, which conformed to the past policy of neutralization, was loudly opposed by the jingoes, who predicted seizure of the future canal by enemies of the United States; it was also denounced by the Democrats—appropriately, for 1900 was an election year. Lastly, it infuriated such Anglophobes as the Irish- and German-Americans.

Although the British were shocked by American pretensions, they eventually yielded when it became clear that the United States intended to go ahead and build the isthmian waterway. Britain was in any event busy fighting the Boers in South Africa and could do without further problems in the Caribbean. In fact, Britain acknowledged American supremacy in the Caribbean and was to reduce her fleet there in light of the fact that the United States could prove a powerful ally that would maintain the status quo in the Western Hemisphere against her great rival, Germany. The Second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, concluded on November 18, 1901, stripped London of any right to control the canal.

To this point the choice of the most suitable route—through Nicaragua or across Panama—had been pending. On November 16, 1901, two days before the Second Hay-Pauncefote treaty was signed, the Walker Commission, appointed in 1899 by President William McKinley and headed by Rear Admiral John G. Walker, recommended the Nicaraguan route. The directors of the New Panama Canal Company—successor to the former de Lesseps organization—who had been asking the huge sum of \$109 million for their holdings, suddenly dropped their price to \$40 million when faced with the prospect of a Nicaraguan canal. This substantial saving possibly convinced President Theodore Roosevelt and the Walker Commission that the Panama site was best, or at least made them overcome their hesitations, for

engineering opinion was divided. The Canal Commission reversed its recommendation on January 18, 1902, but at about the same time, the House of Representatives clearly indicated its preference for the Nicaraguan route by a vote of 308 to 2.

Such indecision might have resulted in further postponements but for a timely volcanic eruption on the island of Martinique, which raised fears about a similar risk in Nicaragua, and the astute and efficient lobbying of the New Panama Canal Company, represented by William N. Cromwell, a New York attorney, and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a Frenchman who had been chief engineer of the first company and now was a large stockholder in the new one. On June 28, 1902, the Spooner Act was passed: the Nicaraguan bill was amended so as to provide for a Panama Canal. The president was now to secure from Colombia a right of way across the Isthmus of Panama, "within reasonable time and upon reasonable terms," or to turn to Nicaragua if this proved impossible. Early in 1903, Secretary of State John Hay practically wrested from Bogotá's chargé in Washington, Tomás Herrán, an agreement that seriously compromised Colombian sovereignty and aroused popular indignation and political opposition in Colombia: the Hay-Herrán Treaty stipulated that the New Panama Canal Company would receive \$40 million and Colombia \$10 million as well as a \$250,000 annuity, and granted the United States perpetual control of a zone six miles wide across the isthmus. The treaty was signed on January 22, 1903, and ratified unamended by the U.S. Senate on March 17. Its unanimous rejection by the Colombian senate five months later, on August 12, surprised and incensed Roosevelt. He had set his heart on the Panama route—which engineering opinion then rightly regarded as the best option—and was not going to have his plans thwarted by the "Bogotá lot of jack rabbits," who should not "be allowed permanently to bar one of the future highways of civilization," despite the existence of an alternative in Nicaragua.

The likelihood of a revolution in Panama quickly became public knowledge in Washington. Panama had a long history of uprisings against the central government. The 1903 secession was caused both by Panamanian disappointment at losing the commercial advantages the construction of the canal was expected to bring and by isthmian nationalism. The conspirators soon received indirect assurances that the White House would do nothing to jeopardize their plans. Later events would show how the Bunau-Varilla had anticipated the U.S. government's reaction and its new reading of the Bidlack-Mallarino Treaty of 1846 by which the United States had obtained a right of transit for its nationals, but not of construction. Juridically, American intervention was justified by its Article Thirty-Five, and the resort to force on or about the Isthmus was a half-century-old tradition, always in support of the central government. This time, Washington would choose inaction and even help the rebellion by stopping Colombian reinforcements.

A prodigious acceleration of history took place in late October 1903, for which the annals of diplomacy offered few precedents, if any at all. On October 31, the Colombian senate adjourned without having reconsidered its position on the canal question, thus destroying all hopes of a quick settlement. On November 3, the Panamanian secessionists successfully launched their "bloodless" insurrection thanks to Washington's active, preferential neutrality. The independence of the province was officially proclaimed the next day and recognition of the new republic of Panama granted by the United States on November 6. Bunau-Varilla was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Washington with full negotiating powers. Two weeks

after the revolution the isthmian waterway issue was settled. On November 18, the two countries signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, which virtually made Panama an American protectorate. In exchange for the sum of \$10 million and a \$250,000 annuity in gold coins, it granted to the United States “in perpetuity the use, occupation and control” of a zone of land across the isthmus 10 miles wide, and it authorized Washington to fortify the canal and to guarantee and maintain the independence of the new republic. The New Panama Canal Company received its \$40 million, Colombia nothing. Theodore Roosevelt, who waxed lyrical to defend the right of the province to break with a corrupt and inept government, would forever claim, not altogether unconvincingly, that the end justified the means, which he did not find particularly objectionable, as his government was morally right in “taking Panama” inasmuch as it had allegedly received a “mandate from civilization.” He never concealed his conviction that it was better to polemicize about his action for half a century than to do so about the project.

The Panama Canal—a lock canal—was inaugurated on August 3, 1914. The payment of \$25 million to Colombia in 1920, after Roosevelt’s death, was in many ways an admission of guilt and a belated effort to atone for past wrongdoing. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Roosevelt Corollary.

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SERGE RICARD

Panama Scandal (1892–1893)

An investment scandal in which the misplaced hopes and lost fortunes of small stakeholders in the Panama Canal project of Ferdinand de Lesseps became a political earthquake in French politics. As the architect of the Suez Canal, Lesseps enjoyed a national reputation as possibly the greatest Frenchman of his time—a reputation he used to entice small investors to back the construction of a canal across Panama, partly with unrealistic initial estimates of its ultimate cost, partly through misunderstanding of its enormous engineering difficulties, and partly through concealment of colossal financial mismanagement. Financial authority over the Panama Canal Company was exercised by Baron Jacques de Reinach, a German Jew, Italian Baron, and naturalized French citizen who symbolized the new world of cosmopolitan finance in late nineteenth-century Europe.

In the critical stage, when the canal was behind schedule and massively over budget, the government permitted the company to float a lottery-loan for 750 million francs, which, upon failure, put the company into liquidation. The resulting inquiry and trial savaged the reputation of the Radical Party in parliament, especially George Clemenceau, and contributed to a virulent wave of anti-Semitism across the country. Edouard Drumont’s 1,200 page book, *La France Juive*, sold tens of thousands of

copies with its explanation of how France and its honest peasantry—in reality the victims of a garden variety failure in finance capitalism—had been conquered and pillaged by Jews. *See also* Dreyfus Affair.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Pandu Nadi, Battle of (1857)

A secondary although important engagement of the **Indian Mutiny**. To prevent General Henry Havelock's relieving force from reaching Kanpur, the rebels fortified the masonry bridge over the river at Pandu Nadi. The rebels dug trenches on both sides of the river, which were filled with their infantry. In addition, they deployed two 24-pounder guns to sweep the approach to the river. The river itself was a raging torrent. Havelock had no pontoon equipment; neither were country boats readily available. On July 15, he sent forward an artillery battery and launched a decoy attack with his cavalry toward the center of the rebel position. The Madras Fusiliers equipped with rifles attacked both the flanks of the rebel line. Shrapnel from the guns and firing from the Enfield rifles forced the rebels to withdraw. In their hurry, the sepoys failed to blast the bridge, so that Havelock secured the bridge and the road to Kanpur at the cost of 22 casualties. *See also* British Empire; India.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Pan-Slavism

A nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual movement that postulated that the cultural and linguistic affinities of the Slavic peoples could serve as the basis for a political association of all Slavs. Pan-Slavism began among Slavic intellectuals living within the **Habsburg Empire** who did not seek independence from Vienna but desired that the Slavic peoples under Habsburg rule receive equality with the Germans and Hungarians. Eventually the movement spread to Russia where it transformed into a political movement to induce the tsarist government to fight for the liberation of Orthodox Christian Slavs from the **Ottoman Empire**.

The Russian interest started in the 1850s as Russia lost its right to protect the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire as a result of its defeat in the **Crimean War**. Deprived of its unique role in Eastern Europe based on common religion, the Russian interest changed into one based on ethnolinguistic affiliation. As part of their cultural program, Russian Pan-Slavs established Slavic benevolent societies to bring foreign students from the Austrian and Ottoman Empires to Moscow for education in the hope of instilling bonds of friendship with their Slavic brothers. They anticipated that this common culture would inevitably lead to political unity among all Slavs under the leadership of Russia, given that Russia was the only independent Slavic country in the world.

The leading figure in the Russian Pan-Slav movement was Nikolai Yakovlevich Danilevsky (1822–1885), who advocated a political union of all Slavs under Russian auspices with a capital in Constantinople. Such a political vision would have required the dismemberment of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires and therefore it was generally rejected by the tsarist government. Nevertheless, the mission to liberate Slavic peoples from the Turkish yoke was taken up by some Russian intellectuals who redefined their own struggle against tsarist autocracy as an external struggle against Ottoman tyranny. The idea that Russia could act as an emancipator for the Balkans rather than the policeman of Europe appealed to leftists. Meanwhile conservative Russian Pan-Slav thinkers supported the fight against Turkey to free the little Slavic brothers so that they could at last naturally gravitate around big brother Russia. When Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins rose up against the Turks in 1875–1876, Pan-Slavist public opinion in Russia clamored for tsarist military intervention. The Russian government was reluctant to act, but Russian volunteers streamed into the Balkans to join the cause of Slavic liberation. Ultimately, the tsarist government did go to war against the Ottomans in 1877, and the Russian victory led to independence for Serbia and Montenegro and autonomy for Bulgaria. *See also* Balkan Wars; Eastern Question; July Crisis; Russian Empire.

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JONATHAN GRANT

Paraguay

Effectively an independent state in South America as of 1811. Spanish explorers established a settlement in Asunción, on the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, in 1537. Its isolation and conflicts with Native Americans, Portuguese raiders, and Jesuits led its citizens toward a tradition of autonomy. In 1776, it became part of the newly organized Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. The change created resentment and conflict that would further alienate the territory from Spain.

Paraguayan militia forces played an important role in the successful effort to defeat a British military invasion of the Río de la Plata in 1806 and 1807. The two surprise victories against British forces encouraged independence sentiments at the end of the region's colonial era. Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Spain in 1807 set in motion a series of events that led the town council of Asunción to declare its independence from Spain and from the rebel movement in Argentina in 1811. The revolutionary junta pursued policies that isolated Paraguay and promoted its military capabilities. By 1814, José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia emerged as dictator. He enforced strict border controls that maintained the country's independence. He also strictly regulated trade, which limited the influence of European and North American merchants who hoped to capitalize on the collapse of Spanish authority as the independence struggle developed.

Francia's death in 1840 left the country in the control of dictators who modernized the military and promoted limited, state-controlled development of the economy.

During this period, the government allowed limited contacts with European companies that helped the country develop its economic infrastructure. Francisco Solano López, who inherited dictatorial powers from his father, Carlos Antonio López, set Paraguay on a disastrous course in 1864 through attempts to expand Paraguay's borders at the expense of the Argentine Confederation and the Brazilian Empire. The ensuing War of the **Triple Alliance**, which pit Paraguay against the combined forces of **Argentina**, **Brazil**, and **Uruguay**, led to the utter destruction of Paraguay. It ceded disputed territories to its neighbors, lost as much as two-thirds of its population, and experienced political and economic instability as a result of its defeat for the following seven decades. *See also* Spanish Empire.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

Paris Commune (1871)

A socialist government that ruled Paris for two months from March 28 to May 26, 1871, following the **Franco-Prussian War**, and named itself the Commune in evocation of the Jacobin Assembly of 1793. The capital city of France had refused to accept the terms of peace with Prussia, which had been negotiated by Adolphe **Thiers**, the head of the new national government. The Paris National Guard, a creature of the Commune, prepared to resist the entry of the German army and began to station cannons at various parts of the city, disrupting commercial life in Paris. This forced Thiers to step in, causing a more general uprising in Paris. The Paris National Guard refused to back down and the government was forced to retreat to Versailles. There was a strong left-wing sentiment in Paris as shown by municipal elections, which led to the installation of the Paris Commune at Hôtel de Ville on March 20.

A civil war erupted between the Commune and the Versailles government. Starting on May 21, the Commune was violently suppressed by the national government in brutal street fighting. The casualty rate was very high, as more than 20,000 members of the Commune died. Many public buildings such as the Hôtel de Ville were destroyed by fire. The Commune's memory became a power symbol to the insurrectional tradition of the French left but also bequeathed a legacy of class hatred to the country.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Paris, Declaration of (1856)

Along with the **Treaty of Paris of 1856**, the Declaration of Paris was part of the diplomatic settlement of the **Crimean War**. The Declaration, however, dealt

specifically with the rules of naval warfare. It abolished privateering and established the principle that neutral flags protected enemy goods, except for the contraband of war. It also stipulated that neutral goods other than war contraband would not be liable to capture under the enemy's flag and that naval blockades had to be maintained by sufficient and present force in order to be binding. All maritime states of any importance accepted the declaration, with the exceptions of Spain and the **United States**; Spain finally acceded in 1907; the United States agreed to the Hague Convention principles in the same year. *See also* Ottoman Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Paris, Treaty of (1815)

Occasionally referred to as the Second Peace of Paris, the terms imposed on France after the Hundred Days and Waterloo. After Napoleon **Bonaparte** abdicated for the second time, his opponents—Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia—signed a peace treaty on November 20, a harsher treaty than the treaty of 1814, whose terms were still binding.

The treaty of 1814, signed after Napoleon's first abdication, was considered too lenient, something that was attributed to the superb diplomatic skill of French statesman Charles Maurice de **Talleyrand**. According to the treaty of 1815, France was to cede territories such as Saar and Savoy. The boundaries of France were reduced to those of 1790. In addition, the French were also ordered to pay 700 million francs in indemnities, a portion of it to build additional fortresses in **Belgium** and Germany. A corps of Allied troops, not exceeding 150,000 men, to be paid for by France, was to occupy some parts of France for five years as a precaution and temporary guarantee to neighboring countries, and the four powers confirmed their alliance against France for the next 20 years. *See also* Congress System.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Paris, Treaty of (1856)

Signed at the Congress of Paris, on March 30, 1856, the treaty ending the **Crimean War** between Russia and the **Ottoman Empire**, whose allies—France, Britain, and Sardinia-Piedmont—were also party to the treaty. The principalities of Moldavia and Walachia were granted the right to hold national assemblies and have independent constitutions, and the former gained the southern part of Bessarabia from Russia; however, the Ottomans regained nominal suzerainty over both principalities. A referendum was to decide whether residents of the two principalities favored unification. The Black Sea was made neutral; warships and

military fortifications were forbidden there. On the land perimeter surrounding the Black Sea, the stationing of military weapons was also banned. The Danube River remained open to all ships regardless of national origin. *See also* Paris, Declaration of.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Paris, Treaty of (1898)

The Treaty ending the **Spanish American War** and transferring control of **Cuba**, **Guam**, **Puerto Rico**, and the **Philippines** from Spain to the **United States**. The acquisitions of these territories gave the United States a global presence and thrust the country further into the imperial rivalries in the Far East and Latin America. Major issues at the peace conference, which lasted from October 1, 1898, to December 10, 1898, dealt with responsibility for the Cuban debt, valued at \$400 million, and the status of the Philippines. The Cuban debt represented the expense of Spanish administration of Cuba, the cost of suppressing previous Cuban revolts, and the price of several other Spanish ventures in the Western Hemisphere. Although Spain wanted the United States to assume responsibility for the debt, American representatives refused to accept the responsibility or to force it on any future Cuban government. In compensation and to lessen the loss of the Philippines, the United States agreed to pay Spain \$20 million.

Acquisition of the Philippines proved controversial, especially in the U.S. Senate, and led to the formation of the American Anti-Imperialist League, which campaigned extensively for the defeat of the Treaty of Paris. The treaty seemed doomed to failure until William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate for president in 1900, urged his supporters to vote for ratification. Bryan supported the treaty because he wanted the upcoming presidential election to focus on domestic issues and because passage of the treaty would allow the issue of American imperialism and the Philippine question to be separated from the peace negotiations. The move stunned the anti-imperialists and gave the treaty the boost it needed in the Senate. The Senate approved the Treaty of Paris 57 to 27 and President McKinley signed the treaty on February 6, 1899. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Roosevelt Corollary.

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JAMES PRUITT

Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846–1891)

An Irish nationalist politician, Charles Stewart Parnell, although raised Protestant, nonetheless came to the fore of a deeply Catholic movement and mastered both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary tactics in pursuit of the cause of **Home**

Rule. During the Irish Land War of 1879–1882, Parnell resorted to boycott tactics to wring concessions from the Liberal government of William Gladstone. He entered parliament in 1875 and in 1880 was elected chairman of the Irish parliamentary party.

In the election of 1885, Parnell and the Nationalist Party captured 85 seats at Westminster and as a consequence controlled the balance of parliamentary power between the Liberals and the Conservatives. When Gladstone returned to office in 1886, he tabled the first Home Rule Bill but was defeated when 93 Liberals voted against it. The defeat triggered a new election that same year, and a Conservative majority was returned. Parnell's fortunes thereupon went into steep decline, in part because of wholly fallacious charges leveled against him by his political enemies but also as a consequence of a wholly genuine affair with the wife of a friend that led to divorce court and ended in his removal as leader of the Irish party. *See also* Conservative Party; Ireland; Liberal Party.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Pašić, Nikola (1845–1926)

Nikola Pašić was a Serbian politician, who, from 1903 until 1918, served as Serbia's prime minister. His years before 1914 were marked by continuing dissent with the military, who demanded a Greater Serbia. With the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne on June 28, 1914, Pašić found himself implicated in the murder. Pašić, however, succeeded in placing responsibility for World War I with Austria-Hungary. A German-Austrian offensive in the autumn of 1915 swept the Serbians into exile. Pašić opposed a union of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes that took place in December 1918. He found himself out of power but served as the Serbian representative at the Paris Peace Conference. Pašić returned as premier in 1921, and again for two years before his death.

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MARTIN MOLL

Pax Britannica

Pax Britannica, the concept of a “British Peace” facilitated by the creation of the **British Empire**, was consciously modeled on the Pax Romana of the ancient Mediterranean world. The Pax Britannica was, paradoxically, upheld by almost continuous warfare on the peripheries of Britain's colonial empire yet accompanied by relative lack of Great Power conflict in Europe, 1815–1853, by virtue of the **Congress System**. The era overlapped with the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901), especially its first half, a period of remarkable British prosperity and imperial confidence. It was made

possible by several factors: first, the establishment of industrial and commercial primacy; second, the possession of the largest empire in history, consisting of both formal colonies and extensive spheres of influence; third, the maintenance of British naval high seas supremacy; and fourth, a capacity for the projection of military power, provided mainly by the Indian Army. It is important to recognize that the Pax Britannica was also a cultural edifice underpinned by a number of ephemeral advantages, which eroded toward the end of the nineteenth century. The actual and potential challenges of emerging European and non-European powers produced an anxious ruling elite in Britain and its colonies by the turn of the twentieth century.

The British had a sense of imperial mission to bestow the benefits of their civilization upon native peoples of its overseas possessions. There was a particular desire to civilize the “Dark Continent.” British missionaries began work in West Africa as early as 1804, and were not easily deterred by tropical disease or the hostility of indigenous peoples—a determination that made many of them martyrs to their cause. Missionaries sought not only to Christianize indigenous peoples but also to civilize them, by teaching them English and changing their mode of dress, standards of hygiene, and housing. British missionaries were also active in India yet had consciously refrained from interfering with Indian customs during the eighteenth century. There was therefore widespread discontent when missionaries prevailed on the British authorities to legislate against traditional Indian practices such as *sati*. The imposition of British norms of law and order was a prevalent feature of the Pax Britannica but was not always acceptable to colonial societies, as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 demonstrated.

The Pax Britannica was partly a result of the industrial revolution, which took off first in Britain from the middle of the eighteenth century and was firmly established by the time that Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Britain produced about half the world’s commercial cotton cloth, while heavy industrial output was even more impressive, accounting for around two-thirds of the world’s coal production, half its iron, and almost three-quarters of its steel. Britain was also the world’s leading investor, banker, insurer, and shipper. The returns on overseas investments increased from £10.5 million per annum in 1847 to £80 million in 1887, by which time Britain had more than £1000 million invested abroad. Britain was the primary world carrier, and consolidated this lead in the mid-nineteenth century with the switch from sail to steamships, which was another advantage conferred by early industrialization. The progressive adoption of a free trade policy in the 1840s and 1850s underpinned British economic dominance because, as the world’s leading manufacturer, Britain could produce and sell commodities more cheaply than its competitors. If foreign governments attempted to exclude British merchants from markets, the Royal Navy opened them up at gunpoint. By 1890 Britain had more registered shipping tonnage than the rest of the world’s carriers combined. The City of London was the center of most international financial transactions, including private and public loans, currency exchange, insurance, and the sale and purchase of commodities.

The possession of colonies was an obvious sign of the Pax Britannica. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain was unquestionably the most dynamic of the European imperial powers. Throughout the nineteenth century Britain continued to add new territories to its empire and by the early twentieth century, it covered one-quarter

of the earth's land surface and encompassed roughly the same proportion of the world's population. The formal empire is often divided for analytical purposes into three elements: the areas of white settlement, the Crown colonies, and India. The white territories of **Canada**, **Australia**, **New Zealand**, and later, South Africa, acquired self-government and became known as the Dominions. In 1815, the total white population of the empire was just 550,000; but by 1911, this had risen to almost 19 million, and trade with the Dominions was worth £175 million annually. The Crown colonies, such as Trinidad, Ceylon, and Hong Kong, were governed directly from London and are therefore sometimes described as the dependent empire. The value of trade with many Crown colonies diminished dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century: for example, in 1815, the West Indies provided 17.6 percent of Britain's trade, worth £15.4 million per annum, but a century later the figures were just 0.47 percent and £6.6 million. India was administered by a combination of Crown officials and representatives of local British interests in an arrangement known as "double government." In economic terms, India was by far the most valuable individual part of the formal empire. By 1911, the Indian population was more than 300 million, which provided Britain with a huge market, and the value of annual trade was £120 million. India was also strategically significant, and Britain acquired many colonies during the nineteenth century simply to protect communication routes to India.

Yet the formal Empire was only one component of British imperialism in the nineteenth century. As the historians John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson argued, equating the size and character of the empire solely with those areas over which Britain exercised formal jurisdiction is like judging the extent of an iceberg according to the part that shows itself above the waterline. It is notable that almost 70 percent of British emigrants between 1812 and 1914, more than 60 percent of British exports between 1800 and 1900, and more than 80 percent of British capital investment overseas from 1815 to 1880 went to British spheres of influence as South East Asia, Central and South America, and Africa. Britain's informal presence in Africa developed into formal rule in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a result of competition from other colonial powers, particularly France.

The Royal Navy discharged a number of vital functions that underpinned the Pax Britannica. It kept the British Isles free from the threat of invasion, protected and extended Britain's overseas commerce, and projected military force overseas from garrisons in Britain and India. The Royal Navy was powerful partly because of its sheer size. By the mid-nineteenth century it consisted of around 240 ships, crewed by 40,000 sailors. The Naval Defence Act of 1889 established the **two-power standard**, by which the Royal Navy was supposed to be maintained at a strength that was equivalent to the next two biggest navies combined. Another factor that contributed to Britain's naval power was its technical development. When France began launching armored warships in 1858, the British responded by constructing ironclads like HMS *Warrior*, with superior speed and firepower. Finally, a global network of strategic bases and coaling stations extended the reach of the Royal Navy to deal with many actual or potential threats to British interests. When China attempted to restrict trade with British merchants, it suffered crushing naval defeats in the **Opium War** of 1840–1842 and the Arrow War of 1856–1860. As a result of the Treaty of Nanjing, China ceded Hong Kong to Britain and opened five ports to trade, with a resident consul in each, although full diplomatic recognition was

withheld until the Treaty of Tientsin in June 1858. Yet the Royal Navy could also be used for humanitarian purposes. By 1847, for example, 32 warships of the West African squadron were engaged in the suppression of the slave trade.

Traditionally, Britain did not field large armies, but its control of the Indian Army provided a significant military reserve of around 180,000 troops, which accounted for more than 60 percent of total manpower in British garrisons overseas in the 1880s. The Conservative Prime Minister Lord Salisbury once remarked that India was “an English barrack in the Oriental Seas from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them.” Indeed, the Indian Army served in more than a dozen imperial campaigns in Africa and Asia during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Indian Army was therefore a significant element of the Pax Britannica, for without it the cost of maintaining imperial control would have been much higher. Lord Curzon, viceroy of India, went so far as to proclaim in 1901 that “as long as we rule in India we are the greatest power in the world. If we lose it we shall drop straight away to a third rate power.”

It is tempting to identify the Pax Britannica as shorthand for British global dominance during the nineteenth century, but contemporaries perceived it differently, as a cultural edifice rather than a political relationship. The extent of British power during the nineteenth century can also be easily overstated, for it was always limited to those areas in which the Royal Navy could operate. Further, the economic and strategic platforms on which Britain’s international lead rested after 1815 were temporary. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century competition from other European powers—France, Germany, Italy, and Russia—and non-European powers—the United States and Japan—challenged Britain’s commercial, naval, and imperial preeminence, which caused considerable anxiety about the future of the empire. Yet despite this anxiety the empire continued to grow, and when it did finally vanish during the two decades after World War II, its legacy included widespread use of the English language, belief in Protestant religion, economic globalization, modern precepts of law and order, and representative democracy. In these respects traces of the Pax Britannica are still very much in evidence today. *See also* Balance of Power; Navalism; *Weltpolitik*.

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CARL PETER WATTS

Peel, Sir Robert (1788–1850)

A reforming British prime minister, notable above all for his repeal of the **Corn Laws**. Peel was born to a wealthy Lancashire cotton manufacturer, chalked up an impressive academic record at Harrow and Christchurch, studied law at Lincoln’s

Inn, and was elected a Tory member of Parliament for Cashel at the age of 21. Peel had the gift of oratory and a lucid understanding of the substance of a policy issue. With these qualities he combined an unrepentant ability to change his mind. From 1812 to 1818, he served as chief secretary in **Ireland**, where he was a consistent opponent of Catholic interests and opposed Catholic Emancipation. As Home Secretary in 1822 and again from 1828 to 1830, he reformed prisons and founded the Metropolitan Police, its constables ever after known as “Bobbies.”

In 1829, he reversed positions on Catholic Emancipation and steered the Catholic Emancipation Act through Parliament. Briefly prime minister (1834–1835), Peel resigned and used his *Tamworth Manifesto* to declare support for reforms undertaken by the Whig ministries of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne and to reconstitute the Tories as the **Conservative Party**. Elected as the head of a majority Conservative government in 1841, Peel passed the Factory Act of 1844 and the Bank Charter Act of 1844 and was prompted by the Irish potato famine, in a combination of conviction and opportunism, to repeal the protectionist Corn Laws. This break in favor of **free trade** cost Peel his government, as a majority of his party opposed it and it passed with Radical and Whig votes. Conservative rebels against Peel’s policy, led by Benjamin **Disraeli**, brought down the government in June 1846.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Peninsular War (1808–1814)

Known in Spain as the War of Independence, a Napoleonic War fought on the Iberian Peninsula and in southern France between British, Spanish, and Portuguese forces on the one hand and those of France on the other. Napoleon **Bonaparte**, frustrated with the Portuguese refusal to submit to his anti-British **Continental System**, invaded Portugal in 1807 with the acquiescence of Spain. Equally frustrated with the inefficiency of Spanish cooperation with his war effort, he then used his troops to evict the Bourbons from the Spanish throne, putting in their place his brother Joseph in July 1808. This provoked a popular Spanish uprising, bloodily repressed by the French. Britain, looking for an opportunity to carry the war to Napoleon, sent an expeditionary force to Portugal, a traditional ally.

British forces under Sir Arthur Wellesley defeated the French at Vimeiro, forcing them to leave Portugal under a controversial armistice, the convention of Cintra. Simultaneously, a British army under Sir John Moore advanced into Spain, but was obliged to retreat on the port of **Corunna**, Moore being killed in January 1809. In April, Wellesley returned to Portugal, leading an army east along the River Tagus into central Spain. After holding their own in hard-fought defensive battle at Talavera on July 27–28, 1809, the British were obliged to withdraw for lack of supplies. But Napoleonic forces had not hitherto been driven from many battlefields, and Wellesley was raised to the peerage as Viscount **Wellington**, notwithstanding Whig predictions of disaster. Supported by the government in London, and in particular by the then Secretary at War, Lord Liverpool, Wellington remained on the strategic defensive in 1810, fighting effective defensive battles against the advancing French

under Marshal Masséna, and eventually retreating into prepared positions outside Lisbon, the famous lines of Torres Vedras.

The French withdrew from Portugal for lack of supplies in the spring of 1811, a year characterized by bloody sieges of fortresses on the Portuguese-Spanish border. Two major fortresses, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, fell in the early months of 1812. As French forces were drawn down for the coming invasion of Russia, Wellington advanced into Spain, defeating the French at Salamanca on July 22 and going onto Madrid, before being forced to retreat once more on his bases on the Portuguese border. In 1813, Wellington advanced into Spain by a northern route, depending for support on the Spanish Biscay ports. Wellington inflicted a major defeat on the French at Vittoria on June 21, 1813, and, after sharp engagements in the Pyrenees, advanced into southern France. The abdication of Napoleon and the treaty of Fontainebleau concluded European hostilities. The French forces had attempted to live off the countryside, as was their practice elsewhere in Europe, thereby incurring the hostility of the Spanish, whereas Wellington made a practice of paying for requisitions and preventing looting by ferocious discipline and a system of military police. Wellington's much smaller forces were able to use the aid of the Spanish guerrillas to keep the French forces dispersed, and for valuable intelligence. The Peninsular war created the term *guerrilla* originally to name popular resistance to foreign occupation, now transferred to any small-unit, unconventional forces. The Peninsular War also saw the collapse of the Spanish Latin-American Empire. In some ways, it established the pattern of future guerrilla wars: guerrillas can wear down large conventional forces, but generally cannot prevail without secure base areas of conventional forces on their own side. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Spanish Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Perdicaris Affair (1904)

A diplomatic incident arising after a supposed **United States** citizen, Ion Perdicaris, was kidnapped along with his English stepson by a Moroccan revolutionary, Mulai Ahmed er Raisuli. President Theodore **Roosevelt** responded by threatening to "send in the Marines." The eventual outcome saw Perdicaris returned and Roosevelt's domestic and international status enhanced.

At the time Morocco was nominally under the rule of Sultan Mulia Abdul-Aziz, with Tangier having a number of well-to-do neighborhoods, although outside of the capital the hinterland was lawless and ruled by revolutionaries. On May 18, 1904, Raisuli stormed the Tangier home of millionaire Perdicaris and took him hostage, demanding a ransom and to be made governor of two districts surrounding Tangier. Tension rose as stories likening Raisuli to a Barbary pirate circulated in the international press. Through quiet diplomatic channels Roosevelt enlisted support from Europe's leading powers in exerting pressure on the Moroccan Sultan to pay off Raisuli, but to much greater public fanfare he dispatched seven ships of the **Great**

White Fleet to the African coast. While the Fleet headed east on June 21, news arrived in Washington that the Sultan would concede to Raisuli's demands. Thus it was at the behest of Roosevelt that the Sultan struck a deal with Raisuli and the navy never landed the Marines.

The incident was important for Roosevelt in domestic politics. Although delivered by Secretary of State John Hay to the Moroccans in the form of a diplomatic note, the Wild-West style call of "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead!" became synonymous with Roosevelt as it became public at the 1904 Republican convention. The subsequent release of Perdicaris ensured Roosevelt was the overwhelming favorite for the 1904 election. A fuller version of the Perdicaris affair emerged later. At the time of the incident Perdicaris was no longer an American citizen having renounced his citizenship to avoid his family assets being seized during the **American Civil War**. Furthermore, almost 40 years later Roosevelt's knowledge of this prior to his rallying cry came to light. The potential political ramifications of this for Roosevelt's standing in terms of international embarrassment, as well as a reelection campaign were well understood by Hay at the time, who saw that it was "a bad business," which would require the Administration to "keep it excessively confidential."

That they did at the time served to enhance Roosevelt's international position at a point where he sought to forward U.S. foreign policy by speaking softly and carrying a big stick following his role in the creation of the **Panama Canal Zone** and anticipating his role as peacemaker in the **Russo-Japanese War** and mediator at the 1905 **Algeiras Conference**, which stabilized Morocco position as North Africa's last independent nation. *See also* Jingoism.

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J. SIMON ROFE

Persia

A conventional European designation for Iran, in general use in the West until 1935, although the Iranians themselves had long called their country Iran. Persia is still widely used as an alternate for Iran. From its founding in the sixth century B.C. until its conquest by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C., Persia was the dominant power of the ancient world. After an interlude of Greek rule lasting a century or so, Persian power revived under two native dynasties: the Arsacid, or Parthian, and the Sassanian, or neo-Persian. Persia held at bay the empires of Rome and Byzantium for more than seven centuries before finally succumbing to the rising power of Islam in the middle of the seventh century A.D.

The Islamic conquest was aided by the material and social bankruptcy of the Sassanids; the native populations had little to lose by cooperating with the conquering power. Moreover, the Muslims offered relative religious tolerance and fair treatment to populations that accepted Islamic rule without resistance. It was not until around 650, however, that resistance in Iran was quelled. Conversion to Islam,

which offered certain advantages, was fairly rapid among the urban population but slower among the peasantry. The majority of Iranians did not become Muslim until the ninth century. One important legacy of the Arab conquest was Shia Islam. It was not until the sixteenth century, under the Safavids, that a majority of Iranians became Shias. Shia Islam became the state religion.

After the death of Malik Shah in 1092, Iran once again reverted to petty dynasties. During this time, Genghis Khan brought together a number of Mongol tribes and led them on a devastating sweep through China; and in 1219, he turned his forces west and quickly devastated Bukhara, Samarkand, Balkh, Merv, and Neyshabur. Before his death in 1227, he had reached western Azarbaijan, pillaging and burning cities along the way. The Mongol invasion was disastrous to the Iranians. Destruction of qanat irrigation systems destroyed the pattern of relatively continuous settlement, producing numerous isolated oasis cities in a land where they had previously been rare. A large number of people, particularly males, were killed; between 1220 and 1258, the population of Iran dropped drastically. The Safavids (1501–1722), who came to power in 1501, were leaders of a militant Sufi order. The rise of the Safavids marks the reemergence in Iran of a powerful central authority within geographical boundaries attained by former Iranian empires. The Safavids declared Shia Islam the state religion and used proselytizing and force to convert the large majority of Muslims in Iran to the Shia sect. The Safavid Empire received a blow that was to prove fatal in 1524, when the Ottoman Sultan Selim I defeated the Safavid forces at Chaldiran and occupied the Safavid capital, Tabriz.

In 1794, Agha Mohammad Qajar established the rule of the Qajar dynasty that lasted until 1925. The Qajars revived the concept of the shah as the shadow of God on earth and exercised absolute powers over the servants of the state. Early in the nineteenth century, however, the Qajars began to face pressure from two great imperial powers, Russia and Britain. Britain's interest in Iran arose out of the need to protect trade routes to India, whereas Russia's came from a desire to expand into Iranian territory from the north. In two disastrous wars with Russia, which ended with the Treaty of Gulistan in 1812 and the Treaty of Turkmanchay in 1828, Iran lost all its territories in the Caucasus north of the Aras River. Then, in the second half of the century, Russia forced the Qajars to give up all claims to territories in Central Asia. Meanwhile, Britain twice landed troops in Iran to prevent the Qajars from reasserting a claim to Herat. Under the Treaty of Paris in 1857, Iran surrendered to Britain all claims to Herat and territories in present-day **Afghanistan**.

The two great powers also came to dominate Iran's trade and interfered in Iran's internal affairs. They enjoyed overwhelming military and technological superiority and could take advantage of Iran's internal problems. Iranian central authority was weak; revenues were generally inadequate to maintain the court, bureaucracy, and army; the ruling classes were divided and corrupt; and the people suffered exploitation by their rulers and governors. During World War I, Britain and Russia, now allied against the Central Powers, occupied the country and used it as a base of operations against the Ottoman Turks. *See also* British Empire; Great Game; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Peters, Carl (1856–1918)

Explorer, adventurer, and colonial enthusiast behind the colonization of **German East Africa**. Convinced that Germany's economic survival depended on the acquisition of colonies, in March 1884 Peters helped found the *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonisation* (Society for German Colonization), a colonial lobby that was absorbed three years later by the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (German Colonial Society). Not content with Germany's recent colonial acquisitions in South West Africa, **Togo**, and **Cameroon**, Peters carved out a German sphere of influence in East Africa in late 1884 by signing treaties with interior tribes. Although initially unsanctioned by the German government, in February 1885 Otto von **Bismarck** made Peters's protectorate official and granted him and the newly created German East Africa Company a charter to administer the new colony. Over the next several years he took part in expeditions to explore the interior and extend the German protectorate deeper inland.

After the creation of an official German colonial administration in East Africa, Peters served from 1891 to 1897 as Imperial High Commissioner in Kilimanjaro before being relieved of his position amidst allegations of misuse of power and mistreating Africans. Thereafter, he spent 1899–1901 exploring the Zambezi river basin in search of commercial possibilities before being rewarded in 1905 with official rehabilitation by the German government. He returned to Germany full time in 1909 and spent the remainder of his life writing his memoirs and several books on international politics. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Berlin, Conference of; German Empire; Uganda; Zanzibar.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Philippines

A group of islands in the Western Pacific, colonized by Spain by way of **Mexico** between 1565 and 1571 and ceded to the **United States** at the end of the **Spanish-American War**. Practically none of the imperialists of 1898 had imagined the annexation of the Philippines as a colony, either before or during the conflict. Commodore George Dewey's victory at **Manila Bay**, on May 1, 1898, was to open new expansionist vistas in the Pacific. After the Spanish rout in **Cuba** three months later, Washington hesitated between several solutions: a return of the islands to Spain, independence, or partial or complete control under conditions to be defined.

The dispatch of an expeditionary corps, early in the summer of 1898, that was larger than the one sent to Cuba was in itself an avowal of intentions, a war measure that very much suggested a preemptive bid. If annexing the archipelago was not quite on the cards yet, relinquishing it was already unthinkable. Similarly, it was out of the question to recognize, let alone tolerate, the native nationalist sentiment and to cooperate or compromise with the Filipino patriots. At no time would the latter be regarded as valid negotiators. On September 16, President William McKinley decided in favor of the acquisition of the main island, Luzon; on October 28, he demanded from Madrid the cession of the whole archipelago. Even before the peace treaty of December 10 was ratified, at a time when juridically the Philippines were still Spanish, the president, by an executive order of December 21, 1898, proclaimed U.S. sovereignty over all of the islands.

From June 1898 to January 1899, the Filipino patriots repeatedly gave proof of their political maturity, which the American authorities took pains to ignore. The independence of the archipelago was proclaimed on June 12, 1898, and a provisional revolutionary government set up on June 23. An elected constituent assembly undertook to draft a constitution that was approved in mid-January 1899 and promulgated on January 21. Two days later the Philippine Republic was officially inaugurated with Emilio Aguinaldo as president. When it eventually dawned on the Filipinos that they had driven out their Spanish overlords only to fall under the American yoke, they rebelled again.

On February 4, 1899, the United States embarked on its first colonial war. It matters little whether American or Filipino troops were responsible for the outbreak of hostilities two days before the Senate's ratification of the Treaty of Paris. In a sense the Upper Chamber's approval was a foregone conclusion, for, in Richard E. Welch's terse formulation, it "was faced not with a decision to acquire the islands but with a decision of whether or not to repeal their annexation." The Philippine-American War lasted over three years. The percentage of casualties for the U.S. Army was one of the highest in American history. Aguinaldo was captured by ruse on March 23, 1901. On April 1, he took the oath of allegiance and on April 19, he called upon his countrymen to accept American rule. The military governorship was ended on July 4, 1901.

In many respects the acquisition of the Philippines became a bone of contention in American politics at the turn of the nineteenth century, simply because the Republican Party obstinately tried to turn into a colony a territory located thousands of miles from Washington. In fact, the imperialist rationale, although not its mode of implementation, received unanimous support at a time when the United States was moving on to a new stage in its irresistible growth. The great debate of 1898–1900 between imperialists and anti-imperialists witnessed a confrontation between two categories of expansionists—extremists and moderates. Theodore Roosevelt achieved an acceptable, hence workable and durable, synthesis when he drew closer to the latter following his accession to the presidency. The Philippine Government Act of July 1, 1902, created an elective assembly and provided measures for the betterment of social and economic conditions on the islands. Roosevelt next proclaimed a general amnesty, which was enough to still public criticism almost completely; and on July 4, 1902, declared the insurrection to be officially over, although sporadic fighting continued for a few more years. *See also* Hawaii; Panama Canal; Japanese Empire; Open Door.

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SERGE RICARD

Piedmont-Sardinia, Kingdom of

A territory of northwestern Italy united under the House of Savoy by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. The kingdom was conquered by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1796 but recovered its independence at the Congress of Vienna in 1814. Liberals in the kingdom began to agitate for constitutional government in the 1820s, yet made the critical breakthrough only under King Charles Albert in the landmark year of 1848. Piedmont was thereafter active in the Risorgimento to unite Italy but was thwarted at the battles of Custoza and Novara in the effort to prize Lombardy from Austrian rule. Under Victor Emmanuel III and Count Cavour, the effort was rejoined by way of an alliance with France against Austria in 1859. It was successful in joining Piedmont to the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, although Savoy and Nice were ceded to France in compensation for alliance services rendered. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Pilsudski, Jozef (1867–1935)

Polish nationalist, soldier, and political leader, Jozef Pilsudski was born into a Polish *szlachta* (lower nobility) family that had been actively involved in the 1863 **Polish Rebellion**. His education took place during the height of the Russification efforts. His teachers’ “system was to crush as much as possible the independence and personal dignity of their pupils,” he later said of his schooling. In 1887, he was arrested by the Russian police and exiled to Siberia for five years on a charge, almost certainly false, of participating in an assassination attempt on the tsar. He was again arrested in 1900, but escaped after feigning mental illness and went into exile in Austria. In 1905, during the **Russo-Japanese War**, he went to Japan where he unsuccessfully tried to convince the Japanese to raise an anti-Russian army from the Polish conscripts it had captured.

Back in Austrian Poland after the war, he founded a military organization called *Bojawa*, or “Fighting Organization.” Pilsudski rejected traditional terrorist activities, such as assassination of imperial officials, which he felt were not only ineffective but led to reprisals against civilians. Instead, his organization confined itself to rescuing Polish nationals condemned to death and to robbing banks and mail trains. By

1910, Piłsudski had also organized a “Riflemen’s Association,” which was tolerated by the Austrians as training for reservists. When World War I broke out, this force became the Polish Legion and fought as part of the Austrian army. In the last years of the war, Piłsudski was arrested by the Germans; in the chaos of the last days of the war, he was released and sent to Warsaw, the Polish capital. There he was named commander-in-chief of the newly forming nation. From that point, he essentially led Poland, although usually unofficially, without a formal position, until his death in 1935. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Russian Empire.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

Pitt, William (1759–1806)

Prime minister of the United Kingdom from 1783 to 1801, and again from 1804 to 1806, Pitt was the fourth child of William Pitt, later first earl of Chatham, who had distinguished himself as prime minister during the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). The younger Pitt studied at Cambridge before first practicing law and then entering Parliament at the age of 21 in January 1781. His maiden speech demonstrated Pitt’s mastery of the language and his skill as a debater—talents he would go on to use in opposing the government’s policy of war against the United States, and in advocating economic reforms to reduce government spending and reduce the king’s powers of patronage. He also advocated parliamentary reform by denouncing the system of rotten boroughs and calling for a redistribution of constituencies inequitably represented in the House of Commons.

When Lord Shelburne became prime minister in July 1782, Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer, and thereafter became a staunch political opponent of the prominent Whig politician, Charles James Fox. In December 1783, Pitt himself became prime minister, so enabling him to institute a number of successful policies for reducing the massive national debt, specifically the introduction of his Sinking Fund and a range of innovative taxation schemes. When he failed to achieve Parliamentary reform in 1785, however, he thereafter ceased to pursue that object. As a war leader in the 1790s, Pitt lacked the strategic vision necessary to effectively oppose revolutionary France. Nevertheless, he was instrumental, together with his foreign secretary, Lord Grenville, in consolidating the First Coalition (1792–1797), although he confined his material contribution to the war effort to naval activity and small-scale military operations on the Continent. During the Second Coalition (1798–1801), he again dissipated British resources, although his provision of substantial financial payments to Austria, Russia, and various other continental allies played an important role in maintaining resistance against Revolutionary France.

Pitt resigned from office in 1801 over differences with **George III** on the issue of Catholic Emancipation, a measure that the king refused to support on the grounds that it would violate his coronation oath. Pitt initially supported Henry Addington, his successor in office, as well as the Peace of Amiens with France, but when war resumed in May 1803, he gradually came to oppose government policy and returned to office for his second ministry a year later. Pitt was instrumental in raising the Third

Coalition—Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden—against France, personally conceiving, in January 1805, detailed plans for the reconstruction of postwar Europe. With the decisive triumph of the French at **Austerlitz** in December and the refusal of Prussia to join the Allies, however, Pitt's fragile health finally gave out, and he died from a combination of overwork and the cumulative effect of years of heavy drinking. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Platt Amendment (1901)

Passed by the U.S. Congress without serious opposition, the Platt Amendment defined the postoccupation political relationship between the **United States** and the new Cuban Republic. The legislation placed limitations on Cuban sovereignty by barring the new Cuban government from entering into any agreement with a foreign power that infringed on the independence of **Cuba** or granted the right to colonies or military bases in Cuba. It also prohibited the government from accumulating a debt larger than the ordinary revenues of the island could pay. Article Three, the clause most objectionable to the Cubans, granted the United States the right to “intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations . . . imposed by the Treaty of **Paris** on the United States. . . .” The Platt Amendment obligated the Cuban Republic to ratify the actions of the U.S. military government, to continue the sanitation measures introduced during the occupation, and to sell or lease to the United States land for coaling or naval stations.

The United States called for the Cubans to embody the same terms in a formal treaty with the United States and to incorporate them into the Cuban Constitution. Initially the Cuban Constitutional Convention and the Cuban populace rejected and denounced the Platt Amendment. Yet pressure from the United States and the recognition that the occupation would not end without acceptance of the Platt Amendment eventually forced the Cubans to accept the measure. Despite assurances to the contrary, the Platt Amendment became a pretext for American meddling in internal Cuban affairs. It laid the foundation for future American Caribbean policy and the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the **Monroe Doctrine**. The United States abrogated the Platt Amendment in 1934 as part of the good neighbor policy. *See also* Cuban Reciprocity Treaty; Protectorate.

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JAMES PRUITT

Pobedonostsev, Konstantin Petrovich (1827–1907)

An influential statesman in Russian imperial politics under Tsar Alexander III (1881–1894) and Tsar Nicholas II (1894–1917). After his studies at the School of Law in St Petersburg, Pobedonostsev began his career as an official in a department of the Russian Senate in Moscow. Between 1860 and 1865, Pobedonostsev became professor of civil law at the Moscow State University and was instructed by Tsar Alexander II (1885–1881), a promoter of reforms and modernization, to teach his sons law and administration management. Pobedonostsev also took part in the reform of the Russian judicial system in order to make the Russian autocracy more effective, but he never doubted the superiority of Russian autocracy over Western democracy.

As Pobedonostsev was an uncompromising conservative, he had a decisive impact on the Tsar's son and successor, Alexander III. After the assassination of Alexander II, Alexander III installed a repressive and authoritarian regime that was deeply influenced by Pobedonostsev's ideology. As chief procurator of the Holy Synod beginning in 1880, Pobedonostsev's ultraconservatism resulted from his orthodox belief. Pobedonostsev thought that human nature was sinful without a strong religious education. Consequently, he rejected Western ideals of freedom for the **Russian Empire**; independence and democracy as demanded by young Russian intellectuals Pobedonostsev considered as an "outburst of juvenile nihilism." Pobedonostsev spoke respectfully of England, but he thought that individual freedom and democracy would fit the English character but not the Russian. Pobedonostsev also denied any education for the Russian worker and peasant classes because they had to learn to live by the work of their hands. Any intellectual education would harm their productive force. As the head of the Russian Orthodox Church until the revolution of 1905, Pobedonostsev had an immense influence on domestic policy, especially on religion, education, and censorship. Although in domestic politics he propagated a most repressive policy toward nonorthodox religions—especially toward Jews—and non-Russian ethnic minorities, he was familiar with European and American literature and philosophy.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Poland

See Polish Rebellions

Polar Imperialism

The polar regions were and are an object of imperial ambition. The Arctic held riches in form of oil, baleen, and ivory from sea mammals, and exploitation of these resources started here in the seventeenth century. Fisheries, prestige, adventurism, and, toward the end of the nineteenth century, prospects of rich mineral resources also inspired entrepreneurs and states to venture to the extreme north of the globe.

Sea mammals had become scarce in the Arctic by then, and attention was increasingly directed toward the Antarctica. The precondition for lasting expansion by Europeans into these areas came with the age of discoveries and its development of seaworthy vessels capable of navigating icy polar waters, and the organizational skill associated with modern society.

When the first Europeans arrived, Spitzbergen, the Arctic ice shelf, and Antarctica with its surrounding islands were void of peoples; and hunter-gatherer societies only thinly populated Northern Canada, Greenland, and Arctic Russia. Rich fisheries, petroleum deposits, and the absence of subjugated peoples who could or are willing to assert forceful claims of sovereignty has prolonged the age of imperialism in polar areas into the twenty-first century, and it even extends to the oceans and the continental shelves below. Major contested areas are the Antarctica proper (contested by several powers), the Falkland Islands (between Britain and **Argentina**), and the Barents Sea (between Russia and **Norway**). In support of these claims on land and sea, past explorers and practices play an important role.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Polish Rebellions

A succession of nationalist risings aimed at reestablishing a unified Polish state. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Poland was a terrain of contention between Prussia and the **Russian Empire**. While the eighteenth century was the era of the partitions, Polish dreams of independence awakened in the Napoleonic period. Polish volunteers joined Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s army in the hope that the French emperor's wars with Prussia, Austria, and Russia would realize an independent Polish state. Napoleon pursued his own policy in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1807, he established the Duchy of Warsaw on territory that formerly belonged to Prussia and that had been part of old Poland, but the duchy was a French puppet regime with a limited self-government. When in 1809 Józef Poniatowski, nephew of Stanislaw II August, demanded some territories back that had been annexed by Austria in the second partition, the Russians invaded the duchy in 1813. Two years later with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, all Polish dreams of national independence through French expansion vanished.

The Congress of **Vienna** sealed the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw and left most of the terms of the last Polish partition valid. After 1815, Poles became discontented with a political order in Europe that restored a rigid conservative rule as an expression of the growing influence of the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the powers responsible for the statelessness of the Polish nation. Polish nationalism exploded in a series of armed rebellions in the nineteenth century. After the Congress of Vienna, nearly three-quarters of Polish territory belonged to the Russian Empire. At first, Tsar **Alexander I** established a Kingdom of Poland, granted a liberal constitution, a national army, and limited cultural autonomy of Poles within the Russian Empire, but these concessions did not satisfy the Polish dream of independence. From the 1820s onward, the Russian regime became more

repressive, and many Polish secret societies were established to drive out the Russians. In November 1830, the Polish army rebelled in Warsaw. The rebels hoped for aid from France, but it failed to come. The rebels' reluctance to abolish serfdom, moreover, gambled away all sympathies of the Polish peasantry. One year later, the Russian army crushed the revolt and 6,000 rebels fled into French exile. The tsarist government abolished the Polish constitution and the army.

Nevertheless, Polish nationalist activities were organized by exiles in Paris. One of the prominent leaders, Adam Czartoryski, tried to win international support in order to gain independence from the Russian Empire. But Czartoryski's vision was not undisputed among Polish intellectuals in Paris. He sought to establish a Polish monarchy based on a conservative ideology that denied any political participation of peasants and workers. The radicals wanted an independent Polish republic and the abolition of serfdom. When in 1846 the peasantry of Austrian Poland rebelled against the gentry, the oppression by the Habsburg regime was so harsh that it undermined the social basis of the Polish nationalists, as they split into rival factions and lacked the financial sources to participate actively in the European revolutions of 1848 and 1849. The Polish uprising on the Russian-occupied territory in January 1863 also failed because the intellectual leaders of the national movement did not succeed in mobilizing the peasantry. In August 1864, the Russian army crushed the rebellion. The former Kingdom of Poland was abolished, and the territory came under the dictatorship of Governor-general Mikhail Murav'ev. By then the leaders of the Polish national movement realized that Polish independence was a long process, and they preferred peaceful means by education and economic development.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the time for a Polish independence was not ripe, as the **German Empire**, established in 1871, and the Russian Empire sought, respectively, to Germanize or Russify their Polish minorities. Only Austria-Hungary guaranteed Poles a cultural autonomy in return for loyalty. Galicia received a semi-autonomous parliament, the Galician *sejm*. The universities of Kraków and Lwów became centers of Polish cultural and scientific renaissance that attracted many Polish students from Germany and Russia, but not before the collapse of the German, Russian, and **Habsburg Empires** in World War I could Poland become an independent republic. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Pan-Slavism.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Political Economy

A field of interdisciplinary study drawing on economics, law, and political science to understand the mechanism by which political structures, institutions, and the policies influence market behavior. Within the discipline of political science, the term refers to modern liberal, realist, Marxian, and constructivist theories concerning the relationship between economic and political power among states. This is also of concern to students of economic history and institutional economics.

Economists, however, often associate the term with game theory. Furthermore, international political economy is a branch of economics that is concerned with international trade and finance, and state policies that affect international trade, such as monetary and fiscal policies. Others, especially anthropologists, sociologists, and geographers, use the term *political economy* to refer to neo-Marxian approaches to development and underdevelopment set forth by theoreticians such as Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein.

To study the economies of states, the discipline of political economy was developed in the eighteenth century. In 1805, Thomas Malthus became first professor of political economy at the East India Company College at Haileybury in Hertfordshire. In an apparent contradistinction to the theory of the physiocrats, which viewed land as the source of all wealth, political economists such as John Locke, Adam Smith, and Karl Marx proposed the labor theory of value. According to this theory, labor is the real source of value. Political economists also attracted attention to the accelerating development of technology, whose role in economic and social relationships grew ever more important. Until the late nineteenth century, however, the term *economics* generally superseded the term *political economy*.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, *laissez-faire* theorists started to argue that the state should not regulate the market, that politics and markets operated according to different principles, and that political economy should be replaced by two separate disciplines, political science and economics. Around 1870, neoclassical economists such as Alfred Marshall began using the term *economics*. Institutions that taught politics and economics jointly, such as Oxford University, did not adopt this terminological preference and appointed the mathematical economist Francis Edgeworth to the Drummond Chair of Political Economy in 1891. Political economy remained in use for the study of economies seen through the lens of government action, even though many economists also study the effects of government. Political economy primarily refers to “systems” of economy, either Wallerstein’s “world system” or emergent systems, and the free market is often an important subject of discussion. *See also* Corn Laws; Free Trade; Imperialism.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Port Arthur

Port Arthur is the former name of the port city of Lüshun at the tip of China’s Liaodong Peninsula in Liaoning Province, approximately 30 kilometers south of the city of Dalian. Port Arthur takes its name from Royal Navy Lieutenant William C. Arthur, who briefly occupied the harbor in 1858. Port Arthur’s natural harbor and strategic position, commanding the northern Yellow and Bohai Seas, resulted in its fortification in the 1880s by Qing China and its choice as headquarters for the

developing Beiyang Fleet. The port played a major role in the **Sino-Japanese War** of 1894 when it was captured by Japanese troops after a short siege. On the strength of its peace settlement with China in 1895, Japan briefly occupied the city along with the Liaodong Peninsula yet was forced to withdraw in response to the Triple Intervention of Russia, France, and Germany.

In 1898, Russia occupied Port Arthur as part of its lease of railroad rights in Manchuria. It soon extended a spur of the Trans-Siberian Railway to the port, increasing the location's strategic and commercial value. During the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905, the port was again occupied by Japan after a prolonged siege and, with the defeat of Russia, became the headquarters of the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung) Leased Territories, taking on a major role in Japan's occupation and development of **Manchuria**. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Port Arthur, Siege of; Trans-Siberian Railroad.

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DANIEL C. KANE

Port Arthur, Siege of (1904–1905)

A costly but important Japanese victory in the **Russo-Japanese War**. Indecisive Russian command failed to halt the landing of Japan's Second Army on the Liaotung Peninsula from May 5–19, 1904. General Oku Yasukata skillfully directed the Japanese advance and defeated the Russians guarding the narrow isthmus at Nanshan on May 25, which isolated Port Arthur. After the battle, Oku led his army north to engage the main Russian army, while the Third Army commanded by General Nogi Maresuke, who had captured Port Arthur 10 years earlier in the Sino-Japanese war, landed at Dalny, east of Port Arthur, and advanced on **Port Arthur**.

Russian commanders made little effort to interfere with Nogi, and reinforcements by the end of July had built his force to 80,000 soldiers and 474 artillery pieces. The Japanese began probing Russian defenses in July and launched their first assault on August 7. This and successive assaults suffered heavy casualties, forcing Nogi to proceed cautiously and build extensive siege works. The key Russian position on 203 Meter Hill did not fall until December 5, but afterwards Japanese artillery on that hill shelled the city regularly. Russian General Anatolii M. Stessel surrendered the city and its garrison of 32,000 soldiers and sailors on January 2, 1905, despite ample stocks of food and munitions. Russia suffered 31,000 casualties during the siege, and Japan suffered 59,000 casualties. *See also* Tsushima, Battle of.

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STEPHEN K. STEIN

Porte, The Sublime

“The Sublime Porte” or simply “the Porte” was the name given to the Ottoman government at Constantinople. The name derives from the French translation of the Turkish *Bâbiâli* (“High or Lofty Gate,” or “Gate of the Eminent”), which was the official name of the gate that gave access to the Sultan’s palace in Constantinople, where justice was formerly administered and later where the Grand Vizier resided with the offices of the main departments of state. The French phrase has been adopted, because at one time French was the language of European diplomacy. The court of Constantinople was also known as the Seraglio. The name was no longer used when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the Turkish Republic. *See also* Ottoman Empire.

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ANDERKOS VARNAVA

Portsmouth, Treaty of (1905)

The diplomatic settlement of the **Russo-Japanese War**. The war broke out with Japan’s surprise attack on Port Arthur on February 8, 1904, but it was caused by Russia’s hegemonic ambitions in Manchuria. The conflict was a severe blow to the Open Door diplomacy of the **United States** and a serious threat to the integrity of China. After the battle of Mukden, decided in favor of Japan between February 23 and March 10, 1905, President Theodore **Roosevelt** was indirectly approached as a possible mediator. He was aware of two major stumbling blocks: Tokyo’s demands for a war indemnity and for the surrender of Sakhalin Island, which St. Petersburg adamantly resisted.

The peace talks began at Portsmouth, New Hampshire on August 9, 1905, and Roosevelt monitored them from a distance for two weeks, tirelessly stepping in to break every deadlock. Eventually, the Japanese were willing to restore the northern half of Sakhalin to Russia while Russia seemed ready to conclude peace if any reference to what might be interpreted as a war indemnity was abandoned. The accord agreed to on August 23 finalized terms that surprised the American president. They were less favorable to Tokyo than those he had earlier wrung from St. Petersburg. Unknown to him, the Russian envoy had in fact cleverly guessed and used to his country’s advantage Japan’s eagerness to reach a settlement. Signed on September 5, 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth was a compromise agreement that froze the new power equilibrium that had resulted from the battle of Mukden six months earlier. The Japanese, who had dropped their demand for financial compensation, received the southern half of Sakhalin, the Guangdong concession, which comprised Port Arthur, and the Russian rights to the south-Manchurian railroad—although the region remained open to international trade and investments. The Russians kept the northern half of Sakhalin, as well as their control over the Kharbin-Changchun railroad in northern Manchuria, and recognized Japanese predominance in **Korea**, with the blessing of the United States given that American policy included acceptance of a Japanese

Korea. In all, Russia did not lose as much as her defeat ought to have entailed; she retained a foothold in China and remained an Asian power that could still counteract Japanese influence—a welcome preservation of the balance of power in the Far East. Theodore Roosevelt's single-handed peacemaking feat at Portsmouth was crowned by the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize. *See also* Japanese Empire.

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SERGE RICARD

Portuguese Empire (1415–1808)

In the nineteenth century, the empire of Portugal was already in advanced decay. From the fifteenth century, Portugal had been a leading maritime power, advantaged by its location to play a precocious role in the European exploration and exploitation of Africa, India, and South America. Portugal also established the Atlantic **slave trade**, linking the longstanding slave trade within the African continent with the demand for labor in South America in particular. By the seventeenth century, **Brazil**, formally a Portuguese possession since 1500, was absorbing more than 40 percent of all slaves shipped to the Western Hemisphere. In addition Portuguese traders played a dominant role in the early spice trade linking Cape Verde with Mozambique, **India**, China, and Japan.

Portugal's vulnerabilities in maintaining a far-flung colonial empire were twofold. The country's comparatively small population hampered its capacity to settle the interior of many of the territories to which it laid claim. Plain bad luck played a role here, when in 1755 the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 killed more than 100,000 of a city population of 275,000. Moreover, Portugal itself was vulnerable to constant threat from other continental powers and was as often the object of the rivalries of England, France, and Spain as it was master of its own destiny. Napoleon **Bonaparte's** invasion and occupation of Portugal in 1807 marked the beginning of the **Peninsular War** and the end of the empire that had begun with the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta across the Strait of Gibraltar in 1415. In 1808, the Portuguese court was transferred to Brazil, and in 1815 the colony was made the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. The court did not return to Portugal until 1821 by which time the self-confidence of the Brazilians had built an unstoppable appetite for independence, which they secured under Dom Pedro I in 1822. The loss of Brazil to Portugal marked a decline as symbolic as Britain's loss of India in 1947.

In the nineteenth century Portugal therefore concentrated on consolidating and expanding its holdings in Africa—Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau, Portuguese West Africa (Angola), and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique)—but at a time of intensifying competition among the other European power on that continent. The attempt to link Portuguese Angola and Mozambique across the continent east-to-west was blocked in 1890 by Britain's project to link Egypt with South Africa north-to-south. Portugal's last major imperial gambit, therefore, was to participate as a loser in the great Scramble for **Africa**. *See also* Netherlands; Habsburg Empire; Slavery; Spanish Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Pozzolo, Battle of (1800)

The last victory for Republican France over the Austrian army, fought on December 25–26, 1800, in northeastern Italy. In late November, Feldzeugmeister Graf Bellegarde concentrated his 50,000 Austrian troops to cross the Mincio river, but news of defeat at **Hohenlinden** on December 3 made him hesitate, while French commander, General Brune went on the offensive with 70,000 men. Lieutenant General Dupont's troops crossed the Mincio on December 25 at Pozzolo and constructed a bridge. Reinforced by Lieutenant General Suchet, he beat off an Austrian counterattack and by midday, had secured Pozzolo village. An hour later, Bellegarde attacked the village, while more troops moved along the riverbank to attack the bridge. Feldmarschalleutnant Kaim seized Pozzolo and drove the French back to the bridge, but French artillery on the opposite bank prevented the Austrians from taking the bridge. Dupont reassembled his division and led a renewed assault, which recaptured Pozzolo, while Suchet sent another division over a second bridge. Pozzolo changed hands three times in bitter fighting. A French general assault took the village for a fifth time, but Austrian cavalry and dusk prevented any further advance.

The next morning, Suchet crossed another bridge at Monzambano in thick fog, heading for the Monte Bianco hills, where half of Bellegarde's troops were positioned. Suchet assaulted the hills and drove the Austrians back on Salionze, while Lieutenant General Delmas attacked Valeggio village, which would change hands three times. The French reinforced their positions around Pozzolo, while an Austrian counterattack on Monte Bianco failed. During the night, Bellegarde decided not to renew the action, but retreated across the Adige River. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Pressburg, Treaty of (1805)

A peace treaty signed on December 26, 1805, in the capital of Hungary, now Bratislava in Slovakia, which ended hostilities between Austria and France in the Third Coalition war after Napoleon **Bonaparte's** decisive victory at **Austerlitz** on December 2. The key southern German states and the Batavian Republic (Holland) also signed. Austria recognized Napoleon as king of **Italy** and ceded the western part of Venetia to the kingdom; however, Napoleon failed to keep his promise to separate the Italian monarchy from the French crown. The electors of Bavaria and

Württemberg were made kings. Austria was forced to hand over her most western territories, the Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria; the remaining *Vorlande*, enclaves in southwestern Germany, were given to Baden and Württemberg. In return, Austria was given the lands of the Elector of Salzburg, who in their place received the formerly Bavarian Principality of Würzburg.

The abandonment of the titles of elector by these rulers and the termination of the Holy Roman Emperor's right to call on military contingents from southern Germany was a clear signal that the thousand-year-old Holy Roman Empire was at an end. Napoleon established the **Confederation of the Rhine** on July 18, 1806, and Habsburg Emperor Francis II confirmed the Empire's dissolution two weeks later. Napoleon's domination of Central Europe was expressed in a clause, under which France guaranteed Austria's territorial integrity. Austria agreed to pay an indemnity of 40 million French francs. The Franco-Russian war would continue for another 18 months. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Pretoria, Convention of (1881)

Signed on August 3, 1881, the Convention of Pretoria laid down the principal terms of the peace agreement that concluded the First Boer War of 1880–1881 between Britain and the Afrikaner insurgents of the recently annexed Transvaal. A final major British defeat at Majuba Hill helped the Transvaal cause and ensured recognition of the independent Afrikaner republic. The price was accepting the British Crown's suzerainty, that is, handing over control of foreign relations and policy toward the indigenous African population. It was also specified that the republic may not expand westward. Because this agreement was considered unsatisfactory, a delegation led by Transvaal president Paul Kruger renegotiated the terms, the resulting document being the London Convention of 1884.

Despite important concessions, including the granting of treaty making powers with the Orange River Free State, as well as western territorial gains by the now renamed Afrikaner state, the South African Republic, the crucial objective of full sovereignty was not formally ceded, even though the phrase "the suzerainty of Her Majesty" was now deleted from the text. Ultimately the mounting tensions resulting from continued British interference led to the Second Boer War of 1899–1902. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire; Orange Free State; Sand River Convention.

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GÁBOR BERCZELI

Primo de Rivera y Orbañeja, Miguel (1870–1930)

A Spanish general and dictator who fought devotedly to prevent first the final fall of the **Spanish Empire** and then the fall of the Spanish monarchy. He was unsuccessful in both cases. Primo de Rivera was born in Jerez, **Spain**, on January 8, 1870, into a prominent military family. He joined the army in 1884 and advanced in rank through his participation in the Spanish colonial wars in Morocco, **Cuba**, and the **Philippines** in the 1890s. He became general in 1912. In 1915 he was appointed governor of Cádiz; in 1919 he became captain general of Valencia and Madrid, and then Catalonia, in 1922. In 1921, after the death of his uncle, Primo de Rivera became Marqués de Estella. From Barcelona he organized, with the approval of King Alfonso XIII and large support that included the Catalan high bourgeoisie, the trade unions, and the *latifundistas*, a military coup d'état that took place on September 13, 1923, ending the *turno* system under which the leading political parties took turns in power.

He had married Casilda Sáenz de Heredia in 1902. She died in 1908 after bearing him six children. The first born, José Antonio, would become the founder of the *Falange Española*, Francisco Franco's eventual political base. His sister Pilar ran the women's section of the Falange and is known to have said that, "there is nothing more detestable than an intellectual woman." José Antonio and his brother Fernando were taken prisoners and executed in the first year of the Spanish Civil War.

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GEORGIA TRES

Progressivism

An American political and social movement of the late nineteenth century that influenced the spirit of territorial expansionism policy in the two decades before 1914. The most dramatic example of the emergence of the **United States** as an imperial power was the **Spanish-American War** in which it eliminated Spanish influence in the Western Hemisphere and also gained possession of the **Philippines**, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Samoa.

By the late 1890s, the American economy was producing more than it could consume, leading to a search for new markets abroad. At the same time, the economic success enjoyed by the country came at the expense of the industrial working class. The project of domestic reform championed by the Populist and Progressive movements—prodding the administrations of William McKinley and Theodore **Roosevelt** to take steps to improve the condition of the working class and to end monopolies and trust corporations—was also felt in its most ebullient moments in the increasingly popular notion that the United States had both moral obligations and a responsibility to humanity more generally. In the case of the war with Spain over **Cuba**, the older traditions of **Manifest Destiny** and the **Monroe Doctrine** were married in the mind of Progressives to a crusading moralism that clamored for the United States to rescue Cubans from the oppression of Spanish rule. Roosevelt referred to it as "militant decency" and observed that America's chief usefulness to humanity "rest(s) on our combining power with high purpose." This relationship

between American imperialism and progressivism continued into the presidential terms of William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson and stalled with the onslaught of World War I, after which it was rearticulated as liberal internationalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Protectionism

A set of economic policies promoting favored domestic industries by using high tariffs and regulations designed to discourage imports. Historical variants of protectionism have included **mercantilism**, a trade policy aimed at maximizing currency reserves by running large trade surpluses, and import substitution, a trade policy in which targeted imports are replaced by local manufactures to stimulate local production. Mercantilist policies of Britain created a major burden on the colonies; thus protectionism became a significant cause of the revolution in America. Having achieved independence, however, many Americans advocated protectionist policies similar to those that they had earlier condemned.

Alexander Hamilton laid the theoretical basis for economic protectionism and modern economic nationalism. He set forth a dynamic theory of comparative advantage based on an import-substitution industrialization strategy of economic development, which supports the superiority of manufacturing sector over agriculture. In his work, *National System of Political Economy*, German economist Friedrich List argued that: (1) the **free trade** theories of classical British economists were the economic policy of the strong; (2) there was no “natural” or immutable international division of labor based on the law of comparative advantage; (3) the division of labor was merely a historical situation resulting from prior uses of economic and political power. List and other German economic nationalists advocated political unification, development of railroads to unify the economy physically, and erection of high tariff barriers to foster economic unification, protect the development of German industry, and create a powerful German state.

The Netherlands was among the first countries to take trade as a route to prosperity and developed into the commercial center of Europe as a consequence. Shipping and shipbuilding grew, giving Amsterdam control of the Baltic grain trade and making it a naval center and entrepôt for heavy goods. By the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the richest people on earth. By the late 1600s taxes and tariffs nevertheless began to creep upward, which had the twofold effect of diminishing trade while increasing wages, as workers demanded more money to compensate them for the increased cost of living. Skilled workers and commerce gradually moved to new locations, such as Hamburg, where taxes and tariffs were lower. By the end of the 1700s, the Netherlands even abandoned its traditional neutrality and suffered major defeats in war with England.

As the Dutch were removing medieval restrictions on trade in the sixteenth century, England was beginning to open its market as well. In the early part of the

century, usury laws were no longer enforced, restrictions on the export of unfinished cloth were relaxed, and certain differential duties were abolished. Enforcement of remaining trade restrictions was also generally reduced. Unfortunately, this initial era of free trade was short-lived. The end of the seventeenth century saw another revival of protectionism. In the decades after the 1776 publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, **free trade** wholly won the intellectual battle. The remnants of mercantilism were extensive, however, as were restrictions on domestic trade dating back to the Middle Ages. The free-trade campaign began in 1820 and concluded with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and of the Navigation Acts in 1849. The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1860 cemented the principle of freedom to trade. From then until World War I, Great Britain practiced a largely free-trade policy.

The U.S. Congress adopted the first tariff in 1789 with its principal purpose being to raise revenue. Rates went from 5 to 15 percent, with an average of about 8 percent. In 1816, however, Congress adopted an explicitly protectionist tariff, with a 25 percent rate on most textiles and rates as high as 30 percent on various manufactured goods; however, the first wave of protectionism peaked in 1828. In the late nineteenth century, Republicans called for tariffs to protect American manufacturing. Benjamin Harrison's defeat of Democrat free trader Grover Cleveland led to passage of the McKinley tariff in 1890. Protectionist tariffs remained the bedrock of economic policy of the Republican Party for the next 20 years. The Underwood tariff of 1913, passed early in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson, liberalized trade somewhat; but as soon as the Republicans returned to power after World War I, they raised tariffs again.

During the Tokugawa period, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, the era of shogun rule, Japan was almost totally isolated from the outside world. Although they had some limited contact with the Dutch and Portuguese, the Japanese were forbidden to travel abroad or even build oceangoing ships. Thus, Japanese feudalism lasted hundreds of years after its collapse in Europe, and industrialization there was nascent long after the industrial revolution that swept Western Europe. Trade played an important role in Japanese economic development after the Meiji Restoration. Although foreigners initially dominated trade, the Japanese quickly learned how to compete; they imported foreign technology and techniques and rapidly incorporated them into Japanese industry. By the late 1800s, Japan almost practiced a policy of free trade because treaties with foreign powers generally prohibited any restraint on trade and because the government was not heavily involved in the economy.

Germany has often been cited as a model of protectionism. However, an examination of German history, as well as a deeper reading of List, does not confirm the efficacy of protectionism as a path to prosperity. Although List favored protection against imports from outside Germany, he was adamant about abolishing all trade barriers, including tolls, within Germany itself. Eventually, List's view prevailed with the establishment of the German customs union, the *Zollverein*, in 1833. By 1854, virtually every German state had joined the union. List favored protection primarily for political reasons—to further the cause of German unification. Insofar as he had an economic rationale for restricting imports, it was based on the now-discredited infant industry argument. But protection, in List's view, was only temporary.

Until 1879, Germany's tariffs were comparatively low. In that year, however, Germany adopted a protective tariff policy for the first time. Although protectionism was promoted by the usual special interests, such as the iron and steel industry, it was held in check by the large agricultural sector that sought open world markets and increased agricultural productivity. What tipped the political balance toward protection was the central government's need for revenue. World War I brought a complete breakdown in trade between Germany and its European enemies.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Protectorate

A protectorate was a poorly defined institution or form of governance, suggesting in generic terms a form of international guardianship by a Great Power over a weak state or a territory. The declaration of overseas protectorates by imperial powers in the late nineteenth century was a response to the fact that the acquisition of new colonial territories—itsself in part a product of colonial competition among the Great Powers—proceeded at a pace faster than the establishment of colonial administration. A ruler who placed his territory under the protection of a Great Power retained his sovereignty over domestic affairs yet surrendered his authority over foreign affairs to the Great Power in return for its military protection. Depending on the importance of a protectorate, however, it was not unusual for the degree of administrative intrusion into its domestic affairs to increase to the extent that life for the population was hardly distinguishable from that in a full colony.

In colonial projects as in war, protectorates were often deemed appropriate in the case of territorial and tribal entities thought to be too politically immature or vulnerable to be covered by international law. The device could be applied to a smaller European entity, as in the case of British protection of the Ionian Islands in 1809 during the **Napoleonic Wars**, or extended to large overseas territory, such as France's declaration of a protectorate over Morocco in 1912. In each case the stronger power sought for strategic expedience to establish a military presence in the protected territory without assuming the full burden of colonial rule. During the Scramble for Africa this meant that, for example, that British Somaliland on the Horn of Africa became a British protectorate in 1884, while neighboring French Somaliland was given the same status in 1884–1885. With the new French protectorate poised at the narrows between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, Britain made the island of Socotra, at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden, a protectorate in 1886 and added a protectorate in Hadramaut on the north shore of the Gulf in 1888. *See also* Imperialism; Indirect Rule.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Prussia

Officially Brandenburg-Prussia since the unification of the Duchy of Prussia with the Margraviate of Brandenburg under the Hohenzollern Dynasty in 1618, named the Kingdom of Prussia after 1701, a north German state transformed during the last half of the eighteenth century into a Great Power under the enlightened absolutism of Frederick II, better known as “the Great.” A resource-poor and strategically vulnerable state was made into a force to be reckoned with through the introduction of a civil code, a professional bureaucracy, economic centralization, fiscal prudence, education reform, and the development of a highly professional standing army. Frederick II then tested Prussian arms in the Silesian Wars from 1740 to 1763 and managed to add Habsburg lands to Prussia’s territory. Under King Frederick Wilhelm II, Prussia acquired additional territory through the partition of Poland.

The French Revolution and **Napoleonic Wars** were for Prussia as traumatic as for any of the other continental powers but were also critically formative. Preoccupied with its rivalry Austria and even yet more apprehensive over the long-term threat posed by the **Russian Empire**, Prussia failed to appreciate either the full political implications of revolutionary France or martial strength of its Napoleonic successor. A policy of prevarication and neutrality was not set aside until the Fourth Coalition, which Prussia joined in October 1806 only to see its armies and those of its new Austrian ally soundly thrashed at Saalfeld, **Jena**, and Auerstädt. The humiliation of defeat and Napoleonic occupation—in which, after all, Napoleon **Bonaparte** viewed Prussia as a way-station on the road to greater glory in Russia—prompted sweeping reforms under Frederick Wilhelm III. Prussian forces formed a major portion of the allied armies at **Leipzig** in 1813 and were decisive in Napoleon’s final defeat at **Waterloo** in 1815. Prussia then realized significant territorial gains at the Congress of Vienna and then propelled itself into a new era of bureaucratic reform under **Stein** and **Hardenberg**; military reform under **Scharnhorst**, **Gneisenau**, von **Roon**, and Maunteuffel; land reform under von Schön and von Schroetter; and education reform under von Humboldt. Prussia adamantly and successfully resisted the European liberal movement of the 1840s and 1850s to become, after 1860, a modernizing absolutist state presiding over rapid and thorough industrialization. Under Otto von **Bismarck**, who became chief minister in 1862, Prussia also became the principal agent for the economic and political unification of the German states, through the extension of the **Zollverein** on the one hand and successful wars against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France in 1871 on the other. The proclamation of the *Deutsches Reich* or **German Empire** at Versailles in January 1871, with Wilhelm I of Prussia as German Emperor, represented the capstone of the unification project and marked the dawn of a new era in German and European history. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; Clausewitz, Carl von;

Confederation of the Rhine; North German Confederation; Franco-Prussian War; Junker; *Realpolitik*.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Przheval'skii, Nikolai Mikhailovich (1839–1888)

A Russian zoologist and explorer, Nikolai Mikhailovich Przheval'skii was born in Smolensk and was educated both there and at the Academy of the General Staff in St. Petersburg. Przheval'skii served in Poland and taught geography at Irkutsk before his explorations. He was committed to exploration of Inner Asia and aided Russian attempts to gain important scientific knowledge about the region. He carried out four major geographic expeditions to the Ussuri River basin, Tibet, Mongolia, the Tian-shan Mountains, Lake Issyk-kul, and other areas of Inner Asia during the 1870s and 1880s. He discovered the horse named *Equus przewalskii* during his travels to the former Dzungan region and was the first westerner to locate wild Bactrian camels in Inner Asia. Przheval'skii likely saw himself as fulfilling the role of a David Livingstone or Henry Morton Stanley for the **Russian Empire** by exploring the “heart” of Inner Asia.

He received the financial and logistical support of the Russian Geographical Society for his journeys and regarded himself as an agent of scientific progress. Przheval'skii was celebrated by the Russian public as a great explorer; after his death from typhus in 1888, monuments were erected commemorating his exploits. One was located at Issyk-kul, the place of his death, and another was placed in St. Petersburg. In 1893, Alexander III decreed that the Kirghiz city of Karakol be renamed Przhevalsk. Przheval'skii kept detailed accounts of his journeys and later published his findings in *Mongolia, the Tangut Country* (1875) and *From Kulja, Across the Tian-Shan to Lob-Nor* (1879). His first book was translated into English, French, and German.

Przheval'skii's three-year journey to Tibet from late 1870 to 1873 was the event that made him a public figure. Przheval'skii dreamed of finding the Dalai Lama at Lhasa, but his hopes were not realized. His travel companion and successor as Inner-Asian explorer, Petr Kozlov, and another of his closest friends, Panteley Telezhov, were introduced to the Dalai Lama in 1905. Throughout his career, Przheval'skii emphasized the importance of Inner Asia to Russia's **Great Game** competition with Great Britain. He hoped to establish some degree of Russian imperial control over Tibet and Mongolia. Upon his return from his expeditions to Inner Asia, he brought back 16,000 specimens of approximately 1,700 species of plant life. *See also* Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Puerto Rico

Officially the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, an eastern Caribbean island, named originally Boriquen by the indigenous Taíno Indians, and self-governing entity associated with the **United States**. Between 1509 and 1898, the island was under Spanish colonial rule. After 1815, Puerto Rico experienced opposition to Spanish rule and was granted **Home Rule** in November 1897.

After victory in the **Spanish-American War** of 1898, the United States acquired Puerto Rico in the Treaty of **Paris** on December 10, 1898. With a population of less than a million and little bilateral commerce, this most distant island of the Greater Antilles, more than a thousand miles east of Miami, was of particular strategic value to the United States, as it guarded the Mona Passage, a key shipping lane to Central America and the envisioned interoceanic canal. It thus complemented **Cuba** in Washington's notions of an "American Mediterranean," and served a function similar to that of Malta for the **British Empire**.

The American colonial government placed great emphasis on social engineering and educational reforms. As part of a campaign to "Americanize" the island's Hispanic institutions, Washington created a school system that mirrored that in the United States. English became the official language in all schools, as American teachers and missionaries flooded the island between 1905 and 1915. In addition, the United States executed a substantial program of infrastructure improvements, sanitation measures, public inoculations, and educational reforms.

Initially welcomed as liberators, many Puerto Ricans quickly rejected the new colonial rulers as they granted the locals inferior political rights to those experienced under the Spanish crown. The first interim military government lasted until April 1900, when the U.S. Congress passed the **Foraker Amendment**, which set the legal framework for the civil government of Puerto Rico until 1917. This first Organic Act of Puerto Rico made the dollar legal currency, set up colonial administration with a governor appointed by the president, made the U.S. Supreme Court arbiter of the Puerto Rican legal system, and denied the locals citizenship. At the same time, the act established a system of taxes and tariffs on Puerto Ricans despite their lack of representation. The island was considered an unincorporated territory belonging to, but not part of, the United States with no prospect of eventual statehood. Much of the debate over its colonial status was highly charged with racial and cultural discrimination towards the island's Hispanic population. The Jones Act of 1916 confirmed the territorial doctrine but granted Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Panama Canal.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Pultusk, Battle of (1806)

After the French army's overwhelming success at Jena-Auerstadt, Napoleon **Bona-parte** sought to deliver a crushing blow to the Prussian and Russian armies. On December 26, Marshal Lannes' Fifth Corps soon faced Russian General Bennigsen's army

near Pultusk, on the Narew River, 30 miles north of Warsaw. A division of Lannes' Fifth Corps, led by General Claparede, attempted to gain the town but was eventually repulsed, not the least because of the horrid winter weather. Another French division arrived and the French pushed forward. Benningsen's right withdrew to stronger positions and neither side was able to gain advantage. The Russians abandoned their positions under cover of darkness, but the French were unable to pursue. The battle was essentially a draw, although the French held the field. Napoleon put his army into winter quarters, but in less than two month's time, they would fight again at the Battle of Eylau. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Punjab

The historic homeland of the Sikhs in northwestern **India**, bordering on **Afghanistan** to its west. Its eastern portion was annexed to British India as a **protectorate** in 1846 as result of the First **Sikh War**. The western Punjab was added in 1849 after the second and more bitter Sikh War. Under Dalhousie the entire Punjab now came under direct administration, as British India extended as far west as the banks of the Indus River. An Anglo-Indian force, the Punjab Irregular Force, was established and quickly acquired a reputation as an effective unit. The Punjab was conspicuously loyal during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and, as a region, became such an important source of military recruits for the Rāj that, by 1914, it accounted for 60 percent of the Indian Army. *See also* Khalsa.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Q

Qasim-uli

See Kasimov, Kenesary

Qing Dynasty (1644–1912)

Also known as the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, the Qing Dynasty comprised a succession of emperors from **Manchuria** who ruled **China** from 1644 until 1912. The foreign Qing gained acceptance by adopting Chinese language, culture, and institutions and by ensuring a period of peace and prosperity lasting until the late eighteenth century. The nineteenth-century Qing rulers failed to deal with population pressure, institutional decline, corruption, and the economic and social consequences of opium imports from British **India**. They were slow to recognize the threat posed by the Western powers and thwarted attempts at administrative, military, and economic reform. While maintaining themselves in power despite the **Taiping** and **Boxer Insurrections** they were increasingly discredited by repeated military defeat and the concessions to foreign powers. Qing rulers flirted with radical reformism (Kuang-hsü in 1898), with anti-Western resistance in alliance with the Boxers (Tz'u-hsi in 1900), and with cautious modernization, but gradually lost support and had to abdicate after the 1911 revolution. *See also* Open Door; Opium Wars.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Quadruple Alliance (1815)

An agreement concluded between Britain, Austria, Russia, and **Prussia** on November 20, 1815, the same day as the second Treaty of **Paris**, by which the signatories

pledged not only to uphold the peace with royalist France, but to prevent the return of Napoleon **Bonaparte**. The four powers also pledged to hold regular congresses, headed by sovereigns or chief ministers, whose purpose was to preserve continental stability and to discuss matters of common interest. The alliance inaugurated the **Congress System** by which peace in Europe was preserved for the subsequent 40 years. As a result of the Congress of **Aix-la-Chapelle** in 1818, France was invited back into the fold of Great Powers as an equal guardian of European stability, thereby rendering the Quadruple Alliance in effect a Quintuple Alliance. *See also* Balance of Power; Vienna, Congress of.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Quatre Bras, Battle of (1815)

The first engagement of Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s **Waterloo Campaign**, fought on June 16, 1815, between the left wing of Napoleon's army under Marshal Michel Ney with 24,000 men, and an Anglo-Allied force of fluctuating strength under the Duke of **Wellington**. When Napoleon crossed the Belgian border the previous day, he ordered Ney to seize the crossroads and village of Quatre Bras, while Napoleon himself proceeded with the bulk of his army to engage the Prussians under Marshal Gebhard von **Blücher** at nearby **Ligny**. Ney took most of the village, but with the gradual arrival of British reinforcements in the early afternoon, Wellington was able to counterattack with 32,000 men and force back Ney. Meanwhile, the Comte d'Erlon's corps of 20,000 French troops, through mistaken orders, had been marching and countermarching during the afternoon, failing to reinforce either Ney or Napoleon. The French lost more than 4,000 at Quatre Bras to the Allies' 5,400.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Québec

Known as Lower Canada before 1867, Québec was a British colony that became a province of the Dominion of **Canada** under the **British North America Act**. Conquered by the British in the Seven Years' War of 1757–1763, and then given an extensive western hinterland by the Quebec Act of 1774, it was severed from Upper Canada—the future Ontario—by William **Pitt the Younger**'s Constitutional Act of 1791, which was an attempt to extend the British constitution to Quebec. It created an assembly elected under a property franchise and an appointive legislative council. The British-appointed governor ruled through an executive council of his choosing.

This led rapidly to tensions and, as in other British North American colonies, control over colonial revenues was disputed between the British-appointed governor

and the popularly elected assembly. Quebec's politics were further complicated by divisions between the French-speaking majority and the English-speaking minority. The *parti patriote* in Quebec claimed that revenues should fall entirely under popular control, which would have placed effective control of the government in the hands of the French majority. More radical members of the *patriotes* moved toward republicanism and led a brief rebellion in 1837, coincident with the rebellion of William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada. Both were easily put down by British troops. The rebellions of 1837 led to the report of Lord **Durham**, and thence to the unification of the Canadas into one colony with the object of assimilating the French population into the larger English Canadian majority. The united province of Canada was granted **responsible government** in 1848, to the anger of much of Quebec's British population, who rioted against the large role given to French Canadians in the newly autonomous government. The united Canadas were divided into the separate provinces of Ontario and Quebec within the new Dominion of **Canada** in 1867, thus re-creating a political unit with a French-speaking majority. *See also* British Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Quintuple Alliance (1818)

See Quadruple Alliance

R

RAC

See Russian-American Company

Race

A category in physical anthropology to define groups of people of common origin characterized by a series of common morphological traits. In the political anthropology and social thought of the Age of **Imperialism**, a means of categorization applied unscientifically to mark social, cultural, political, economic, psychological, and other sorts of inequality among groups of people. In both cases the concept is deeply connected with notions of culture, population, ethnicity, and language. Morphological differences among peoples was noted in ancient natural philosophy, major representatives of which believed that external peculiarities of human beings reflected character, intelligence, cultural, and mental abilities of their bearers. This assumption was broadly illustrated in the contacts of the Ancient Greeks and Romans with the barbarian world.

At the Era of Great Discoveries, the tradition had a woeful influence on the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of newly opened territories of northern and southern America, southern Africa and the eastern part of Asia. Equally, the maintenance of the **slave trade** gave birth to a series of attempts to allege and explain the superiority of Europeans over their colonial subjects, just as in the **United States** racist and racialist thinking became an integral part of the gathering political struggle between slave owners and abolitionists. It should be noted, nevertheless, that racial discrimination was never unique to the representatives of European civilization. Racially determined social differentiation was common in precolonial Africa, Asia, and **India**. In Africa it helped to sustain slave-based empires.

In nineteenth-century Europe, the ideas of Carl Linnaeus, Charles Darwin, and Thomas Huxley brought a new wave of attention to the race concept in scientific and social thought. Two main trends developed: racial classification and explanation of

specific differences. During the second half of the century, the latter trend itself split into two tendencies, one was connected with examination of different factors influenced on the formation of peculiar morphological traits; the other concentrated on the propagation of a revised version of racial theories. All of the latter were based on a common concern with tracing the cultural differences and social and political inequality among peoples to the determining factor of race. Particularly noteworthy is Joseph-Arthur Gobineau, who formulated ideas about deterministic role of racial differences in the history of humankind. Based on his thesis about innate inequality of mental characteristics and the capacity to create, comprehend and maintain cultural heritage, Gobineau believed in the primacy of a so-called Aryan race over other races and connected with Aryans all ancient civilizations, resorting to numerous falsifications in the effort. Gobineau's ideas were later integrated into the racial mythology of Nazi Germany. Another direction was connected specifically with the treatment of the black population of sub-Saharan Africa. This thesis, for the first time strictly formulated by J. Gent at the mid-1860s, created grounds for further studies in this field of representatives of **Social Darwinism**, who used racism as a crucial argument in favor of the primeval character of social inequality and social struggle. Mixed with the material greed accompanying European, American, and Japanese expansion, it fuelled the zeal with which imperial slogans such as **Manifest Destiny**, **White Man's Burden**, and *mission civilisatrice* were propagated and in its most virulent form—as in King Leopold's Congo—had genocidal implications. *See also* Afghan Wars; Herero Revolt; Pan-Slavism; Sino-Japanese War; Zulu War.

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OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

Radetzky, Josef (1766–1858)

An Austrian military leader, Josef Count Radetzky of Radetz was born November 1766 in Trebnice, Bohemia. His military career started in 1784, when he joined the Austrian army. As an officer he gained experience in the wars against the **Ottoman Empire** and Revolutionary France. In the **Napoleonic Wars**, he held commanding positions in several campaigns. At the Battle of **Leipzig** in 1813, he was chief of staff of the allied commander Prince Karl Philip Schwarzenberg. Unsuccessful in his efforts to reform the Austrian army, he nevertheless became one of the most influential military leaders in Austrian history. As commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Northern Italy since 1831, Radetzky improved the fighting capabilities of his troops. In the revolution of 1848–1849, Radetzky defeated the Italian forces challenging Habsburg control over northern Italy decisively at Custoza 1848 and Novara 1849. From 1850 to 1857, he served as governor of Lombardy-Venetia. He died January 1858 in Milan. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Radicalism

A nineteenth-century term referring to an ideology of radical individualism. In English, the term *radical* was often a contraction of *philosophic radical*, the name given to the followers of Jeremy **Bentham**, and most radicals in the first half of the century looked to his doctrines for inspiration. As the term's Latin etymology implies, radicals went, or believed they went, to the roots of a question. The Benthamite practice of reasoning from the root premise that social policy should aim at the maximization of social happiness, or utility, provided a powerful weapon against traditional mores and usages, and especially against prescriptive royal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical privileges. While not necessarily egalitarians or democrats, radicals were normally individualists who supported meritocracy.

Although the word *radical* was often used in the twentieth century as a synonym for *extreme*, nineteenth-century radicals in the latter half of the century found themselves outflanked on the left by various kinds of socialists, and in some countries anarchists. Radicals were for most of the century on the extreme left of the British parliamentary political spectrum. In France, the radicals looked back to the revolution and were defined by their antimonarchism, a position that ceased to be particularly radical in the later sense of the term following the advent of the Third Republic in the 1870s. Radicals were generally anti-aristocratic and—especially but not solely in Catholic countries—anticlerical. Radicals in Britain were antimilitary, the services being associated with the aristocracy, but in theory, if not always in practice, they were less opposed to the navy, which was seen as a more meritocratic and also a more defensive institution.

Whereas in Britain many radicals were almost if not absolutely pacifist, French radicalism looked back to the *levée en masse* of 1792 and indulged few such tendencies. Radicals supported private property, and British radicals were almost by definition free traders, although the petit-bourgeois supporters of French radicalism were not. Radicals were often anti-authoritarian and antigovernment—government being seen as an aristocratic tool—and in favor of individual liberties. Their veneration of individual autonomy led some radicals to an opposition to socialism as earnest as their earlier hatred of aristocracy, while others from a radical tradition—including figures as divergent as H. M. Hyndman, founder of the first specifically British Marxist party, the Social Democratic Federation, and Joseph **Chamberlain**—were led by their radical egalitarianism to the view that meaningful personal equality required that free market individualism would have to be supplemented or supplanted by a more positive kind of state action. Radicals were an important, and arguably the leading, component of the coalition that made up the Victorian **Liberal Party**. By 1914, much of the original radical program had been achieved, and arguments from social utility and human happiness often went in socialist rather than radically individualist directions; by this time the term was losing much of its original meaning, yet retained an antimilitarist valence. In imperial affairs, the philosophic radicals began by following Bentham in their opposition to commercial colonies and their support for self-government in settlement colonies, Lord “Radical Jack” **Durham** in **Canada** being a prime example of the latter. Later in the century, radical individualism, support for Free Trade, and an inherited distaste for the aristocratic military led most self-described radicals to follow the likes of John Morley in opposing imperialism, and they formed the backbone of the anti-imperialist wing of the Liberal Party. *See also* Boer Wars; Free Trade; Clemenceau, Georges; Liberalism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford (1781–1826)

As a scholar, colonial administrator, and founder of **Singapore**, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles played an important role in creating the **British Empire** in the **Far East**. While serving with the East India Company in Penang, Raffles came to the attention of Lord Minto, governor-general of **India**, owing to his expertise in local history, language and culture, and was asked to participate in an expedition to take **Java** from the Dutch in 1811. Raffles later served as lieutenant governor of Java from 1811–1816, where he concentrated on reforming local administration, taxes, and land tenure.

In 1817, he was knighted and returned to Asia as lieutenant governor of **Bencool**, a small port in western Sumatra. The following year he convinced his superiors to authorize a new British settlement at the southeastern end of the Malacca Straits to ensure British access to vital trade routes. Raffles landed in Singapore in 1819, signed treaties with local rulers placing them under British protection, and over the next several years was instrumental in turning it into a major British port. Two years before his death, Raffles retired from colonial service and returned to England where he helped found the London Zoo and continued his career as an Asian scholar.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Railways

Along with steamships, the **telegraph**, advances in military hardware, and improvements in tropical medicine, railways were critical vehicles for the advancement of European empires, both formal and informal. From their initial development in Great Britain and the **United States** in the early part of the nineteenth century, railways became the key element of modern industrial infrastructure. They served to tie new areas of the world into the developing global marketplace of the nineteenth century, represented the power of the European imperial state, and often times became the focus of or intensified rivalries of the European powers themselves for influence or control of the non-European world.

As early as 1830, a British parliamentary committee had authorized an expedition under the command of Colonel Francis Chesney to explore the possibility of establishing a combined railway-steamer route from Ottoman Syria through the Euphrates Valley for the purposes of improving communication with India. As

events proved, this expedition was ahead of its time; however, the notion of railway development through the ancient routes of the Fertile Crescent remained alive. In 1888, Sultan Abdulhamid II of the **Ottoman Empire** began granting concessions to a German-backed consortium for a rail line that would link Constantinople to the Persian Gulf. Capital shortfalls and international tensions, particularly with the British and French who both viewed German railway construction in the Ottoman Empire with suspicion, long delayed this project, which became known as the **Berlin-Baghdad** line. On the eve of World War I, significant stretches of the line in what are modern-day Syria and Iraq were not completed, and it was only after the war, when the Ottoman Empire had ceased to exist and Germany's imperial pretensions were at a nadir, that the line was completed.

In colonies of white settlement, support for railways was often highly desired because it helped get the crops of colonial subjects to market quicker. British financial support was often critical in the development of these lines. In the case of **Canada**, financial support for the **Canadian Pacific** Railway was used as a lever to encourage Canadian federation as a means of binding what were otherwise ethnically diverse provinces together. The Canadian Pacific line helped cement the union between **Quebec** and Ontario on the one hand and the prairie provinces and **British Columbia** on the other. This example is one of the most clear-cut cases of economics rationale and strategic imperative—the British government encouraged the federation of Canada in no small part so that the territories would not be swallowed up by the United States—combining together in the construction of an imperial rail line.

The expansion of Russian military railways into Central Asia in the 1880s was essential to the conquest of the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, Samarkand, and Merv. British concern over Russian expansion into Central Asia, particularly regarding the security of India, helped spur the **Great Game**, a struggle for influence that would eventually stretch from Istanbul to Tibet. The British responded in part to this threat from Russian railway imperialism by extending their own strategic rail system up into the Northwest frontier, including a line to Quetta in modern Pakistan. The ambitious project for a **Trans-Siberian** Railway, begun under the direction of the Russian Minister of Finance Sergei Witte in 1891, also served to tie Russia's semi-colonial holdings in Siberia and the Far East closer to Russia.

Railway development came late to the **Qing** empire, where conservative bureaucrats and members of the Manchu dynasty long resisted the intrusiveness of the railroad and feared—perhaps rightfully so—the degree of influence it would give European powers in their empire. After **China's** defeat by the Japanese in the **Sino-Japanese War**, the Russians took advantage of Chinese weakness to secure a concession for the extension of their own Trans-Siberian across Chinese **Manchuria**. This line, known as the **Chinese Eastern** Railway, considerably shortened Russian access to Vladivostok, their warm-water port on the Pacific. After the “Scramble for Concessions” in China in 1898, a spur line was added to **Port Arthur**. The Chinese Eastern Railway was an important focus of the imperial rivalries of Russia and Japan in East Asia. Only after the Qing court belatedly and disastrously threw its lot in with the **Boxer Insurrection** in 1900 did it turn its attention to granting lucrative railway concessions to foreign consortiums. This was seen as a method of securing funds to help pay off the large indemnity that China was forced to pay after the

Boxer Insurrection. European railway development in China and belated Qing attempts to assert centralized control over them, however, were responsible for a huge groundswell of Chinese indignation at these foreign intrusions. Resistance, often focused on the provincial level, led to widespread “railway recovery” movements. These played an important role in the rebellions of 1911 that toppled the Qing government.

In Africa, too, European imperialism was often abetted by railway development. In many cases the gunboat and quinine were more fundamental to successful European penetration of the continental interior, but railways, too, played their role. Rival Anglo-French visions for empire in Africa—often more the product of imperial adventurers on the spot than home governments themselves—resulted in the race to Fashoda in 1898. The French were looking to build an empire in North Africa that would be bound by a trans-continental railway stretching from west to east. The British moved to Fashoda to block French access to the headwaters of the Nile, but subimperialists like Cecil Rhodes dreamed of a British-controlled line stretching from the Cape to Cairo. Although Rhodes’s vision remain unrealized, more modest lines such as the Kenya-Uganda Railroad opened East Africa to commerce and began the process of white settlement in the temperate highlands of Kenya.

Railway development was also critical to the opening up of the Americas. British capital was heavily involved in financing railway development in the United States and Latin America. The invention of refrigerator cars allowed the Argentinian Pampas to become a key supplier of beef for the British world, and helped tie that country into the global economy. Although railway imperialism, the extension of European influence, and sometimes control through the construction of railway lines certainly did exist, it is a complicated and amorphous enough subject that it deserves to be studied specifically case by case. Often railways could serve as means of resistance for indigenous people as they did for the assertion of European control. Considerable work remains to be done studying the complex dynamic of dominance and resistance and the role played by elements of technology, especially railways, in this process. *See also* American Civil War; Franco-Prussian War.

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ROBERT DAVIS

Raison d'État

For “reasons of state,” a doctrine intimately related to *Realpolitik* and concerned fundamentally with the centrality, security, and vitality of the state. It is associated

above all with Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642), first minister of France from 1624 to 1642, whose statecraft cast aside the medieval tradition of universal moral values as the animating principle of French policy and asserted instead that the well-being of the state overrides ordinary considerations of morality, personal and political loyalty, and restraint. The doctrine held further that the protection of the vital interests of the state in the conduct of foreign policy—an especially perilous realm—must necessarily be supreme over the interests of civil society and that the normal restrictions of legality, too, must give way to necessity whenever the state’s interests are deemed to be imperiled.

The European nineteenth century, baptized in war by a French state incomparably more powerful than that of Richelieu, then shaken by liberal and nationalist revolutions, and finally subject to intensified and militarized Great Power competition within Europe and around the world, became a playground for *raison d’état*. Where “national” or “imperial” interests were thought to be at stake, the most baleful excesses were routinely excused. In comparatively liberal political systems such as Britain and France, the ruthless conduct of imperial policy was intermittently subject to criticism and censure, especially when, as in the case of the Second Boer War, its excesses became widely known. In Prussia and the German Empire forged by Otto von Bismarck, however, *raison d’état* was deeply embedded in the governmental culture and increasingly rested on the unexamined assumption that state power supplied its own legitimacy. *See also* Boer Wars.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Rāj

The Hindi word for “rule,” and a commonly used reference to the British colonial regime on India. The East India Company was founded on December 30, 1600, and company representatives arrived at Surat in 1608, Madras in 1639, Bombay in 1668, and Calcutta in 1690. After 1763, it became the paramount power in India. The Regulating Act of 1774 extended the control of the British government over the East India Company’s possessions in India, which the India Act of 1784 extended when it created a Board of Control. Lord Cornwallis, through his 1793 Code of Forty-Eight Regulations and his Permanent *Zamindari* Settlement, introduced the concept of alienable private property into Bengal and created a new class of landlords who embraced Western education and became partners of the British. In Madras a settlement directly with the cultivators, the *Ryotwari* Settlement, was introduced. English common law was introduced and the Rāj was backed up with overwhelming military force. The company founded an “East India College” at Haileybury in 1809 to train administrators to administer this system. From Madras and Bengal the British control extended their presence through the Mysore Wars (1767–1799), the Maratha Wars (1775–1819), the Sikh Wars (1845–1849), and, from 1826, the Anglo-Burmese Wars.

The Charter Acts of 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853 extended but modified company rule and it discontinued all commercial operations in 1833. It ruled India on behalf of the British government through the governor-general. After company

rule was wound up after the **Indian Mutiny** of 1857, the Government of India Act of 1858 created a secretary of state for India who assumed direct responsibility through a viceroy who was also the governor-general. The viceroy was assisted by an executive council of which the commander-in-chief was a member. A “collector” headed each of the 235 districts of India, and departments such as accounts, archaeological survey, customs, education, forests, geological survey, jails, meteorological survey, mint, opium, pilot service, post office and telegraph, police, public works, registration, salt, and survey extended the Rāj to every almost every area of Indian life. The Crown of British rule, Queen Victoria, was in 1877 proclaimed Empress of India.

In 1861, the government passed the first of a number of Indian Councils Acts. Madras and Bombay received legislative assemblies and new councils were created for Bengal in 1862, the North-West Frontier Province in 1886, and Burma and the Punjab in 1897. The Government of India Act of 1909 enlarged the Indian Legislative Council and the provincial assemblies and a nonofficial majority and separate electorates were established. This was the basis of the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935. By 1914, the British had created a veritable Rāj that had incorporated India into the global capitalist system, brought modern educational institutions, the British system of representative government, British legal principles, and the English language. *See also* East India Companies.

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ROGER D. LONG

Ranke, Leopold von (1795–1886)

One of the most significant figures in the development of the historical profession during the nineteenth century. Born in Wiehe (Saxony) into an old Lutheran family, Ranke studied in Leipzig and initially taught at a grammar school in Frankfurt an der Oder. It was here that he wrote his *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494–1514*, published in 1824. This piece is chiefly significant for Ranke’s expressed intention henceforth to reveal history *Wie es eigentlich gewesen*, “as it actually was.” Appointed to a chair at the University of Berlin in 1825, where he remained until 1871, Ranke aimed to turn history into an exact science, via the methodical evaluation and use of primary sources, and via the strict avoidance of value judgments. And yet, although history, for Ranke, had replaced philosophy as the “science” that offered insights into the human condition, he retained a belief in a divine plan for humanity. For him, existing political states, insofar as they were results of historical growth, were “moral energies” or “thoughts of God.” For Ranke, aiming to reveal history as it actually was primarily meant revealing the evolution of the existing order of things as God had willed it.

Thus Ranke’s influential methodology did not imply objectivity in the contemporary sense. While not all professional historians, particularly later in the century, agreed with Ranke’s belief that what had developed historically was sanctioned by God’s will, many certainly shared his focus on the state as a quasi-mythical category. As Otto von Bismarck used Prussia to transform Germany into a nation-state, historians emerged among the most vocal advocates of the project. This is perhaps unsurprising considering the close links between the German state and the historical

profession. Ranke himself was appointed royal historian by Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1841, and ennobled by Wilhelm I in 1865. The quantity of his work is as impressive as the quality, and the German edition of his complete works numbered 54 volumes. Such was his influence that, toward the end of his life, the American Historical Association, formed in 1884, chose Ranke as its first honorary member and pronounced him “the father of historical science.”

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PAUL LAWRENCE

Realpolitik

The German word for political realism, generally referring to the advancement of the national interest unrestrained by ethical or ideological concerns, more specifically a foreign policy based on pragmatic concrete goals rather than theory or ideals, the latter being *Idealpolitik*. Otto von Bismarck is often credited with having coined the term, following Count Metternich's tradition in balance-of-power diplomacy, but it was first used by the historian August Ludwig von Rochau who, in 1853, published *The Principles of Realpolitik, Applied to the Political Conditions of Germany*.

The ancient Greek historian Thucydides, who wrote the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, is often cited as an intellectual forerunner of *Realpolitik*. One of the most articulate proponents of the doctrine was Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), best known for *The Prince*, and Rochau's work was in substance a neo-Machiavellian doctrine of the natural law of power. The tradition of *Realpolitik* was further refined and transmitted by Richelieu's *raison d'état*. Bismarck's foreign policy adhered to *Realpolitik* in its clear-headed consciousness of Prussia's, then Germany's, “conditions” with as much attention given to its limitations and inherent vulnerabilities as to its considerable capabilities. Under Wilhelm II, *Realpolitik* was abandoned in favor of a *Weltpolitik* disdainful of Bismarck's caution. It paved the way for an intense European arms race, increasing tensions between alliances, and World War I. *See also* Bülow, Bernhard von; German Empire.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Régiment Étranger

See French Foreign Legion

Reich

A term casually used to refer to an empire of the German peoples. It is most accurately applied to the Second Reich, officially the *Deutsches Reich* but also called

the *Deutsches Kaiserreich*, proclaimed on the German victory in the **Franco-Prussian War** in 1871 and enduring until 1918. Its predecessor, the *Heiliges Römisches Reich der deutschen Nation* or Holy Roman Empire, was referred to by German nationalists as the **First Reich**, and the term *Drittes Reich* or Third Reich was adopted by Nazi propagandists to evoke a sense of imperial continuity. In fact, Germany's official name, *Deutsches Reich*, remained unchanged since 1871 through the Weimar Republic and into the Nazi Era. Between 1933 and the Nazi defeat, however, it was referred to as the *Großdeutsches Reich* or **Greater German Empire**.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Reichsbank

A federal reserve bank for the **German Empire**, established by the bank law of March 14, 1875. The legal successor of the Prussian central bank, the *Reichsbank* was officially under the aegis of a board of directors nominated by the German emperor. As the members of the board were appointed for life, the bank's policy was relatively independent from political intervention.

The bank's tasks were to regulate monetary circulation in the **Reich**, as well as to circulate paper money. Contrary to the provisions of the Bank of England and those of the Banque de France, the *Reichsbank's* statutes laid down that only one-third of the circulating money had to be covered by foreign currency and gold. It is important to note that the *Reichsbank* never was an instrument to manage the economy through conscious monetary policy. During the years of depression, the bank did nothing to stabilize the economy; quite the contrary, its procyclical policy aggravated the existing instability. As the *Reichsbank* was a privately owned corporation, its main activity was making money. The influence of financiers and businessmen ensured that state intervention continued to be kept at a minimum. Of all national institutions, the shift in power from the old agrarian elite to the new forces of trade and industry became most apparent in the *Reichsbank*.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Reichstag

Established by the constitution of April 16, 1871, the **Reichstag** was the popularly elected lower house of the legislature of the **German Empire**. Although the chancellor and the state secretaries were not responsible to the national assembly and the institution was thus seriously flawed from its inception, its deputies wielded nevertheless considerable power when it came to the elaboration of the budget.

Modeled with a few minor adaptations on the constitution of the German Confederation from July 1, 1867, and on the former *Zollparlament*, the parliament of the members of the *Zollverein*, the Reichstag disposed of the essential power of the purse. As the time where government could reign by decree was definitely over, the executive's dependence on the legislature and the resulting bargaining power of the Reichstag should not be underestimated. Moreover, the monarch had the right to convoke and prorogue Parliament, but no right to veto its decisions.

On the other hand, both contemporary commentators and historians have stressed the Reichstag's weakness compared to the mighty position of the British House of Commons and the French *Assemblée Nationale*. The assembly's functions were indeed subject to substantial restraints. Its budgetary powers were constricted when it came to military spending, the lion's share of the Reich's expenditure. Searching for a compromise between the demands of the representatives of the people and the postulations of the army, it was finally agreed that parliament would decide only every seven years on laws concerning the costs of the military. Although the Reichstag was in a position to veto any bill, it needed to secure the approval of the federal *Bundesrat* to actually make a law. Also, its controlling powers were gravely hampered by the actuality that the Reichstag did not dispose of a vote of confidence. The most formidable threat to the chamber's independence, however, was a dissolution mechanism laid down in the constitution stipulating that a resolution of the *Bundesrat* sanctioned by the Emperor sufficed to dissolve the Reichstag.

In stark contrast to most other European states, the constitution of 1871 introduced universal manhood suffrage including a secret ballot. Elections were held according to the electoral law of 1871, which provided for a majority system in single member constituencies. In spite of accelerating migration to the cities, however, the constituencies were never adapted to population shifts. As a consequence, in 1912 the smallest constituency consisted of 50,000 inhabitants, and the biggest constituency counted more than a million heads. This amounted to a gross discrimination of the left-leaning conurbations to the advantage of the more conservative rural areas. The antiparliamentarian roadblocks of the 1871 constitution ensured that no member of the Reichstag ever became part of the government. Although the chancellor depended on the support of the chamber's majority to pass legislation, a stable and reliable coalition of parties that supported the government seldom existed. Otto von Bismarck was disdainful of parliamentarianism, and bitter confrontations between government and Reichstag factions occurred frequently, especially with the Social Democrats and the Catholic Center Party.

With the extension of the modern state and a general centralizing tendency, the influence of the Reichstag nevertheless grew. Increasingly, the government began to form previews on important legislative proposals with the major party leaders before introducing the bill in the *Bundesrat*. Although the Reichstag visibly gained in importance, the kaiser and successive chancellors continued to prevent its members from deciding on pivotal matters, most notably in military affairs and foreign policy.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Reinsurance Treaty (1887)

A hastily formulated secret treaty between Germany and Russia. By 1886, it was obvious the Russians would no longer agree to renew their participation in the Three Emperors' Alliance, set to expire in 1887. To compensate for this, Otto von **Bismarck** masterminded a series of agreements in 1887 designed to keep Russia and France in check. One of those agreements was the Reinsurance Treaty, negotiated secretly with Russia and effective for three years from June 18, 1887. It stated that one country would remain neutral if the other became involved in a war. The only exceptions were if Germany started a war with France, or if Russia started a war with Austria-Hungary. In early 1890, the new German Chancellor Leo von **Caprivi**, on the advice of the Foreign Office, refused to renew a treaty which appeared to run counter to Germany's obligations to Austria-Hungary and the **Triple Alliance**. This left Russia free to pursue other options, specifically an alliance with France. *See also Dreikaiserbund*; German Empire; Habsburg Empire; Russian Empire; Triple Entente.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Responsible Government

The mid-nineteenth-century extension of self-government to British colonies possessing representative legislatures. The British North American colonies had been granted representative government—that is to say elected assemblies—at various stages in the eighteenth century. In the 1830s and 1840s, British North American colonists adopted a variety of stratagems to win responsible government. The rebellions that engulfed Lower **Canada** and Upper Canada in 1837 and 1838 were in part driven by this agenda. Moderate reformers who rejected rebellion, like Robert Baldwin in Upper Canada, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine in Lower Canada, and Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia, pressed the point with British policymakers in measured and reasoned tones, insisting that their agenda was not to sever the colonies from the mother country, but merely to achieve the British system of cabinet government.

In the wake of the 1837 rebellions, the first earl of **Durham** was sent as governor-in-chief of British North America, commissioned to investigate the causes of colonial discontent. While Durham remained in Canada only a few months, his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839), or Durham Report, offered a proposed solution to Canada's unrest. He advocated a union of the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, and recommended responsible government, something traditionally considered incompatible with colonial status. Durham looked to the model of

the British system and argued that implementing the system in Canada would require no new colonial theory and would entail only extending the principles of the British constitution and accepting the logical consequences of representative government. The governor should appoint an executive council with support from a majority of the assembly. The matters over which Britain should retain control were comparatively few, Durham argued: the constitution, foreign relations and trade, and public lands.

Britain's Colonial Office, however, was as yet unprepared to concede self-government to the colony. Lord John Russell, secretary of state for the colonies, insisted that the British constitution could not be copied in a colonial possession. Complications would arise if the governor received conflicting advice from his colonial administration and the imperial cabinet. Britain's ultimate willingness to change this policy and surrender the right of self-government has been attributed to a number of factors. Although Britain's own constitutional system was held up as a model by colonial reformers, conventions limiting the sovereign's power of independent action were still in a fluid state before the 1830s. The hardening of constitutional conventions in Britain was thus a necessary antecedent to any attempt to introduce party government in the colonies.

The key factor that has been cited in Britain's policy shift is the move to **free trade**. It is not surprising that a reconsideration of colonial policy would be tied to the mid-nineteenth-century dismantling of centuries of mercantilist doctrine, as that doctrine had provided the rationale for the acquisition of colonies in the first place. The Whig administration of Lord John Russell assumed power in Britain in 1846, with the Third Earl Grey in the Colonial Office. The **Corn Laws**, a system of tariffs on wheat, had just been repealed under the previous administration of Robert Peel, and Canadian wheat merchants who had prospered under a system of protection in the British market were hard hit by the change. A loss of imperial protection on timber followed.

The loosening of the economic ties of empire was accompanied by a loosening of political ties. Soon after assuming the Colonial Office portfolio, Grey encapsulated his views on responsible government in a famous dispatch to Sir John Harvey, lieutenant-governor of **Nova Scotia**. This 1846 dispatch instructed Harvey to follow the constitutional analogies of the mother country. His executive council should remain in power only as long as they enjoyed the confidence of the assembly. The governor still possessed reserve powers, but these should be used sparingly and discreetly. Grey warned Harvey that the government of the British North American provinces should not be carried on in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants. Nova Scotia thus became the first self-governing colony in the British Empire. In January 1848, following an election in which the previous Conservative administration was defeated, Harvey called on Nova Scotia's Reform Party to form a government. Nova Scotia reformer Joseph Howe liked to boast that while Canada had experienced a rebellion in its quest for political change, Nova Scotia won responsible government before any other colony in the empire, without "a blow struck or a pane of glass broken." The eighth earl of Elgin, who arrived in Canada as governor in chief in 1847, then recognized the principle of responsible government in that colony. The results of the spring 1848 election made it clear that Canada's Reform Party held more seats in the legislature, and Elgin accordingly called on Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine

and Robert Baldwin, the leading reformers in the French and English sections of the colony, to form a government.

The shift toward responsible government should not be confused with an adoption of wholesale democracy, nor was it the opening wedge of republicanism in British North America. Both Elgin and Grey were committed to preserving a constitution in which the monarchy, aristocracy, and popular will would be held in balance. Elgin rejected any constitutional model that proposed to eliminate the sovereign; the check of the crown was essential. Borrowing de Tocqueville's phrase, Elgin asserted that a "tyranny of the majority" was "not the more tolerable because it is capricious & wielded by a Tyrant with many heads." By the 1850s, the principle of responsible government was nonetheless conceded in the Australian colonies as well. An 1852 Colonial Office dispatch set out this objective for New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, and South Australia, although the implementation was slightly delayed by controversies over an elected upper house. The imperial government approved the extension of responsible government to New Zealand in 1854 and afterward to other colonies. In 1931, the Statute of Westminster formally extended to these self-governing dominions complete autonomy over foreign affairs. *See also* British North America Act.

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BARBARA J. MESSAMORE

Restoration War (1868–1869)

Known in Japan as the Boshin War, this civil war was sparked by the proclamation of a "restoration" of imperial rule in January 1868, commonly referred to as the **Meiji Restoration**. The defeat by June 1869 of all forces loyal to the Tokugawa regime paved the way for the emergence of modern Japan. The arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry and a squadron of American ships in Uraga Bay in July 1853 seriously threatened the authority of the Tokugawa family, whose head, the supreme warlord (shōgun), had ruled Japan for more than two and half centuries. Following their submission to American demands for open trade, the Tokugawa confronted opposition from two powerful traditional enemies: the Satsuma and Choshu fiefdoms.

The failure of the shōgun's second punitive expedition against Choshu in 1866 inspired a coup in January 1868. Satsuma and Choshu samurai conspired with allies in the imperial court to strip the shōgun of his title and "restore" authority to the emperor. Although the imperial family technically reigned, it had not actually ruled Japan since the advent of warrior rule in the twelfth century.

The restoration decree marked the beginning of a four-phase war between followers of the shōgun and their rivals, now called "imperial forces." In the first phase, 4,500 troops from the Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa domains defeated 15,500 troops loyal to the shōgun in the battle of Toba-Fushimi, south of Kyoto. The shogun approved a peaceful surrender of his capital, Edo (present-day Tokyo) in May 1868. It took until July 1868, however, to suppress disgruntled loyalists in

Edo in the second phase of the war. The third phase took place in the summer and autumn of 1868 and pitted imperial forces against a confederation of northern fiefdoms under the Aizu domain. Finally, in June 1869, the final holdout—naval commander Enomoto Takeaki—was vanquished after having led the bulk of the Tokugawa fleet northward and establishing a separate regime in the northern-most island of Hokkaido.

Although the great powers remained officially neutral during the restoration war, they retained an eye for commercial and political opportunities. Scottish merchant Thomas B. Glover supplied the Choshu domain with half a million rifles; the French government approved the sale of sixteen 12-inch grooved cannon to the shōgun. By January 1867, French officers had begun training the shōgun's army in Western military technique and "the manners of French civilization." *See also* Japanese Empire.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Retreat from Moscow (1812)

See Moscow, Retreat from

Rhodes, Cecil (1853–1902)

A British and South African politician, businessman, and imperial visionary, Cecil Rhodes was the founder of his eponymous colony, Rhodesia, and a major figure in South African and imperial politics in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Rhodes was the son of an Anglican clergyman. He went to Natal at the age of 17 to farm cotton with his elder brother, in part because it was thought that the South African climate would help his always-dubious health. Rhodes and his brother soon decamped to the newly discovered diamond fields near the town of Kimberley, where Rhodes did moderately well as a diamond miner, acquiring a large number of friends among prominent miners, and by 1873 having enough money to take himself off to Oriel College, Oxford.

On his return from Oxford, Rhodes and his partners formed the company that became De Beers to purchase mining claims in the Kimberley area. By operating on a larger scale than individual claim holders, and also by providing pumping services to others, Rhodes' company prospered. In the early 1880s, De Beers solidified its control over the diamond fields, forcing out small independent producers. From the 1880 annexation of the diamond-producing region to the Cape Colony, Rhodes represented the area in the Cape legislature, although not without accusations of corrupt electoral practices. Rhodes had absorbed imperialist ideas from his earliest days—his first will of 1872 went so far as to leave all his property to the colonial secretary—and he never wavered in his faith that the Anglo-Saxon peoples should rule the world in the interests of progress. His involvement in South African politics, his mining interests, and his imperial ideology combined to convince Rhodes that Britain needed to expand in Africa. As so often in imperial history, it was the local

“man on the spot” who was determined to push the frontiers of empire forward, often against the will of the government in London and even its local officials. In 1886, gold was discovered on the Rand, in the Transvaal. Rhodes largely missed out on the Rand gold rush, but the discovery convinced him that Britain must expand to the north, both to control the growing power of the Transvaal and to preempt annexations by other European powers.

In 1889, Rhodes obtained from Lord Salisbury’s government a charter for the **British South Africa Company**, on the basis of a dubious concession from the Matabele king Lobengula, aided by a certain amount of hype about the mineral potential of central Africa and a number of well-connected British aristocrats and other prominent figures on the company board. In 1890, the famous pioneer column of 200 settlers and about 500 British South Africa Company police marched north into the interior, where they founded the settlement of Fort Salisbury, later the capital of Rhodesia. Also in 1890, Rhodes himself became premier of the **Cape Colony**, putting him in the anomalous position of being both the senior South African politician and the owner of two of the largest commercial operations in the subcontinent, De Beers and the British South Africa Company. Rhodes won the premiership with the backing of an almost equally anomalous coalition of Anglophone liberals and the Afrikaner Bond. As Premier, he put through at the behest of the latter laws limiting the black franchise and native land rights. Simultaneously, the company fought and won a brief but successful war with the Matabele in 1893, securing its control over Rhodesia and eliminating the kingdom of Lobengula. The scandal arising from the **Jameson Raid** of 1895, in which company forces invaded the Transvaal, brought Rhodes’s contradictory position as statesman and capitalist, and at once exponent of British and Afrikaner interests, to a head. He was forced to resign the cape premiership, and shortly thereafter a **Second Matabele War** of 1896—this time requiring the intervention of imperial troops—led to his temporary resignation as director of the British South Africa Company.

The company’s combination of political connections and stock market manipulation at home with wars of conquest abroad—proceedings compared by Rhodes’s admirers to the conquests of the East India Company—did much to bring capitalist and economically motivated imperialism into disrepute in the minds of many Britons, especially on the left. At the outbreak of the Second Boer War in 1899, Rhodes was in the diamond-mining town of Kimberley, whose defense he helped organize during the Boer siege. His health declining and his attention diverted by personal troubles, he took little further part in the course of the war. He died in 1902, leaving a large bequest to fund the Rhodes scholarships and other imperial causes. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Ricardo, David (1772–1823)

A prominent and methodologically innovative political economist. Of a Jewish family and trained as a stockbroker, he broke with Judaism and his family, while

becoming a successful broker and early amassing a fortune. Drawn to political economy by reading Adam Smith, and a friend of James Mill and Thomas Malthus, he wrote extensively on the inflation of paper money subsequent to the wartime suspension of convertibility into bullion. He then took up the newly introduced Corn Laws, arguing that the interests of landlords were opposed to those of every other class. In 1817, Ricardo published his chief work, the *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. He became a member of Parliament in 1819, spoke for the reduction of tariffs, the paying down of the national debt, and the moderate reform of parliament; he was highly respected in the House of Commons for his knowledge of economic questions.

While he evinced great respect for Smith, Ricardo disagreed with him on a number of points, most of all his theory of value. Ricardo's *Principles* were notable above all for their use of mathematical techniques in the attempt to deduce from original premises the rate of profit; in this it is accurate to see Karl Marx as a Ricardian. Ricardo claimed to show that the rate of profit tended to fall with a necessity he compared to gravitation, but for the significant caveat that technical progress could overcome this downward force. The immediate political consequences of Ricardo's doctrines were to demonstrate that agricultural rents—which is to say, aristocratic incomes—increased with the price of food: “a rent is paid because corn is high.” The idea that high food prices went straight into aristocratic rents was a powerful force behind the abolition of the Corn Laws and the establishment of free trade. Although Ricardo's closely argued study of the question was not as widely read or cited as the work of Smith, it provided intellectual ammunition to the advocates of free trade. Like Smith, Ricardo was opposed to exclusive colonial systems. Also like Smith, his primary impact on imperial policy was indirect, through the establishment of classical political economy, with its free trade implications, as the hegemonic authority on its subject. *See also* Cobden, Richard; Corn Laws.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Riel Rebellions (1869–1870, 1885)

Two revolts, led by the brilliant, charismatic, and delusional Louis Riel, of the Métis—a mixed French-Indian people of the Red River Valley in present-day Manitoba—against the encroachment of the Dominion of Canada on their territory. The first rebellion, better known as the Red River Rebellion, was a by-product of the creation by the British North America Act of the Canadian confederation and its westward expansion into territory also coveted by the United States. The Canadian government purchased the enormous territory of Rupert's Land, of which the Red River Settlement was on a tiny portion, from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869 and appointed a governor who immediately set about surveying land occupied by Métis and not yet officially transferred to Canada. Riel set up a provisional government, arrested leaders of the local pro-Canada movement, and negotiated a settlement making the Red River settlement part of the new Canadian province of Manitoba. An expeditionary force of British regulars and Canadian

militia led by Colonel Garnet Wolseley was sent on a 1,000-mile march, initially to occupy the new territory but later to arrest Riel after it was learned that he tried and executed one of the pro-Canada leaders. When the force arrived Riel had fled to the United States.

The second rebellion came about after Riel's return to Canada and the attempt to replicate the Red River Settlement and its government at village of Batoche. This time the Canadian government of John A. Macdonald was in a position to launch an immediate military response and to supply it by way of the newly constructed railway. The rebellion was crushed and Riel tried and convicted for treason. Despite pleas for clemency in Canada and from the United States and Britain, he was hanged in November 1885. *See also* Canadian Pacific Railway.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Risorgimento

See Italy

Risk Fleet Theory

A naval strategic theory formulated by German Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz. Whereas the **Tirpitz Plan** was developed to challenge British naval dominance of the high seas with a formidable German battle fleet, the risk fleet theory articulated in a memorandum in 1900 observed that the German fleet need not be strong as the **Royal Navy**, because the latter would in the case of war not be in a position—given the burden of the defense of a worldwide empire—to concentrate its entire fleet against Germany for a battle in the home waters of the North Sea. A German fleet, the theory posited, need therefore be powerful enough only to inflict serious damage on the Royal Navy and thus compromise the latter's capacity to meet and defeat other enemies. Britain would not risk a major battle with the German High Seas Fleet because the potential damage to Britain's strategic position, even in victory, would be too great.

The theory specifically and Germany's naval buildup generally were crafted to nullify Britain's **two-power standard** for naval supremacy. In this it succeeded, yet it also backfired to Germany's disadvantage. Britain's response to the German challenge was a radical recalibration of the naval arms race by way of the development of the *Dreadnought*, which abandoned quantitative advantage in numbers of ship for qualitative superiority in firepower. Moreover, Tirpitz was in error about the risks Britain was willing to take to destroy the German fleet. In the spring of 1916, the Royal Navy did in fact hazard an all-out contest with the High Seas Fleet off Jutland. It sustained but also inflicted heavy losses—and retained dominance of the North Sea for the remainder of the war. *See also* Tirpitz Plan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, Earl Roberts of Kandahar and Pretoria (1832–1914)

A talented and popular British general, Roberts made his name fighting in **India**, **Afghanistan**, and **South Africa**, becoming commander-in-chief of the British Army in 1900. Roberts was commissioned into the **East India Company's** army in 1851, and won the Victoria Cross during the **Indian Mutiny**. He was an artillery officer who served much of his career in the quartermaster's department, and subsequent to the abolition of native artillery units after the mutiny was absorbed into the British army. He served with Napier's expedition to **Abyssinia** in 1868.

Roberts was then appointed to command on the **Punjab** frontier in 1878, as tensions with Afghanistan rose. After the initial British occupation of Kabul, a temporary peace lasted until the British resident at Kabul and his aides were murdered. Roberts led an avenging force into the city, and controversially executed those held responsible for the murders. An uprising near Kandahar led Roberts to lead a picked force to defeat the Afghans and occupy that city, winning him public renown. He subsequently rose to command the Indian Army, where his chief preoccupation was the perceived danger of a Russian advance through Afghanistan. Roberts was elevated to the peerage in 1892, and left the Indian command in 1893. Following Britain's initial defeats in the Boer War, Roberts was appointed to command there in December 1899, the same month in which his son was killed in the action that won him, like his father, a Victoria Cross. Roberts led a successful advance across South Africa, occupying Pretoria on June 5, 1900, but failing to destroy the Boer forces entirely or to capture their leaders—another two years of guerilla warfare lay ahead.

Roberts returned to Britain to succeed Lord Wolseley as commander-in-chief of the British Army. In retirement, he led the National Service League, which campaigned for the introduction of peacetime conscription to counter the German threat. A firm Unionist, he advised the Ulster Volunteer Force and supported the refusal of many officers to serve against Ulster during the Curragh "mutiny" of 1914. He died in November 1914 while visiting troops in France. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Roon, Albrecht von (1803–1879)

Prussian war minister from 1859 to 1873, Albrecht von Roon joined the Prussian army in 1816. In 1835, he entered the general staff. Recognizing the army's inefficiency, he occupied himself with schemes for reform. In 1859, Roon became war minister. His proposals to create an armed nation by a universal three years' service met with strong opposition. It was not until after heavy fighting against a hostile parliament that Roon succeeded. It required the **Austro-Prussian War** of 1866 to convert opposition into support. Roon's system produced convincing results in the **Franco-Prussian War** in 1870–1871. After that, Roon's ideas were

copied throughout Europe. Roon was created a count and a field marshal, and in 1871, he succeeded Otto von **Bismarck** as Prussian prime minister for one year. *See also* Moltke, Helmut von; Gneisenau, August Wilhelm von; Prussia; Scharnhorst, Gerhard von.

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MARTIN MOLL

Roosevelt Corollary

President Theodore **Roosevelt's** codicil to the 1823 **Monroe Doctrine**, which ordained that the Western Hemisphere was the domain of the **United States** and that it would police the area to the exclusion of other powers. The corollary built on the Monroe Doctrine's original premise that the Western Hemisphere should not be within Europe's sphere of influence but has variously been described as skewing, reinterpreting, and perverting its original intent. It was formally espoused in his annual message to Congress on December 6, 1904. Roosevelt stated that adherence to the Monroe Doctrine "may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power."

Roosevelt's Corollary bore the hallmarks of his sense of mission and keen historical interest in the role of the United States in the Western hemisphere. As such it was a manifestation of a wider conception of United States security attributed to the thinking of Alfred Thayer **Mahan**, which placed an emphasis on security beyond the immediate shores of the nation. After the **Royal Navy's** withdrawal from the region, the president shared Mahan's view of an implicit agreement with Great Britain based on shared values and an Atlanticist outlook.

Following the conclusion of the Spanish-American war of 1898, which had seen the United States post its intent to use military force in the area, Roosevelt was motivated by a desire to protect the **Panama Canal**. This became a rationale itself for preventing a European presence in the approaches to the canal that stretched throughout the Caribbean and to the Hawaiian islands in the Pacific. Roosevelt was also concerned that the internal weaknesses of the Latin American Republics, particularly in the field of economics following European pressure to collect debts in the 1902–1903 Venezuelan affair and in 1903 in the Dominican Republic, could provide a rationale to the Europeans to insist on intervention. This reinforced in Roosevelt's mind the importance of legitimating America's capacity to intervene across the region.

For Roosevelt this was not new. In May 1904, Secretary of State Elihu Root had read a letter from the president to the Cuba Society of New York stating "Brutal wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of a civilized society, may finally require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the United States cannot ignore this duty." In these words it is possible to both Roosevelt's zeal and a benevolent quality to his corollary, despite it having imperial overtones at the same time. This latter

quality did not go unnoticed in Latin America and gave rise to considerable anti-American feeling when the United States subsequently intervened militarily. For good or ill, therefore, the Roosevelt Corollary marked United States assuming an unchallenged position of preeminence in the Western Hemisphere. *See also* Navalism.

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J. SIMON ROFE

Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919)

Theodore Roosevelt served as the 26th President of the United States from 1901–1909 and was a major architect of American expansionist foreign policy. Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 27, 1858, the scion of an old aristocratic family of Dutch origin. He graduated from Harvard College in 1880 and embraced a political career in 1881 as a Republican reformer. He served as assemblyman from the 21st district of New York City in the New York State Assembly from 1881 to 1884, as U.S. Civil Service commissioner in Washington between 1889 and 1895, and as president of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners from 1895 to 1897. He was appointed assistant secretary of the Navy by President William McKinley in 1897, and he resigned a year later to take part in the Spanish-American War as lieutenant-colonel of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry regiment, known as the "Rough Riders." He returned to civilian life a war hero after his heroic charge up San Juan Hill and was twice elected governor of New York, much to the displeasure of the local Republican boss. To neutralize him, the Republican National Convention nominated him as President McKinley's running mate—the winning ticket—in the 1900 election. On September 6, 1901, McKinley was shot at the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition and died eight days later. On September 14, 1901, Roosevelt took the oath of office as President of the United States, the youngest ever to assume the office.

A convergence of factors made Theodore Roosevelt the most popular statesman of his generation and the first news-generating president: his close relationship with newspapermen; his colorful and endearing personality; his unbounded energy; his virile postures as a soldier, hunter, and westerner; his consummate showmanship; his eclectic tastes; his frequent eccentricities; and the many controversies that he initiated, to say nothing of his adorable but turbulent children. The White House made ideal news material and easy copy at all times, and a welcome antidote to journalistic routine.

Theodore Roosevelt's dedication to **progressivism** is best illustrated by his 1902 legislative record, criticized by both the Republican Old Guard's "stand pat reactionaries" and the "lunatic fringe" radicals. His administration's unexpected enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against the Northern Securities Company; imaginative handling of the Pennsylvania anthracite coal strike; appointment to the Supreme Court of Oliver Wendell Holmes, one of the greatest jurists of the twentieth century; and the Newlands Reclamation Act, which inaugurated a national

conservation policy—stepped up between 1902 and 1909, often in defiance of Congress—testify to an enduring progressive legacy.

Several other measures may be regarded as part of the Roosevelt's Square Deal program, although he coined the phrase during the 1904 campaign. In 1903, a Department of Commerce was created, with a Bureau of Corporations to assist the President in watching corporate dealings. The same year the Elkins Anti-Rebate Act forbade the railroads from granting rebates to large companies. It was reinforced by the 1906 Hepburn Act, which empowered the Interstate Commerce Commission to set rates and to examine the railroads' bookkeeping, and which prohibited the carrying of commodities unrelated to the companies' usual operations. More important still, inasmuch as they achieved a major precedent, the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act of 1906 made the national government the overseer of the consumer's health and safety.

A longtime apologist of Anglo-Saxon expansionism, the new president was in no way perplexed by the colonial gains of 1898; on the contrary, he welcomed them as the inevitable corollary of greatness. In his eyes the colonial venture of the turn of the century marked a mutation from Monroeism to internationalism, from hemispheric responsibilities to global commitments. Roosevelt was better prepared to deal with foreign policy than most of his predecessors, being blessed with three formidable assets: a cosmopolitan upbringing, an impressive knowledge of world history, and an international network of friends and acquaintances in American and foreign diplomatic circles. Yet Roosevelt's realism, inventiveness, and professionalism in the handling of European-American or Japanese-American relations are only part of the story, for he was to evince less restraint and less acumen in dealing with "inferior" races or peoples, in China, the **Philippines**, or the Caribbean. Witness his brutal reaction to the Chinese boycott of American goods in 1905, his ranting diatribes against Emilio Aguinaldo and his followers during the 1899–1902 Philippine-American War, and his spiteful dismissal of Colombian objections to the **Hay-Herrán Treaty** in 1903. Setting Theodore Roosevelt in context tends to mitigate these shortcomings and to highlight the innovative character of his diplomacy; it also evidences his momentous encounter with his times. The historian and theoretician of expansion would turn out to be a fitting chief executive for the newly born imperial republic of the turn of the century. In fact, the Americans of 1900 who endorsed the acquisition of an empire adopted the Rooseveltian thesis of historic continuity as expounded in his *Winning of the West*, conquest and settlement were rooted in the Anglo-Saxon past.

A tradition-inspired innovator, Roosevelt showed his firm grasp of international politics in a new age, such as the need for Anglo-American cooperation and solidarity. With national greatness and national security foremost in his mind, he continued to advocate and promote preparedness, strengthened U.S. supremacy in the Western Hemisphere by adding his "corollary" to the **Monroe Doctrine** in 1904, and cautiously discarded isolation in an attempt to effect the world balance of power in a manner conducive to peace and therefore beneficial to the United States, given the global framework of its security. The 26th President's geopolitical clear-sightedness was too novel, however, to win easy acceptance and support from his contemporaries; the old isolationist reflex had to be reckoned with whenever foreign policy ventured too far from American shores.

Unsurprisingly, the main diplomatic episodes that Roosevelt personally handled—the Venezuelan and Moroccan crises, the **Russo-Japanese War**—directly

concerned the two powers that he always considered as potential enemies, Germany and Japan. During the **Venezuelan Crisis** of 1902–1903, he discreetly but vigorously forced Berlin to pay heed to the Monroe Doctrine. His so-called ultimatum was a reminder that he most probably communicated verbally to the German envoy in February 1903. Roosevelt was also instrumental in the controversial acquisition of the **Panama Canal Zone**, after Colombia's rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty; the Canal Zone was secured thanks to a timely revolution on the Isthmus, which Washington government passively encouraged, and a new treaty signed between the newly independent Republic of Panama and the United States on November 18, 1903. Unknown to most of his contemporaries, he secretly acted as mediator in the **Moroccan Crisis** of 1904–1906, which opposed Germany to France, and endeavored both to appease the German emperor and to safeguard French interests, notably during the 1906 **Algeciras Conference**. His greatest diplomatic triumph was his ending of the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War by way of the mediation at the Portsmouth Peace Conference and the signing of the Treaty of **Portsmouth** on September 5, 1905. His masterful peacemaking won Roosevelt the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. He later tried to defuse the Japanese-American crisis triggered by the exclusion of Oriental pupils from San Francisco's schools. The tension between Washington and Tokyo partly justified his decision to send the Great White Fleet on a world cruise on December 16, 1907, the most powerful motive being the chief executive's wish to publicize the need for building up the navy. The return of the fleet on February 22, 1909, shortly before he left office, was a crowning achievement for the outgoing president. His friend William Howard Taft succeeded him on March 4, 1909.

As ex-president, Roosevelt continued to make the headlines and to be active in politics. On leaving the White House, he spent a year hunting big game in Africa then toured Europe for three months before going back home. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy in 1909–1910 led to his estrangement from Taft, of whom he became increasingly critical. Despite his 1904 statement to the contrary, he announced his decision to run again for president. He was denied the nomination by the Republican Party, broke with it, and founded the Progressive Party. The three-cornered fight of 1912 ensured the election of the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson. From 1915 until his death, the former president waged his ultimate political battle, first on behalf of preparedness and intervention, then, after American entry into the Great War, against Wilson's projected peace settlement. It was on the whole a lonely, quixotic crusade that eventually gathered momentum and culminated posthumously, in a sense, with the U.S. Senate's rejection of the Versailles Treaty, following a battle in which the Big Stick diplomatist's "alter ego," Henry Cabot Lodge, played a leading part. Theodore Roosevelt died in his sleep in Oyster Bay, New York, on January 6, 1919. *See also* Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Roosevelt Corollary.

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SERGE RICARD

Root, Elihu (1845–1937)

An American lawyer and statesman who played a prominent role in the development of a legal and administrative framework for the colonial empire of the **United States**. During his term as secretary of war (1899–1904), Root laid the foundations of an American approach to colonial governance in **Puerto Rico** and the **Philippines** and to informal empire in **Cuba**.

Based on a close reading of British imperial experience, Root's approach combined benevolent paternalism with military enforcement of colonial control. He supported extensive social engineering measures and limited political reforms in the colonies but defended the brutal suppression of indigenous resistance to American rule and questioned the abilities of the colonized for self-government on cultural and racial grounds. He designed a legal framework that allocated the overseas possessions a status of unincorporated territories with no constitutional rights for the colonial subjects. In the case of Cuba, Root supported reforms for Cuban independence but simultaneously devised important legal mechanisms, such as the **Platt Amendment** of 1901, which facilitated continued American control over Cuban affairs through intervention rights and a Cuban-U.S. lease agreement for a naval base at Guantánamo Bay.

Between 1905 and 1909, Root served as secretary of state and reformed the consular service, improved relations with Latin America, negotiated mutual recognition of U.S. and Japanese colonial possessions, as in the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908, and supported a legal framework for the arbitration of international disputes. Root served in the U.S. Senate from 1909 to 1915 and received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts at international arbitration in 1912. *See also* Monroe Doctrine; Japanese Empire.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Rorke's Drift, Battle of (1879)

A minor but celebrated engagement of the **Zulu War** that followed quickly on the Zulu victory at **Isandhlwana** in January 1879. At a mission station by a ford of the Buffalo River 25 miles southeast of Dundee in South Africa, a British force of 139 men, 35 of whom were ill, defended a small hospital compound against repeated attacks by a 4,000-man Zulu impi for 12 hours until the Zulu force abandoned the assault. The British force was commanded by two officers hitherto notable for no distinguished service, Lieutenant John Rouse Merriot Chard of the Royal Engineers and Lieutenant Gonville Bromhead of B Company of the 24th Regiment.

In response to repeated Zulu charges, the defenders fired a total of 20,000 rounds of ammunition and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. At its height, the battle degenerated into savage hand-to-hand combat, and the mission hospital was set afire. The defenders counted 17 dead and 10 wounded after the fighting subsided. Zulu losses have been estimated as low as 400 and as high as 1,000. In all, 11 Victoria Crosses were awarded for the defense of Rorke's Drift, the highest ever given for a single engagement. In 1880, Alphonse de Neuville completed a superb painting, *The Defence of Rorke's Drift 1879*, which today hangs in the Art Gallery of New South Wales.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Rosas, Juan Manuel de (1793–1877)

Military commander who helped the Federalists defeat the *Unitario* government of Buenos Aires and then helped develop the power and wealth of the city and province of Buenos Aires in **Argentina**. Rosas gained title to land as a result of his skill as a rancher. He helped organize a militia cavalry that campaigned against Native American raiders on the Argentine *pampa*. Increasingly opposed to the efforts of the government to unify all of Argentina's provinces into a single country, he turned his military and political skills against Buenos Aires. He became governor of the province in 1829. The legislature granted him absolute power, and he remained in charge until 1852. To protect and promote the interests of landowners and exporters, Rosas used his military power to regulate the flow of trade on the Río de la Plata. His attempts to force merchants to trade only with Buenos Aires led to wars with **Brazil**, Great Britain, and France, as well as conflicts with other provincial governments. *See also* ABC Powers.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

Rosebery, Archibald Philip Primrose, Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929)

In 1894–1895, Rosebery was briefly prime minister of Great Britain, during which time Britain declared a protectorate over **Uganda**. Rosebery served with distinction as foreign secretary during William Gladstone's brief administration of 1886, negotiating a peaceful resolution to a crisis in Bulgaria. On the fall of Gladstone's government over the issue of Irish **Home Rule**, Rosebery was one of few Liberal peers to remain with the Gladstonians. Rosebery became foreign secretary once again in Gladstone's fourth government of 1892–1894, and succeeded the latter on his resignation. Gladstone's resignation was provoked by his opposition to increased naval spending, and Rosebery's brief government remained divided on questions related to military spending and imperial expansion, with many of the **Liberal Party's** core supporters opposed to both.

Rosebery was a Liberal Imperialist, and as such something of a mentor to younger Liberal Imperialists such as H. H. Asquith and Edward Grey. Although a cautious diplomat, Rosebery is remembered for defending imperial expansion, particularly in Africa, as “pegging out claims for posterity,” a remark that reflected the widely held contemporary view that colonies were a necessary source of long-term wealth and power. His government fell on a vote pertaining to army preparedness, and in the subsequent election, the Tories and Unionists led by Lord Salisbury were able to accuse the Liberals of being insufficiently supportive of Britain’s imperial position. Rosebery did not again hold office, and for the rest of his life was a somewhat quixotic figure pining for an unlikely kind of nonparty government. *See also* Liberal Imperialism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Royal Navy

The British navy, the Royal Navy, was the world’s dominant naval force throughout the nineteenth century. The Royal Navy emerged from the wars of the French Revolution and Empire with a reputation for invincibility established by its successive victories over the Danish, Dutch, Spanish, and—most of all—the French navies. Its primacy was established by the great victory of **Trafalgar** in 1805, although commerce-raiding and blockades continued until the end of the Napoleonic wars. Although the Anglo-American War of 1812 produced a number of embarrassing defeats in frigate actions, the Royal Navy successfully reasserted itself. In the long peace that followed the French wars, the Royal Navy provided protection to Britain’s increasingly far-flung trade routes, its power thereby being an immediate and necessary precondition of the growth of British and indeed Western global economic supremacy.

The Royal Navy was also active in the campaigns against slavery and the slave trade, and against piracy. As naval ships were often the only British forces in distant regions, such as the coasts of Africa and **China**, sailors and marines frequently operated ashore in furtherance of British interests. They played a major role in victories over the Chinese in the so-called **Opium Wars** of 1839–1842, 1857, and 1859–1860, and in operations against slavers and against hostile tribes in Africa. Whereas British power was maintained by small naval forces—often single ships—in more remote areas not dominated by another western power, in home and Mediterranean waters Britain maintained significant fleets of major warships. Warships changed radically throughout the nineteenth century. The introduction of steam engines, at first as auxiliary power, radically changed ship design, as did the advent of iron cladding followed by iron construction. Disputes between advocates of paddlewheels, which were vulnerable and interfered with armament, and screw propellers were resolved in favor of the latter. The fleets used in the **Crimean War** featured large three-decker sailing ships of traditional design equipped with removable screw propellers. That war also saw the development of large fleets of steam gunboats for inshore service. Such gunboats later saw service in numerous imperial campaigns.

Rapid technical change throughout the nineteenth century led to a number of naval scares—notably in 1847, 1859, and 1884—in which it was feared that the

foreign, and usually French, introduction of whole new types of ship would make the Royal Navy obsolete at a blow. The French launched the steam ironclad *La Gloire* in 1859, leading the British to respond with the much larger *H.M.S. Warrior*, equipped with both steam engines and sails and a combination of breech-loading and muzzle-loading guns. Rapid improvements in guns, armor, and steam technology led to an arms race featuring many curious hybrid ships; it was a race that, following France's defeat by Prussia in 1870, Britain won by default. The Victorian navy systematized the recruitment of both men and officers, introducing for ratings long service in place of the practice of engagement for a single sailing, and a system of naval colleges for officers. Technical change led to a need for engineer officers and for skilled mechanics, or artificers, as well as specialist gunnery officers. *H.M.S. Excellent*, founded in 1830, trained the latter, and was one of a number of specialized technical schools created by the nineteenth-century navy to replace the old informal system of training at sea. Originally tolerated as unpleasant necessities, engineer officers were integrated into the naval rank structure as the century went on, although the full equivalence of engineer and deck officers was only pushed through, against some resistance, in 1903. The first ship without masts at all was *H.M.S. Devastation* of 1873; henceforth battleships, as they were beginning to be called, began to take their twentieth-century form, featuring guns in turrets, steam engines, and massive belts armor, especially around key areas. Other novel types were introduced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the torpedo boat, the destroyer, and the submarine.

The 1905 launch of *H.M.S. Dreadnought*, the brainchild of Sir John Fisher, the first all-big gun turbine-driven battleship, made all other ships afloat obsolete. It also did much to accelerate the Anglo-German naval race. The naval race led the admiralty to withdraw from service many older and obsolete ships, especially from far-flung corners of the empire, in part to save money but also in obeisance to the blue water theories promulgated by A. T. Mahan and many others. The command of ships on distant imperial stations necessarily involved a great deal of initiative and autonomy on the part of relatively low ranking officers, but the battleship fleets on the Home and Mediterranean stations came to be characterized by rigid command structures and, to some critics, a fetish for paint and polish. It was a syndrome highlighted by the 1893 sinking of *H.M.S. Victoria*, the flagship of the Mediterranean fleet, in a collision caused by unquestioning obedience to orders. Throughout the nineteenth century an attempt was made to preserve the Royal Navy at a strength known as the **two-power standard**. During the Edwardian era, the Anglo-German naval race replaced that standard, it then being assumed that the primary enemy would be Germany. The famous clash of Dreadnought-class battleships at Jutland in 1916, the British forces being commanded by Sir John Jellicoe, demonstrated that Britain had effectively won the Anglo-German naval race, albeit narrowly. *See also* British Empire; Napoleonic Wars; Navalism; Nelson, Horatio; Risk Fleet Theory; *Weltpolitik*.

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The Victorian and Edwardian Navy. London: Routledge, 1981; Rodger, N.A.M. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain*. London: Allen Lane, 2004.

MARK F. PROUDMAN

Royal Titles Act (1876)

An act of Parliament making the sovereign of England the Empress (or Emperor) of **India**. British control of the subcontinent, although briefly contested during the Mutiny of 1857, had by that point long been an effective fact. But the abolition of **East India Company** rule and the imposition of formal British sovereignty by the **India Act** of 1858, along with the abolition of the Mogul Emperor, left a formal if not a real void at the top of the polyglot Indian political system. The creation of a British empress raised some liberal hackles in England, but was thought by many to appeal to an oriental taste for rank and splendor. The British had been reminded by the **Indian Mutiny** that a massive empire could not be controlled by force alone. The Imperial Durbar of January 1, 1877, formally made Queen **Victoria** Empress, or *Victoria Regina et Imperatrix*, and was in fact a successful imperial spectacle. *See also* British Empire; Disraeli, Benjamin; Rāj.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Rumania

Rumania was created in 1858 by the merging of the **Danubian principalities** of Moldavia and Wallacia, which were rebellious Christian provinces of the **Ottoman Empire** subject to Russian intervention. Austria occupied the provinces between 1854 and 1857 until the Treaty of **Paris** guaranteed their autonomy. Rumania remained Ottoman until full sovereignty resulted from the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1877–1878. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen ruled as King Carol I from 1881 until 1914. Rumania participated in the Second **Balkan War** and acquired Southern Dobrudja as a territorial prize. Carol I maintained ties with the Triple Alliance, partly in resentful reaction against Russian favoritism toward Bulgaria in the Russo-Turkish War, and came progressively within Germany's sphere of influence, permitting direct railroad communication from Berlin and Vienna through Rumania to Constantinople in 1898. Rumania declared itself neutral when war broke out in 1914 but was induced to join the war on the Allied side in August 1916 with promises from France of Russia of territorial reward. *See also* Eastern Question.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817)

An exchange of notes between Richard Rush, acting U.S. secretary of state, and Charles Bagot, British minister in Washington on April 28 and 29, 1817, in which

the two nations agreed to limit their naval forces on the Great Lakes. President James Monroe officially proclaimed the exchange on April 28, 1818. After the War of 1812, intense Anglo-American naval competition had developed on Lake Ontario. To reduce the dangers, the agreement limited each nation to one vessel, maximum 100-ton burden with one 18-pound cannon, appropriate for enforcing revenue laws. On the Upper Lakes, each nation was limited to two vessels of like size and armament. All other warships would be decommissioned and no others would be built or armed.

The treaty, a mark of the rising continental power of the **United States**, was an important step in the long process of Anglo-American rapprochement and Canadian-American partnership building. The transatlantic and continental relationships that the treaty presaged were to shape international affairs throughout the twentieth century. *See also* Anglo-American War; Canada; Manifest Destiny.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Russell, Lord John (1792–1878)

A reforming prime minister of Great Britain, John Russell entered politics as a young man, and was by both family connection and conviction a reformist Whig and an admirer of Charles James Fox. He opposed the repressive measures of Lord Liverpool's government, and became an early advocate of parliamentary reform. Although never a democrat, and opposed to a universal manhood suffrage, he played a prominent role in pushing the 1832 Reform Act, and the abortive bills that preceded it only to be rejected in the House of Lords, through the House of Commons. Russell became home secretary in under Lord Melbourne in the 1830s, where he pursued reformist policies, particularly with respect to Ireland. As the topic of the **Corn Laws** became prominent, Russell was one of the first Whigs to see the issue as a weapon with which to divide the Tories of Sir Robert Peel. When the Tories did in fact split in 1846, Russell succeeded Peel as prime minister.

Always friendly on principle to self-government, he had considerable doubts about the introduction of responsible government in **Canada**, fearing that an autonomous Canadian government might embroil Britain in quarrels with the **United States**. It was nevertheless under his premiership that the principle was conceded, establishing the model for colonial governance elsewhere in the settlement empire. With the Tories split, Russell's governments survived until 1852, when a dispute with his Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston brought down the Whig government. Russell served as British plenipotentiary to negotiations with the Russia during the Crimean War, but found himself embarrassed by policy changes in London over the neutralization of the Black Sea. Russell was out of office until 1859, when Russell and Palmerston, the two leading Whigs, agreed to put aside their personal differences. Russell became foreign secretary under Palmerston, in which post he gave fulsome support to Italian unification. He also, however, incurred some blame for the British government's equivocal attitude toward the **American Civil War** and its negligence in allowing the Confederate ship *Alabama* to

be built in a British yard. On Palmerston's death in 1865, Russell succeeded him, becoming once more prime minister. Russell brought in a reform bill promising a substantial extension of the franchise, which was defeated in 1866 owing to opposition from the antidemocratic section of his own party. Russell was succeeded in power by the Conservative administrations of Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli. Russell's primary concerns were in the realm of domestic reform, although for him, this category included Ireland. He was less bellicose than Palmerston, but like him supported European nationalists and liberals. His imperial policies were ad hoc, and in that respect typical of his age. *See also* Durham, John George Lambton, First Earl of.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Russian-American Company (RAC)

The Russian-American Company (RAC) (*Rossiisko-Amerikanskaia kompaniia*) was Russia's first joint-stock charter company; it oversaw the **Russian Empire's** North American colony—"Russian America," mainly present-day **Alaska**—from 1799 until its transfer to the **United States** in 1867. The RAC was involved in a number of ventures, including the importation of tea and other products from **China** into Russia, but its primary specialty was the North Pacific fur trade. The company's distinguishing characteristic was its reliance on indigenous hunters to harvest marine mammals. It should be noted that there were never more than about 600 Russian colonists in all of Russian America at any one time. These colonists lacked the specialized skills necessary for hunting sea otters. To compensate for this lack of personnel and skills, the RAC employed thousands of Aleuts, Alutiiqs and "Creoles," people of mixed Russian and indigenous parentage.

The RAC was formed in 1799 out of the remnants of several Siberian merchant companies. Some of the merchants and government officials reasoned at the time that a single united Russian company, with government support, would be better equipped than the smaller companies to compete in the North Pacific fur trade against British and American rivals. They also hoped that a large united company would be more effective in securing potential territorial expansion. The RAC's name and structure indicate that it was modeled on the charter companies of other European countries, such as the **Hudson's Bay Company** and the **East India Company** of Great Britain. The mechanism of an ostensibly commercial company managing territory, populace, and resources on behalf of an empire had been unprecedented in Russia's colonial experience. Placed under the emperor's protection, and granted for a period of 20 years the exclusive right to profit from the resources of Russian America, the RAC functioned in practice as the Russian Empire's colonial contractor. The charter was renewed and revised twice in 1821 and 1844, and the company continued to preside over Russian America until 1867. With each charter renewal, the RAC became more enmeshed in Russia's imperial bureaucracy: that said, the company maintained its commercial function to the very end.

Merchants and nobles could purchase RAC shares. Those who owned 10 or more were eligible to vote at the annual general meeting of shareholders. The

shareholders elected by majority vote four, later five, directors, who headed the main office of the company, located after 1800 in St. Petersburg. The main office functioned as the company's headquarters: it made the central business decisions, kept the government apprised of the company's activities, and sent orders to the colonial administration in Russian America and various RAC offices throughout Russia.

The colonial administration of Russian America was headquartered on Kodiak Island before 1808 and at Novo-Arkhangel'sk—present-day Sitka, Alaska—from 1808. Before 1818, the chief manager (in effect, governor) of Russian America was Aleksandr Baranov, a merchant with extensive experience in the Siberian and North American fur trade. After his retirement, only officers of Russia's imperial navy served as governors of Russian America. These naval officers, who belonged to the noble estate, were selected by the RAC main office from a list of eligible officers, and served in Novo-Arkhangel'sk for terms of up to five years. For a number of reasons, ranging from the precipitous fall in the population of marine fur-bearing animals to general conditions on the fur market, the RAC's fortunes peaked in the early nineteenth century and declined after Baranov's departure. In 1867, the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco purchased the North American property of the RAC. *See also* Canada.

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ILYA VINKOVETSKY

Russian Empire

During the nineteenth century, tsarist Russia was the largest contiguous empire in the world. Stretching from Polish lands in the west to the Vladivostok on the Pacific Ocean, the Russian Empire was a Eurasian power and consequently played a major role in international relations in Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia, and East Asia.

Expansion, East and West

The Russian Empire had its origins in the rise of the principality of Moscow. Starting as one among several competing Russian principalities, Moscow took the lead in overthrowing the yoke of Mongol overlordship, and the Grand Princes of Moscow succeeded subsequently in gathering the Russian lands under their singular authority. In the process, the rulers of Moscow transformed into autocratic sovereigns who held the title tsar. Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (1533–1584), was the first Muscovite ruler to be crowned tsar. During his reign, the Tsardom of Muscovy expanded beyond its Slavic, Orthodox Christian core. In the 1550s, Ivan conquered the Muslim Tatar khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan along the Volga River. By the time of his death in 1584, the Khanate of Siberia had also fallen to Moscow. Thus Russia was poised for

expansion to the east across the Asian land mass. During the seventeenth century, tsarist control extended across Siberia all the way to Kamchatka, and Russia gained a border with the Chinese Empire by 1648. Simultaneously, Muscovy expanded westward by exerting its sovereignty over the cossacks of Ukraine.

Under Peter the Great (1689–1725), Muscovy became officially the Russian Empire. Peter took the title of Emperor in 1721 after having defeated Sweden in the Great Northern War (1700–1721). Thanks to this victory, Russia gained access to the Baltic Sea coast and incorporated the Baltic lands of Estonia and Latvia into the empire. As part of his goal to make Russia a great power in the European states system, Peter left the city of Moscow and built a new capital city on the Baltic at St. Petersburg. Peter bequeathed a legacy of modernization along Western lines that turned Russia into a major military power in the eighteenth century. In partnership with Austria, Peter tried to roll back the **Ottoman Empire** along the Black Sea coast and in the Balkans. Although Peter himself failed to achieve this objective, his successors brought the plan to fruition. Under Catherine the Great (1762–1796), Russia waged successful campaigns against the Ottomans and finally managed to gain territories along the Black Sea coast, including the Crimean Peninsula. In cooperation with Austria and Prussia, Russia participated in three partitions of Polish lands (1772, 1793, 1795) so that the independent Kingdom of **Poland** ceased to exist by the end of the century.

The Napoleonic Wars

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Russia reached its zenith in terms of power and prestige in the European states system. In general, Russia pursued a foreign policy that opposed France and cooperated with Austria and Prussia but during the first decade of the 1800s, during the **Napoleonic Wars**, Russia repeatedly suffered reversals at the hands of the French Emperor **Napoleon**. Under Tsar **Alexander I** (1801–1825), Russia joined the coalitions against Napoleonic France. When Napoleon invaded Austria in 1805, Russia came to the aid of its ally. Napoleon decisively defeated the Austrian and Russian armies at the battle of **Austerlitz**, however, and forced Alexander to retreat. The next year Napoleon attacked Prussia. Again, Alexander sent Russian forces to help stop the French—with similarly poor results. Alexander sued for peace. The resulting Treaty of **Tilsit** (1807) brought Russia into partnership with France. Alexander professed to hate the British as much as Napoleon did and promised to join Napoleon's **Continental System** by refraining from any trade with Britain. In return, Napoleon effectively made Russia the dominant power in Eastern Europe by giving Russia a free hand to expand against the Ottoman Empire on the Black Sea coast and against Sweden on the Baltic. Alexander took the opportunity to wage a predatory war against Sweden; the **Russo-Swedish War** of 1808–1809 ended with Russia gaining control of **Finland** as a grand duchy. Meanwhile, Russia also extended its reach temporarily to the southwest by occupying the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia at the expense of the Ottomans, although these territories were evacuated in 1812. Despite these gains from the peace with Napoleon, the potential for conflict with France remained. Much to Napoleon's irritation, Alexander never seriously enforced the ban on trade with Britain. For his part, Napoleon had created the Grand Duchy of **Warsaw** out of Prussian territory to serve as a French satellite state for the Poles; the duchy posed a constant threat to the Polish lands under Alexander's control because it held

out the prospect that Napoleon might restore an independent Poland at Russian expense. These latent conflicts moved both sides to prepare for an outbreak of hostilities.

Napoleon struck first. In June 1812, he crossed the border of the Russian Empire with a total force of 600,000 soldiers. Alexander's army had been expecting the attack but had underestimated the size of Napoleon's forces. Outnumbered and with their forces divided, the Russians hastily retreated. The French gave chase and forced the Russians to make a stand outside the city of Moscow at the Battle of **Borodino** in September 1812. After heavy fighting, the Russian army withdrew from the field and Napoleon entered Moscow. There the French Emperor waited for the Russians to come to terms, but Alexander refused to negotiate until every French soldier had left Russian soil; in the meantime, the army was reformed and re-equipped. With winter approaching, Napoleon decided to retreat from Moscow. Harried by the Russian army, the French retreat turned into a rout as only roughly 30,000 troops managed to escape. The victory of 1812 meant that Russia played a key role in the campaigns that ultimately defeated Napoleon and thereby became the dominant land power with the largest standing army in Europe.

Russian Great Power Diplomacy

The struggle against Napoleon affected Tsar Alexander deeply. He concluded that any revolutionary threat in Europe had to be crushed lest it facilitate the rise of another potential Napoleon. With that goal in mind, he initiated the **Holy Alliance**, which was to be a coalition of all the Christian monarchs of Europe dedicated to preserving the social and political status quo. Austria and Prussia joined the Holy Alliance on September 26, 1815, and, by doing so, laid the groundwork for cooperation among the three conservative monarchies. As part of the peace settlement at the Congress of **Vienna** in 1815, the majority of Polish land was consolidated into the Congress Kingdom of Poland with Alexander as its constitutional king. Russia, Prussia, and Austria had a common interest in preserving their control over their Polish dominions and in buttressing the monarchical principle against revolutionary and nationalistic challenges to its legitimacy.

The conservative and anti-French orientation of Russian policy continued under Alexander's brother and successor **Nicholas I** (1825–1855). Nicholas earned the epithet “the gendarme of Europe” for his willingness to use Russian military power to suppress revolution at home and abroad. When in 1830–1831 the Poles revolted to reclaim their national independence, Nicholas dispatched the Russian army to crush the uprising and in 1832 suspended the Polish constitution, effectively placing the Polish Kingdom under direct Russian rule. When revolutionary upheavals broke out across Europe in 1848, Nicholas sent troops into the Austrian Empire to help the Habsburg emperor defeat the Hungarian national revolt.

Under Tsar Nicholas, Russia projected its power into the lands of the Ottoman Empire and expanded into the **Caucasus**. When Nicholas came to the throne, the Greek War of Independence (1821–1832) from the Turks was already underway. Torn between supporting the Ottoman sultan as legitimate sovereign against revolution or backing the Greeks as fellow Orthodox Christians against their Muslim overlords, Nicholas at first stayed out of the conflict. Eventually, however, he resolved to come to the aid of the Greeks, and Russia defeated the Turks in the **Russo-Turkish War** of 1828–1829. By the end of the 1820s, Russia won out in the struggle against

the Ottomans and Iranians for hegemony in the Caucasus region. The Kingdom of Eastern Georgia had already been annexed by Russia in 1801, but, thanks to its latest victories, by 1829 Russia also established a permanent presence in Transcaucasia, including eastern Armenia and all of the historic Georgian Kingdom. As part of the peace with the Ottomans, Russia secured an administrative role in the Ottoman territories of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Nicholas sought to keep relations with the Ottomans bilateral, but British and French interests in the region were growing; neither Western power recognized a special position for Russia in Ottoman affairs. In 1831, the French supported **Mehmet Ali** of Egypt in his campaign in Syria against the Ottoman sultan. In desperation, the sultan turned to Nicholas for help. In return for Russian aid to defend the Ottomans, the Turks permitted only Russian warships through the Turkish Dardanelles and Bosphorus Straits as part of the secret Treaty of **Inkiar Skelessi** in 1833. The treaty marked the height of Russian influence in the Ottoman Empire, as the straits were closed to the French and British—a gain that was not reversed until the **Straits Convention** of 1841. Russia's position in the Ottoman Empire was then challenged by the French Emperor Napoleon III in the 1850s. In response to French moves to gain control of the keys to the Holy Places in Bethlehem and Jerusalem for the Catholic Church, in 1853 Nicholas sent an ultimatum to the Ottomans demanding that control of the keys be returned to the Orthodox Church. The deployment of Russian forces across the Danube into Moldavia and Walachia resulted in the outbreak of the **Crimean War** (1853–1856) in which Russia fought alone against the Ottoman Empire, Britain, France, and Sardinia. While the war was in progress, Nicholas died in 1855.

The Redirection of Imperial Ambition

Russia's defeat in the Crimea called its prestige into question because its large army ultimately proved ineffective against the industrial power of Britain and France. The new tsar, **Alexander II** (1855–1881), concluded the Treaty of Paris to end the Crimean War in 1856. The treaty's terms placed Turkey under the protection of all the European powers, which guaranteed Ottoman territorial integrity and thereby ended the unique position for Russia as the sole protector of Ottoman Christian populations. In addition, the Black Sea was neutralized, so that neither Russia nor Turkey could maintain fortifications or a fleet there, and Russia also lost the territory of southern Bessarabia and dominance over the Danubian principalities.

After the Crimean conflict, Russian policymakers were obsessed with bringing about a revision of the treaty. Russia was no longer a supporter of the status quo and was instead becoming a reactive power willing to embrace nationalisms and revolutions to change international circumstance in its favor. Taking to heart the lesson of Crimea—not to be caught without an ally—Russia tried to mend fences with France, but Napoleon III's support of the Polish Revolt in 1863 squelched any long-term understanding between the two powers. Russia's more passive policies toward Europe played an important role in enabling Prussia to bring about German unification. In return for supporting Prussia against Austria, for example, Russian foreign minister **Alexander Gorchakov** obtained German support to renounce the Black Sea treaty clauses and reestablish a Russian navy.

Another consequence of the Crimean defeat was increasing Anglo-Russian rivalry leading to the **Great Game** in Central Asia. Russia had a strong strategic interest in

the Central Asian khanates, and the importance of Central Asia in Russian strategic planning developed further in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is true that there had been Russian military advances toward **Khiva** in the early decades of the eighteenth century, but it is an indication of a lack of strategic motive that no other Khivan campaigns occurred for the rest of that century. The strategic importance of the region evolved out of Russia's concerns about Britain. During the Crimean War, Britain had attempted to apply pressure to Russia through Central Asia by concluding an agreement with **Afghanistan** in 1855, and the possible approach to the Russian frontier of a strong British force caused considerable concern in St. Petersburg. So Britain's activities during the Crimean period gave direct impetus to a tsarist Central Asian policy.

In the post-Crimean era, Russia advanced from the Kazakh steppe into the Uzbek khanates of **Bukhara**, **Khiva**, and **Kokand** for reasons of geography and military prestige. Local military commanders stressed the advantage of pressuring the British in India by advancing into Central Asia as part of a Russian strategy to gain leverage over the British in the Ottoman Empire. In a memorandum written in 1861, policymakers voiced concern that if Britain managed to create a strong Afghanistan before the Russians got to Tashkent, the **British Empire** would rule Central Asia. Russian officers also sought glory and career advancement through easy and dramatic victories over the larger but less effective native forces of the khanates; having suffered a humiliating defeat in the Crimean War, they hoped to refurbish Russia's military image as a great imperial power in a region where the risks were low. In the period 1864–1873, Russian forces defeated each of the Uzbek khanates and either annexed the territory or created protectorates over them.

The Russia Empire again became militarily involved in the Balkans in the 1870s. In 1876, **Serbia** and **Montenegro** declared war against the Turks, but Ottoman armies easily defeated the two small Slavic states. Russia came to the aid of the rebels and imposed an armistice on the Turks that October. In preparation for a war against the Turks, the Austrians and the Russians agreed on the spoils of war beforehand, most notably on an arrangement on separate **spheres of influence**: Austria would get **Bosnia**, and Russia would gain a lesser **Bulgaria** as a protectorate. After signing a convention with Romania to transit Russian troops across its territory to fight Turkey, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire on April 12, 1877, thus initiating the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. With Russian forces victorious and camped outside the Ottoman capital of Constantinople at the village of San Stefano, the Russians proclaimed the creation of a greater Bulgaria as a Russian protectorate. Under the terms of the Treaty of **San Stefano**, Russia gained free navigation of the straits, and Serbia and Romania were to gain territory. San Stefano aggravated British fears about an expanding Russia and upset Austria, whose government had agreed to the creation of only a lesser Bulgaria. German Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** offered to mediate through an international congress in Berlin in 1878; as a result of this Congress of **Berlin** in 1878, the size of Bulgaria was reduced, but it was to remain in Russia's orbit. Furthermore, Austria gained administrative control over Bosnia, although the province remained technically a part of the Ottoman Empire. Russian dissatisfaction over having to relinquish the more spectacular gains of San Stefano, and Austria gained Bosnia without having fired a shot, fired an anti-German sentiment and helped to bring about the Austro-German defensive alliance against Russia.

Under Tsar **Alexander III** (1881–1894), who ascended the throne after revolutionaries assassinated his father, Russian policy turned away from the Balkans and again towards Asia. The tsar exhibited personal animosity toward Prince of Bulgaria Alexander of Battenberg and sought to have that prince removed from power by sanctioning his kidnapping; then in October 1886, Alexander broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and never restored them for the remainder of his life. Thus Bulgaria ceased to be under Russian influence. In the meantime, Alexander's military forces continued to advance in Central Asia by conquering the Turkmen tribes along the Trans-Caspian area of present-day Turkmenistan between 1881 and 1885. Russian expansion then turned eastward, and a series of border encroachments almost led to war between Russia and Britain over control of Afghanistan. Nevertheless, cooler heads prevailed, as each side desired to avoid armed conflict in the heart of Asia; subsequently, Russia and Britain jointly delimited the borders of a neutral Afghanistan to serve as a buffer state between the two empires in 1895.

In Europe, a Franco-Russian alliance took shape between 1891 and 1894. After exchanging some official military visits, the warming culminated in a formal defensive alliance. The Franco-Russian **Dual Alliance** brought about a fundamental alteration in the European balance of power, for autocratic Russia and republican France had been bitter ideological foes and great power rivals for decades. The turnabout was largely influenced by strategic considerations. France was looking for an ally against Germany and saw in Russia a military counterweight on Germany's eastern border. Confronted by the Austro-German military alliance and experiencing tense relations with Britain in Central Asia, Russia also needed a Great Power ally and so committed to rendering military aid to France in the event of a German attack. The alliance endured for more than 20 years and contributed to the strategic tensions leading to World War I in 1914.

As a way to increase the Russian presence in Asia, the tsarist minister of finance, Sergei Witte, embarked in 1891 on the construction of the 6,000-mile long **Trans-Siberian Railroad** linking Moscow with Vladivostok in the Far East. Witte proposed the railroad as the chief solution to a variety of problems facing the empire. He reasoned that the railroad could be used to develop the Russian hinterland by providing the means to move people to the east. By facilitating homesteading on the Asian steppe lands of **Kazakhstan**, the population pressure of peasants in Central Russia would be eased, and new production zones would be developed in the east. This would in turn make the empire a player in world commerce because Russia would be positioned to engage directly in trade in China faster and more cheaply than its rivals. The railway to China could also position Russia to become an imperial actor inside China; as a shortcut, Witte arranged for a line of the Russian railroad to be built and operated across the territory of the Chinese Empire in Manchuria. The railroad had far-reaching consequences. The penetration of Russian commercial and strategic interests into Manchuria aroused the suspicions of **Japan**. Witte placed commercial interests ahead of military calculation in the region and desired to have peaceful cooperation with the Japanese in East Asia. Witte was dismissed by Tsar Nicholas II (1894–1917) in 1903, however, and the Japanese apprehension at Russian aggrandizement in East Asia, especially Korea, led to the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905, a military disaster for Russia.

Crisis at Home and Abroad

Defeat at the hands of Japan had profound effects on the Russian Empire, domestically and internationally. Domestically, the Russian Empire had governed autocratically more than 100 different subject nationalities and peoples practicing the Christian, Muslim, and Buddhist faiths; the tsar ruled as the sole source of power and authority without any legal constraint. Russia's poor performance in the Russo-Japanese War, however, now called into question the whole legitimacy of tsarist autocracy and contributed directly to the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution, which combined social unrest in Russia with nationalist uprisings in Poland and the Baltic provinces. In response to the gathering revolutionary pressures, Nicholas II was forced to grant constitutional concessions and the establishment of a parliamentary body known as the Duma. The tsar could no longer rule as an absolute monarch. Internationally, Russian policy now sought to reach accommodations in Asia, quickly securing understandings with Japan and Britain on the limits of its future ambitions there, while returning primary attention to the European theater. In 1907, the Anglo-Russian Convention resolved most of the outstanding territorial conflicts in Asia and established buffer zones between the rival empires in central Persia and Afghanistan. Russia gained a sphere of influence in northern Persia, while Britain acquired southern Persia along the Persian Gulf coast. Also, both powers renounced interest in Tibet. The convention thus eased longstanding tensions and paved the way for a more cooperative relationship between St. Petersburg and London that eventually yielded the **Entente Cordiale** of Russia, France, and Britain in 1914.

Weakened by war and revolution, Russia was in no position to handle a military conflict when another crisis erupted in the Balkans. In 1908, Austria formally annexed Bosnia, causing much consternation to Serbia, Russia's ally, whose government also had territorial designs on the former Ottoman province. The Serbs appealed to the Russians to compel the Austrians to renounce the annexation, but when Russia tried to pressure Vienna, Austria turned to its ally Germany for help. Germany threatened Russia with war unless St. Petersburg recognized Austria's annexation of Bosnia. Faced with the military might of Germany, Russia had to back down. This episode, known as the Bosnian Annexation Crisis (1908–1909), spurred Russia to view Austria as an aggressive threat to the entire Balkan region. To meet that perceived threat, Russian diplomacy therefore fostered a series of cooperative military alliances among the small Balkan states to serve as a bulwark against Austrian expansion into southeastern Europe. Under Russian auspices, the **Balkan League** brought together Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro by September 1912. Unfortunately for St. Petersburg, the obstreperous Balkan states proved more interested in starting a war against the Turks than in holding back the Austrians. In October 1912, the Balkan League attacked the Turks in the First **Balkan War** and then fought among themselves in the second. Not wanting to choose among its erstwhile Balkan allies, Russia remained neutral and refused to mediate the territorial disputes that had arisen, but the inability to manage the situation by preventing war and controlling its small allies further eroded Russia's prestige in Europe. When the dust settled, Bulgaria had become hostile to St. Petersburg, and Serbia alone remained an important Russian ally in the Balkans. By 1914, St. Petersburg desperately sought some kind of diplomatic victory to prove that Russia still mattered as a great power and that its interests had to be respected by the Austro-German alliance. Thus when Serbia was threatened with

an ultimatum from Austria after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand in July 1914, the Serbs again looked to St. Petersburg for help, just as they had during the Bosnian crisis. Having been forced to retreat before the German-Austrian partnership once before, Russia felt compelled to draw the line this time to assert its status as a legitimate Great Power. Accordingly, St. Petersburg declared the mobilization of its army to come to the aid of the Serbs. In response, Germany declared war on Russia, and World War I began.

Russia's poor performance in World War I brought about the downfall of the tsarist empire. In the first weeks of the war, Russia honored its commitment to its French ally and launched an offensive into Germany. As a consequence of the haste of the mobilization and poor coordination among the Russian generals, however, the two Russian armies entering East Prussia were not at full strength and easily divided. The Germans dealt the Russians such a crushing defeat at the Battle of Tannenberg in August 1914 that Russia never threatened German soil for the remainder of the war. Russia fared better against Austria, as its armies advanced to the Carpathian Mountains. But Germany came to the aid of its Austria ally. Suffering a severe equipment shortage—only one-third of its soldiers had rifles—the Russian army had no choice but to retreat before the German onslaught. By September 1915, the German offensive had driven the Russians out of tsarist Poland and had advanced into the Baltic territories. In response to the long retreat, Nicholas II left St. Petersburg and assumed personal command of Russian forces in the field. This proved disastrous, as Russia's military problems and political incompetence eroded the remaining legitimacy of tsarist authority. In March 1917, mass demonstrations in the Russian capital turned into a revolution, and Nicholas was forced to abdicate. The Provisional Government that replaced the Tsar was itself overthrown by the Bolsheviks in November 1917, thus officially ending the Russian Empire. *See also* Appendix Words and Deeds, Docs. 3, 6, 12, 13; French Empire; German Empire; Habsburg Empire; Japanese Empire.

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JONATHAN GRANT

Russian Far East

A somewhat elastic term referring to Russia's Pacific littoral, stretching from Vladivostok in the south to the Anadyr Peninsula in the north, and including the Amur region, Kamchatka Peninsula, and Sakhalin. Before the late nineteenth century, the region was administered as part of Siberia but has since been administered separately. Those living in the region are keen to distinguish themselves from Siberians proper.

As early as 1700, Cossack explorers arrived on the Kamchatka Peninsula, where they established the port of Petropavlovsk. This served as a departure point for the

Great Northern Expeditions led during the 1730s by Vitus Bering, who discovered the straits that bear his name. The Russians went on to acquire Alaska, build Fort Ross in northern California, and even appear briefly on Hawai'i. Russia's hold on these latter regions proved temporary, but it retained its role as a major power in the North Pacific.

It nonetheless paid little attention to the region before the mid-nineteenth century. Problems with logistics and communications bedeviled St. Petersburg's ability to do much in the Far East, and its focus was directed west and south. Russia's humiliation in the **Crimean War** combined with the decline of Qing China, however, sparked a renewed interest in the East. In the late 1850s, eastern Siberia's Governor-general Nikolai Nikolaevich Muravev easily wrested the vast, resource-rich Amur region from China. Imperial visionaries saw the Amur River as a "Russian Mississippi" and hoped it would prove a conduit for trade throughout the Pacific. Nikolaevsk-on-the-Amur was founded at the mouth of the river, followed in 1860 by Vladivostok ("Ruler of the East") on the southernmost point of Russia's Pacific shoreline. Both ports supported the settlement and annexation of Sakhalin, especially after the **St. Petersburg Treaty** of 1875.

Imperial visionaries' dreams remained unrealized, however. Vast expanses separated the Russian Far East from Siberia's most important cities, such as Irkutsk, Eniseisk, and Tobolsk, and so communications and logistics problems remained stumbling blocks. Indeed, the first contiguous motorway linking Vladivostok to the interior was only constructed in the 1990s. Also, despite the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, strict government control over land allocation stymied free migration to the region. As a result, the Russian Far East rapidly became an extension of "the enormous prison without a roof" that was Siberia. This was especially the case with Sakhalin, which became a tsarist penal colony.

Nevertheless, a milestone 1889 migration law as well as construction of the **Trans-Siberian Railroad**—contiguously linked in 1904, but serviceable several years earlier—facilitated the Russian Far East's free settlement during the empire's final years. The region also experienced considerable immigration from **Korea** and **China**. By 1911, the Russian Far East boasted a total population of 855,000. Its population density was only .4 person per square *verst*—a *verst* equaling two-thirds of a mile—but settlement was overwhelmingly concentrated in the south. Vladivostok, for example, grew from 14,500 in 1890 to 107,900 by 1926.

The railroad and the migration law grew out of the "Far Eastern Policy" originating after Russia's defeat in the Crimean War. The rhetorical formulas used to justify this policy demonstrate a uniquely Orthodox Christian and Slavic version of the "white man's burden." Russia's construction of the Manchurian Railroad and its occupation of **Port Arthur** on Korea's Liaotung Peninsula were to a large extent physical manifestations of its notion of a "divine right" to dictate terms to East Asia's inhabitants, but also reflected more rationally conceived strategies to rebuff Japan's own imperialistic maneuvers. War with Japan was the result and led, as had the Crimean War of a half century earlier, to another defeat that undermined Russians' faith in their tsar. *See also* Japanese Empire; Manchuria; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War.

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ANDREW A. GENTES

Russian Revolution (1905)

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was the first act in the collapse of tsarist rule in Russia. The main reason for the outbreak of the first Russian Revolution of 1905 was the slowness of social and cultural reforms in response to the disparity of accelerated economic modernization that began much later than in Western Europe and the United States than in Russia.

The peasant liberation of 1861 resulted in a massive migration, from the countryside into the cities of the Russian Empire, of unskilled and uneducated workers who were not able to adapt to a modern urban life and therefore provided a breeding ground for social unrest in the cities. After the Napoleonic Wars and the Crimean War, Russian intellectuals were discontented with reforms in education and resented the rigid control and censorship imposed since Alexander III. Although willing to modernize the empire, Russia's bureaucratic and military elite were ultraconservative and sought to keep their privileges intact.

An adventurist foreign policy in Asia, the disaster of the **Crimean War**, and finally the humiliation of the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905 also revealed the incompetence and corruption of the tsarist regime. The Russian revolution of 1905 began in the Russian capital, in St Petersburg on January 22, 1905, when troops fired on a defenseless crowd of workers. This “bloody Sunday” was followed by a series of riots and strikes that encompassed all regions of the Russian Empire, all social classes, and all nationalities from St Petersburg to Vladivostok. A general strike forced Tsar **Nicholas II** to issue the **October Manifesto**, granting civil liberties and a parliament, the Duma, to be elected democratically. The limited power of the Duma, however, did not satisfy the rebelling workers, peasants, and nationalities. As the revolution of 1905 spread to non-Russian provinces of the empire, it stimulated national movements in the Baltic region, in **Poland**, Finland, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. In many regions, revolts were put down by antirevolutionary, ultra-extremist Black Hundreds who massacred socialists, Jews, and Muslims. In 1905, revolution in Russia failed, although the tsarist autocracy changed to a constitutional monarchy, and 1905 became the prelude to the revolution of 1917. Social discontent and nationalism went hand in hand and created an explosive mixture that burst forth with World War I. *See also* Bolsheviks.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Russo-Khokandian War (1864–1865)

The inauguration of the Russian conquest of Khokand khanate. During the middle of the 1860s, Russia and the Khokand khanate competed for the same territories

in Central Asia. This led to the 1864–1865 war over territories mostly in the area of present-day Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Before Russian entry into the oases areas of Central Eurasia, Khokand's main competitor was the emirate of Bukhara. The Khokand khanate was a vigorously productive and expanding state in the first half of the nineteenth century. Squabbles with Bukhara and internal political turmoil in the 1850s and early 1860s greatly weakened Khokand.

Russia started making its first sustained advance into Central Asia as early as about 1730. The Russians carried out a period of gradual conquest throughout the rest of the eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century across the Kazakh steppe. By mid-century, the Russian military machine was in position to use its vast and superior resources against the Central Eurasian states and peoples. After brief interludes to focus on the Crimean War and the revolt of Shamil in the Caucasus, by the 1860s Russia was ready to make an assault on the southern part of the Kazakh steppe. Under the command of General Mikhail Cherniaev, the Russian forces took the southern Kazakh city of Aulie-ata (in less than two hours) in June 1864. Cherniaev believed that Chimkent would fall as easily, but victory there was much more difficult to achieve. After a failed initial attack, Cherniaev retreated to Turkestan for reinforcements. The second Russian attack on Chimkent, in September 1864, was an unqualified success. This was to mark, for the Russian administration, the final victory for Russia in Central Eurasia; however, Cherniaev's decision to attack Tashkent altered that.

Russian forces advanced on Tashkent in 1865, against the expressed opinion of the Russian government and foreign minister Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov. Gorchakov believed that if Russians advanced beyond Chimkent, the empire ran the risk of involving itself in endless wars with Central Eurasian states and peoples. Despite official government opinion, General Cherniaev led the Russian military attack on Tashkent, feeling that the Russian forces would be unstoppable. He was largely correct on this score, as the Russians captured Tashkent and Cherniaev earned the nickname "The Lion of Tashkent." He was dismissed from his military duties in Central Eurasia, however, following this victory at Tashkent. The Russian conquest of Tashkent cleared the way for the creation of the 1865 Steppe Commission led by Minister of War Dimitry Miliutin and the formal establishment of the **Turkestan** colony in 1867. *See also* Afghanistan; Bukhara Emirate; Great Game; Russian Empire.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905)

A conflict between Russia and Japan that epitomized the violent struggles between powerful nations in the age of **imperialism**. As China's strength and prestige ebbed in the face of Western aggression, the tsar's government attempted to consolidate its Maritime Provinces around Vladivostok, which it had founded in 1860. Accordingly, the Russians planned to control **Manchuria** and **Korea**, which the Chinese

were unable any longer to protect. Japan had defeated the Chinese in 1895, but its own plans to take over Port Arthur and to dominate the rest of southern Manchuria were thwarted by the intervention of the Russians, Germans, and French. Bitterly humiliated by losing the fruits of its military success, and by the lease that the Russians subsequently acquired over Port Arthur, Tokyo determined to go to war to expel the Russians from Korea and southern Manchuria.

Japanese success in the ensuing conflict astonished most Western observers who had exaggerated Russian and deprecated Japanese power. Russia had, after all, long been considered one of the most powerful European nations with the largest army; Japan had been forced to open its ports to outside trade only in the 1850s and still tended to be bracketed with China, despite its victory over the Chinese in 1895. Negotiations between Russia and Japan for a compromise were broken off and, on February 8, 1904, the Japanese landed troops in Korea, despite half-hearted opposition from the Russian gunboat, *Korietz*. They also launched a preemptive, nighttime torpedo boat strike on the Russian fleet moored outside Port Arthur.

The Japanese won every subsequent battle of importance on land and sea. They secured their position in Korea and, despite opposition from 30,000 Russian troops, crossed the Yalu river into Manchuria in May 1904. Here they fought numerous lesser battles and two decisive ones, involving hundreds of thousands of soldiers, at Liaoyang in August 1904 and at Mukden in February and March 2005. In both cases they forced the Russians out of their entrenchments back along the railway to the north. General Alexey Kuropatkin, the Russian commander, could not allow his rail communications to be menaced or his forces to be encircled. The Russians' withdrawal by 40 miles from Liaoyang in August was reasonably orderly, but, after the loss of Mukden, Russian troops panicked and the retreat turned into a rout. Even though the retreating forces consolidated their position further north around Harbin, morale was, not surprisingly, very low and Sir Montagu Gerard, the senior British officer with the Russian forces, commented that "all the foreign officers, whom I have met, consider the defeat at Mukden to be absolutely decisive and that nothing short of a brilliant naval success can ever change the situation."

In the south of Manchuria, Russian forces in Port Arthur had been cut off in May and besieged from June 1904 onward. The port acted as a magnet to General Maresuke Nogi's forces because it was here that the powerful Russian Pacific fleet was based. At great cost the Japanese drove the port's defenders backward until they could bring their siege train to bear on the fleet using observers on 203 Metre Hill. This was the key point in the defenses and was finally captured after bitter fighting on November 30. Previously, the Russian warships had made one serious attempt to escape to Vladivostok on August 10, 1904. They might have succeeded, according to Captain Pakenham, the British officer observing the battle from the Japanese fleet, but the flagship, *Tsarevitch*, was disabled at long range, throwing the Russian line into disorder, and their ships retreated again into harbor. The fleet was destroyed by the Japanese artillery in December 1904, and with its principal *raison d'être* gone, the port itself and 25,000 Russian personnel surrendered the next month.

Tsar Nicholas II's government sent mass reinforcements thousands of miles along the newly built Trans-Siberian Railway, raising the carrying capacity of the line from 9 trains a day each way to 16 or 17 during the course of the fighting. For the tsarist regime, the line was usually under the management of someone who had been

appointed for his efficiency, rather than rank. "Prince" Khilkoff had risen from poverty, gaining experience of running railways in Pennsylvania and Venezuela before returning to Russia. In contrast, Russian efforts to send reinforcements by sea to East Asia, typified the incompetence of the regime. In October 1904, the Baltic fleet began its 21,000-mile journey around the world to challenge Admiral Togo's warships. The Russians achieved notoriety by firing on British fishing boats in the North Sea in October 1904 after mistaking them for torpedo boats. In the volatile political atmosphere, this might have brought Britain into the war and thus compelled the French to help their Russian allies. Fortunately, a compromise was reached under which the Russians paid compensation for the damage. Thus Rear-Admiral Zinovy Rojestvensky's ships made their way slowly round the world, coaled with Welsh fuel by the Hamburg-Amerika Line, until the jumble of old and new warships, pressed into service because of Russia's desperate situation, was obliterated by the Japanese in the Straits of Tsushima on May 27, 1905.

Most of the Great Powers had no interest in seeing the war spread or even continue. The French government feared their alliance with Russia would embroil them with Britain just when they were hoping to improve relations. Britain had allied with Japan in 1902 to deter Russian expansion in East Asia without increasing its own forces there, but it had not expected its new ally to attack. It was content to see Russia weakened but not to the point where Germany would dominate the continent. President Theodore Roosevelt asserted Washington's international position by bringing the belligerents to the negotiating table at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August 1905. The Russian negotiators were led by Count Sergey Witte, the former Minister of Transport and Finance, who had been largely responsible for the rapid industrialization of the country; the Japanese were led by the Foreign Minister Jutarō Komura. The Russians quickly accepted the verdict of the war, including Japan's paramount position in Korea, the evacuation of southern Manchuria, and the handing over to Japan of the lease on Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula. But the Russians refused to pay reparations or to accept formal limitations on their naval forces in the Pacific and, under pressure from Roosevelt, the Japanese gave way.

The Treaty of Portsmouth, signed on September 5, allowed Japan to dominate Korea for the next 40 years, despite the bitter opposition of the Korean people, which began as a guerrilla uprising by what the Koreans called the Righteous Armies. Japan was also predominant in southern Manchuria, but Russia was left in control of Vladivostok and of the northern part of Sakhalin. Given the utter failure of Russian armed forces and the widespread revolution that ensued in Russia, Witte had played a weak hand to brilliant effect, and Japanese nationalists demonstrated their disappointment by staging mass riots. After 1895, the Japanese had paid for their war against China, the expansion of their armed forces and the costs of their royal family, by squeezing indemnities out of the Chinese, but it was many years before the loans raised for the war against Russia were repaid.

Militarily, the Russo-Japanese War was important because it presaged many of the features of World War I including trenches, barbed wire, machine guns, heavy artillery, and the comparative impotence of cavalry. It demonstrated the difficulty of advancing against well-prepared troops and of controlling the hundreds of thousands of soldiers whom modern technology could move to the battlefield.

Geopolitically, it was important because it was the first time that a European power had been defeated by Asiatics using modern technology, and it encouraged anticolonial nationalists from India to Egypt. Diplomatically, it meant first that Japan had to be considered one of the Great Powers and its views taken into account. Second, Russia's weakening paved the way to the **Triple Entente** of France, Britain, and Russia, which confronted Germany and Austria-Hungary in the run-up to World War I.

The Russo-Japanese War was also important for what it did not do. While European and American commentators were shocked by the number of casualties and the suffering caused to the Koreans and Chinese, they chose not to dwell so much on the horrors of war and thus the danger of a conflict between the European nations. Rather, the numerous war correspondents and editorial writers who followed the war's progress mainly saw it as a proof of **Social Darwinism**, that international relations were a constant struggle for survival and that the weak would be destroyed. China and Korea could no longer protect themselves, so they would be crushed and colonized by the strong. Russia had proved itself too weak and must rearm and develop its industry to reassert its position among the nations. Thus the war made a significant contribution to the political atmosphere and diplomatic tensions that led up to the greater catastrophe in August 1914. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Sino-Japanese War.

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PHILIP TOWLE

Russo-Swedish War (1808–1809)

A secondary theater of the **Napoleonic Wars** brought on by the provisions of the 1807 Treaty of Tilsit, which made allies of France and Russia. After the treaty the two countries demanded that Sweden abandon the Fourth Coalition and declare war on Britain. Sweden's quixotic King Gustavus IV refused, whereupon a Russian army invaded Finland, an integral part of the Swedish Empire since 1154. The decisive engagement was joined at the fortress of Sveaborg in Helsinki harbor, where a garrison of 7,000 Swedes and Finns held off the Russian invaders for three months before surrendering on May 3, 1808. The tsar declared Finland a grand duchy of Russia, and Gustavus was toppled in a coup d'état in March 1809. Swedish forces continued the fight until the following September, when the Treaty of Frederikshavn gave Finland and the Åland Islands to Russia. *See also* Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Russo-Turkish War (1806–1812)

A secondary conflict occasioned by the **Napoleonic Wars**. Emboldened by the Russian defeat at Austerlitz, the **Porte** replaced the Russophile hospodars of Moldavia

and Wallachia with Ottoman appointees without consulting with the Tsar's government. In the absence of consultation, Russia had the official *causus belli*, but an additional factor was the fear of an Ottoman alliance with France that might close the Straits to Russian warships. In response to a Russian ultimatum supported by Britain, the Porte relented over the hospodar appointments, but the tsar demanded further concessions and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia with 40,000 troops, both as a hedge against a French attack in the region and as prod to rebellious Christian enclaves in the Balkans to make common cause with Russia against the **Ottoman Empire**. The Porte therefore declared war on December 22, opening a war for which neither side was prepared and dragged on for six years. Ultimately, Britain mediated the conflict, and the Treaty of Bucharest acknowledged Ottoman control of Moldavia and Wallachia in exchange for an adjustment of the Russian border that gave Bessarabia to the tsar. *See also* Danubian Principalities; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Russo-Turkish War (1828–1829)

A conflict occasioned by Russia's opportunistic support for Greek independence to secure for itself new territorial leverage in the Caucasus and the Balkans at the expense of the **Ottoman Empire**. Russia issued a declaration of war to the **Porte** on April 28, 1828, and launched a two-pronged offensive, one southward into Walachia across the Danube and ultimately against the fortified port of Varna on the west coast of the Black Sea, the other southeast against Kars, Erivan, and Adrianople. When Adrianople was captured on August 20, 1829, Constantinople came under threat and the Porte sought terms. The Treaty of **Adrianople** improved Russia's position by giving it control of the mouth of the Danube and the eastern Black Sea shore and establishing a *de facto* **protectorate** over Moldavia and Wallachia. *See also* Danubian Principalities; Eastern Question; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878)

The fourth armed conflict between the Russians and the Turks in the nineteenth century, this war was a pivotal turning point in the history of the **Eastern Question**. It resulted in independence for **Serbia**, **Rumania**, and Montenegro. It also led to Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Russian dominance in Bulgaria.

After Turkish troops had ruthlessly suppressed revolts by Orthodox Christian subjects in Bosnia and Bulgaria in 1875–1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey. Although the Russian government stood aside, Russian military volunteers, including General Chernaiev, a Russian war hero from the Central Asian campaigns, flocked to join Serbian forces to aid in the fight against the Turks. By 1876, these forces had failed miserably and the tsarist government stepped in diplomatically to preserve Serbian autonomy from Turkish repression. When the

Turks proved resistant to administrative reforms proposed by Russia, Austria, and Germany, the tsarist government prepared for war. To gain Austrian acquiescence, Russia promised to allow Austrian occupation of Bosnia in return for Austrian recognition of a small Bulgaria under Russian protection. Austria pledged its neutrality in the event of a Russo-Turkish conflict by signing the Treaty of Budapest on January 15, 1877. By February 1877, Russian forces were massing for an offensive out of the south through Rumania. The Rumanians granted Russia permission to transit through their country on April 4, 1877, and they offered Rumanian troops to join in the fight. Russia rejected the offer of Rumanian military assistance, but did cross through Rumania after officially declaring war on Turkey on April 24.

The military campaigns were fought in two theaters, Bulgaria and the Caucasus, and lasted until the armistice on January 31, 1878. The Russians advanced to the Danube River on June 22, and the Turks began to retreat. The largest body of Turkish troops regrouped at the fortress of Plevna, which guarded the western approach to Sofia. At Plevna, Ottoman armies under the command of Osman Pasha and armed with American-made repeater rifles and German steel artillery held off superior Russian numbers through two assaults and forced the Russians to look to Rumania for additional troops. In the Third Battle of Plevna in September 1877, combined Russian and Rumanian forces totaling 118,000 failed to take the fortress by storm, and the Russians abandoned the attack for siege operations. In December the Turks at Plevna finally surrendered, clearing the way for a Russian advance to the outskirts of Constantinople. *See also* Crimean War; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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JONATHAN GRANT

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Saar

Also known as Saarland or Saar Territory, a region comprising approximately 991 square miles and located in southwestern Germany. It is bordered by France in the south and west and by Luxembourg in the northwest. Control of the Saar was a source of conflict between Germany and France for centuries. Named after the major river running through the region, the Saar's population is predominately Catholic and German-speaking. Until the late eighteenth century, Saar was divided between France and other German principalities, but in 1797, the Treaty of Campo Formio ceded it to France. The 1815 Treaty of **Paris** divided the Saar territory between **Bavaria** and **Prussia**.

In the era before World War I, both nationalism and industrial competition made Saarland and Alsace-Lorraine important regions to both France and Germany. Not only did both territories have historical and cultural ties to both nations, but the iron ore deposits in Lorraine and the extensive coalfields of Saarland enabled the region to serve as a center for heavy industry. After the **Franco-Prussian War** in 1871, Germany gained Alsace-Lorraine and capitalized on its industrial potential in combination with the Saar territory. *See also* German Empire.

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ERIC MARTONE

Sadowa, Battle of

See Königgrätz, Battle of

Sakhalin

A large, sturgeon-shaped island north of Hokkaidō in the Pacific. Despite the island's exploration and mapping by Chinese, Japanese, and Dutch explorers

centuries earlier, by the mid-nineteenth century its population, with the exception of a few Japanese seasonal fisherman, still consisted of Ainu, Giliak, and Oroch natives. In the 1850s, the **Russian Empire**, seeing in Sakhalin a fortress to protect the mouth of the Amur River and having discovered its coal deposits, sought to dominate it. Although Japan declared sovereignty over the island as early as 1845, in 1855 it signed the Treaty of **Shimoda**, giving its northern half to Russia and its southern half to Japan. By 1859, both private and state mines were operating on the island. A foreign concern named Oliphant & Company briefly operated several mines, but it was soon excluded by a regulation forbidding such foreign ownership.

Russia formally annexed Sakhalin in the 1875 Treaty of **St. Petersburg**, when Japan ceded its half to Russia in exchange for the Kuril Islands to the east of Sakhalin. That same year I. N. Butkovskii, a tsarist state councilor, obtained a highly favorable mining lease that permitted him the use of convict laborers. This, combined with the collapse of the penal labor system (*katonga*) on the mainland and limitations on free migration, led to Sakhalin's transformation into a penal colony—tsarist Russia's version of New Caledonia. Convicts and their families were shipped halfway around the world from Odessa and, by 1905, accounted for the bulk of the island's population of 40,000.

Dreams of an autarkic colony failed to materialize, however, as turning convicts into farmers generally proved impossible. Sakhalin became instead a drain on the treasury and an indictment of tsarism. Conditions were dreadful in the prisons but even worse in the countryside, where a Hobbesian netherworld developed to witness parents marketing their young daughters as prostitutes. Conditions somewhat improved before the Japanese invaded in early July 1905—the only invasion of Russian territory during the **Russo-Japanese War**. But as if to pass final judgment on the penal colony, inmates razed its main prison. The Treaty of **Portsmouth** changed possession of Sakhalin again, this time awarding to Japan all territory south of 50° north latitude. *See also* Japanese Empire.

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ANDREW A. GENTES

Salisbury, Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquess of (1830–1903)

Salisbury was three times Conservative prime minister of the United Kingdom, most notably during the Second Boer War of 1899–1902. Salisbury was elected as Lord Robert Cecil to Parliament as a Tory in 1853 and also made a name for himself as a trenchant if polemical journalist and reviewer. He was briefly secretary of state for **India** in the Tory government of 1866 but resigned in opposition to Benjamin **Disraeli's** 1867 reform bill, which he thought too democratic. He became Indian secretary again in Disraeli's 1874 government and was promoted foreign secretary in 1878. In the latter post, he played a prominent role in the **Berlin Conference** of 1878, which temporarily settled a complicated series of Balkan problems occasioned by the decline of the Turkish Empire, while avoiding a wider war between the great

powers. Although Salisbury was at the Foreign Office during the Second Afghan War of 1878–1881, and the Zulu War of 1879, both of those campaigns had been instigated by local officials acting under the authority of the Colonial Office, and he deplored the tendency of ambitious or impatient local proconsuls—the “man on the spot” in the famous Victorian phrase—to push the frontiers of empire forward at the cost of repeated wars. Although no anti-imperialist, Salisbury was as skeptical of imperialist enthusiasm as he was of other kinds, and for all his profound conservatism, he was no kind of militarist.

Salisbury served as a minority prime minister from June 1885 to January 1886. After the split of the **Liberal Party** over William Gladstone’s Irish Home Rule project in 1886, he had a solid majority from 1886 to 1892. The Tories and their allies again did well in the election of 1895, and once more in the so-called Khaki election of 1900, during the Boer War. Salisbury served as his own foreign secretary for 11 of his 14 years as prime minister. Foreign policy was his chief intellectual and political interest, and he viewed the Empire as a tool of British policy rather than the reverse. Although the period saw a great deal of popular and political pressure for imperial expansion, especially in east and west Africa, Salisbury’s priority was the smooth management of relations with the other great powers, chiefly France and Germany, rather than the expansion of British rule in Africa or anywhere else. In Salisbury’s view, Britain’s highest interest was peace, and to that interest he subordinated most others.

The years of Salisbury’s last two governments, from 1895 on, saw repeated imperial crises as the major powers jockeyed for position in the remaining unclaimed areas of the world. The defeat of the **Jameson Raid** on the Transvaal in December 1895 provoked the kaiser’s congratulatory telegram to Transvaal President Paul Kruger, which embittered Anglo-German relations. Although Salisbury appears to have been unaware of preparations for the raid, his Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain did have prior knowledge that Jameson’s force was preparing to intervene. The freelance invasion also embittered relations with the Boer republics, leading to war four years later, contrary to Salisbury’s hopes that Boer resistance to incorporation into a British South Africa would collapse of its own accord.

The Italian defeat at **Adowa** in east Africa in 1897 prompted Salisbury’s government to send an expedition under General **Kitchener** south into the Sudan, against the Islamist government of that country, headed by the son of General Charles Gordon’s old enemy the Mahdi. Victory at **Omdurman** in September 1898 led to a further advance up the Nile to Fashoda, provoking the famous collision with Captain Marchand’s small French force, which had marched overland from French West Africa. The **Fashoda Crisis** was resolved by a French retreat in November 1898. In the meantime, crises over imperial and trade advantages in China erupted between Germany, Russia, and Britain, **China** being famously described by Salisbury in the vaguely Darwinist argot of the time as a “dying nation.” Salisbury was able to avoid the threat of major war over China, and cooperated with the other western powers in putting down the **Boxer Insurrection** of 1900.

Salisbury’s government made good relations with the **United States** a priority, notwithstanding Salisbury’s Tory antipathy to that country. He agreed in 1897 to an arbitrated settlement of disputes with the United States concerning the border between Venezuela and British Guyana and signed the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty** of 1901, by

which Britain dropped its objections to the American project for a Panamanian canal. During the **Spanish-American War** of 1898, Salisbury worked to keep the other European powers neutral, a policy that was effectively pro-American. Salisbury's government also made significant concessions on the Canadian-Alaskan border.

But the greatest crisis of the period was in South Africa between the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and the British authorities, who demanded political rights for the British miners attracted by the Transvaal's gold. The Boers resolved to preserve their political independence; the British, led by Salisbury's proconsul Sir Alfred Milner, were determined to force the two republics into a united, British-dominated South Africa. War broke out in October 1899. Although the British were eventually successful at subduing the Boers after two years of guerrilla war, characterized by scorched earth and concentration camps, the war became the most costly purely imperial war ever fought by the empire. The Peace of **Vereeniging**, by which the Boer forces laid down their arms on May 31, 1902, specified that South African self-government would precede any consideration of the native franchise, thereby laying the groundwork for South Africa's twentieth-century history of racial government.

In domestic politics, Salisbury, who began as an opponent of reform, became the emblematic leader of the middle-class Tory party of "villa Conservatism," the Primrose League, and the Liberal Unionist alliance. Salisbury solidified the reputation of the Tories, first invented by Disraeli, as the party of imperial and unionist patriotism, although he was himself no imperial enthusiast. Salisbury's skillful diplomacy guarded British interests while avoiding collision with any of the great powers; it is nevertheless the case that the blunders that led to the Boer war must remain a significant blot on the escutcheon of a prime minister whose forte—in his own mind above all—was foreign policy. Salisbury retired in July 1902 and died at his seat of Hatfield on August 22, 1903. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Balance of Power; Boer Wars; Conservative Party; Milner, Alfred.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Salonica

A cosmopolitan city of the **Ottoman Empire**, Salonica was peopled by Jews from the Iberian Peninsula; Orthodox Christians, mostly Greeks, some Bulgarians; Ma'mins, Jewish converts to Islam; Vlachs, Christians speaking a Romance language similar to Rumanian; gypsies; and Western Europeans, mostly Italians.

The assumptions of racial nationalism, which shaped European thinking in the nineteenth century, did not reflect how the inhabitants saw themselves. Religion dictated their identities and it was through the efforts of a minority of educated elite imbued with the European nationalist creeds that the people were converted and mobilized. The Macedonian struggle in the late nineteenth century, which dominated life in Salonica, began as a religious conflict among its Christians, but

turned into a way for nationalists to introduce national identities: Greek, Bulgarian, and even “Macedonian.” This threatened the cosmopolitan identity of the city. Hellenic and Bulgarian nationalists fought over Salonica, but were also divided among themselves.

In 1871, a few Bulgarians in Salonica left the Greek-speaking Orthodox community and joined the Bulgarian Exarchate. By 1912, they numbered 6,000. Initially, this move was a religious-linguistic inspiration, but with Russian and later Bulgarian government support, it became nationalistic. Irredentist leaders in Sofia clamored for the incorporation of “the Macedonians” into Bulgaria. In 1893, a militant anarchist group was founded in Salonica and proclaimed autonomy for Macedonia. The group was called the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) and had the slogan “Macedonia for the Macedonians.” A Bulgarian governor would rule Macedonia from Salonica, all officials would be Bulgarian Slavs, and Bulgarian and Turkish would be the official languages.

The IMRO conducted terrorist activities against Muslim and Christian officials, assassinating gendarmes, tax-collectors, and other civilian officials. On April 28–29, 1903, its radicals bombed various foreign and Ottoman places in Salonica, resulting in a crackdown by Ottoman soldiers. A few months later, on St. Elias’s day, the IMRO leadership organized an uprising, which only resulted in Ottoman troops killing several thousand peasants in retaliation. The European powers wanted to uphold the status quo but forced the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid to accept European supervision of policing.

The Greek Patriarchate viewed the Bulgarian Exarchate as a blow to the unity of the Orthodox Christians, but Hellenic nationalists feared that Macedonia was slipping into Bulgarian hands. In the 1904 Ottoman census, there were 648,962 followers of the Patriarchate and 557,734 faithful of the Exarchates in Macedonia, and nearly 250,000 of the former had identified themselves as Bulgarian speakers. Between 1904 and 1908, Hellenized Slavs and Albanians loyal to the Patriarchate beat reluctant peasants, shot Exarchates, and burned “hostile” villages. Greek operations were based in Salonica’s consulate, where a young cadet, Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaides, organized interrogation and assassination squads. Souliotis even published a brochure in Slavic, which he circulated among the peasantry titled *Prophecies of Alexander the Great*, to convince them that only Greeks could liberate them from Ottoman rule. In 1907, Souliotis urged the boycotting of Exarchist and Bulgarian businesses, and Greeks were warned not to hire enemy workers. Those that did were shot. The Bulgarians were just as violent as the Greeks in what effectively became a reign of nationalist terror.

In 1912, Salonica changed masters. Fears that Italy or Albanian rebels might seize parts of it resulted in various bilateral agreements between **Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece** to attack the **Porte**. The Greek army, with Crown Prince Constantine at its head, marched into Salonica only hours before the Bulgarians. This event ushered in efforts to make the city Greek. The 1913 census showed how cosmopolitan Salonica really was. The population numbered 157,889, of whom just under 40,000 were listed as Greeks, 45,867 as Muslims, and 61,439 as Jews.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Samoaan Crisis (1889)

A three-cornered diplomatic confrontation, involving competing American, British, and German claims to the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific west of Tahiti. British missionaries had been active in Samoa since the 1830s, but the largest commercial presence was that of plantations established by the German company Godeffroy and Son. The company acquired such a dominant position in cotton, coffee, rubber, and cocoa that it interfered in the clan disputes of the local population. In 1878, the United States established a naval base at Pago Pago, and the next year the three powers agreed to govern jointly the town of Apia. In 1885, however, Germany sought to answer anti-German sentiment among the Samoan population by seizing control of Apia and the Mulinuu Peninsula. When the Samoans sought American protection against the German claims, the U.S. Consul Berthold Greenbaum declared Samoa to be under American protection. As he had done this without the authorization of his government, U.S. Secretary of State Thomas Bayard opted instead for a conference to resolve the issue. Held in Washington in June and July 1887, however, the conference failed to find a compromise between American support for King Malietoa and German insistence that Chief Tamasese replace him.

The dispute edged toward crisis when, in August 1887, Germany attempted to topple Malietoa, and the United States sent a warship, *U.S.S. Adams*, to Apia in October. Matters deteriorated further in September 1888 when German warships began shelling Samoan coastal villages in response to a revolt and seized an American vessel in the process. President Grover Cleveland denounced the action, but German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck proposed a three-nation conference, this time in Berlin, as American, British, and German warships converged on Apia harbor. The conference met in late April, but in the interim a hurricane struck Samoa and sunk six of the seven warships at Apia. The disaster helped to establish a climate of cooperation, so that in June 1889 the General Act of Berlin established a three-power protectorate. Supplementary agreements signed in 1900 gave the islands west of 171° west longitude to Germany and the islands to the east of the line to the United States. Britain, suddenly preoccupied with the Second Boer War, withdrew its claims in Samoa in return for territorial concessions elsewhere. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire; German Empire; Navalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Sand River Convention (1852)

An agreement between Great Britain and the Boer population of the Transvaal. The agreement was brought about by the action of Sir Henry Smith, governor of the Cape Colony, in conquering the Orange River sovereignty on his own authority in 1848. The Russell and Derby governments in Britain resented Smith's expansionist adventure and repudiated his conquest in order to lighten the burden to taxpayers of Britain's obligations in South Africa. In the convention Britain recognized the

independence of the Transvaal Boers in return for a promise to abolish slavery in the Transvaal along with British a commitment not to interfere in the affairs of the Orange River sovereignty. The convention also provided for the flow of trade across the borders of British and Boer territory, as well as the extradition of criminals. The Boers considered the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 to be a violation of the convention and the principal *casus belli* of the First Boer War. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire; Orange Free State.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

San Martín, José Francisco de (1778–1850)

The general who led armies of liberation in Argentina, Chile, and Peru during the concluding phases of the Wars of Independence in Spanish America. San Martín was born in Corrientes to Spanish parents who supervised his education in Spain. He entered the Spanish military and served in three campaigns between 1789 and 1793 and was active in secret societies that supported liberal reforms and the independence of the American colonies during and after his resignation from the Spanish military in 1811.

While in London, through his membership in the Great American Assembly of Francisco Miranda, he met a number of Latin American independence leaders, including Manuel Moreno—the brother of Mariano Moreno—and Carlos de Alvear. In 1812, San Martín traveled to Buenos Aires, where he offered his services to the newly formed government of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. He became active in politics in Buenos Aires. In 1813, after winning victories against Loyalist forces on two occasions, the ruling junta named him as the commander of the expeditionary force then engaged in fighting Spanish forces on the frontier between Argentina and Bolivia. Hoping that an indirect attack would yield better results, San Martín pushed for the recruitment and training of an army between 1814 and 1817 that crossed the Andes and invaded Chile. A series of engagements in alliance with Chilean independence forces against the Spanish defenders led to the liberation of Chile by 1818.

With support from the governments in Buenos Aires and in Santiago de Chile, he led an invasion force against the Spanish in Peru beginning in 1820. Although the Royalist forces were significantly larger than the invading forces, the ensuing campaign produced a string of victories that quickly forced Spanish and loyalist troops from Peru. On July 28, 1821, a council in Lima declared their country independent. San Martín had hoped to unite Argentina, Chile, and Peru—if not all of South America—into a single nation. Although his exact plans remain unknown, contemporaries believed that he hoped to help create a constitutional monarchy and a federation of states.

As the battle to liberate Ecuador and Bolivia continued, San Martín met with Simón de Bolívar on July 25, 1822, in Guayaquil. No record of their discussion appeared and what their discussion covered remains unknown. After a series of meetings, San Martín returned to Lima, where he resigned his commission and

titles granted by the Peruvian government. He returned to Argentina, but he retired from politics and military affairs. After meeting briefly with government officials, he departed for England in 1824. Although he resided briefly in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1828, and he offered to help the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas lift an attempted French blockade of Buenos Aires in 1838, he remained for the rest of his life in Europe. *See also* Spanish Empire.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

San Stefano, Treaty of (1878)

Signed on March 3, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano concluded the war between Russia and the **Ottoman Empire** that had begun the previous year. Negotiated by the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, it was very favorable to the Russians, forcing the Turks to cede significant territory along the eastern shore of the Black Sea. It also proposed the creation of several new states: a large Bulgarian state to be occupied by Russian troops for two years and an autonomous **Bosnia-Herzegovina** under Austrian and Russian supervision. The treaty was so unacceptable to Austria and other concerned nations, such as Great Britain, that it was immediately rejected and nearly resulted in a new war. In the end, Otto von **Bismarck** negotiated a new agreement at the Congress of **Berlin** in June 1878 that was far less generous to the Russians. *See also* Russo-Turkish War.

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LEE A. FARROW

Santiago Bay, Battle of (1898)

A naval engagement of the **Spanish-American War**. Four days after the American declaration of war on Spain, Admiral Pascual Cervera sailed for **Cuba** on April 29, 1898, in command of the armored cruisers *Almirante Oquendo*, *Cristóbal Colón*, *Infanta María Theresa*, and *Vizcaya*, and the destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton*. His squadron evaded American patrols and arrived in Santiago, Cuba, on May 19. Soon discovered by American warships, the Spanish warships remained in port through June, blockaded by American warships that regularly patrolled the port's exit.

Fearing that advancing U.S. troops overland would capture his warships and knowing that the blockading American warships hopelessly overmatched his force, Cervera led his squadron out on July 3. He hoped to evade the American warships and escape, but American Admiral William S. Sampson had carefully deployed his warships; and those on station that day, the battleships *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Oregon*, and *Texas*, the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, and two converted yachts, intercepted and engaged the Spanish warships, sinking them one by one in a running battle.

The Spanish suffered 323 killed and 1,720 captured of the 2,227 men in the squadron, whereas only one American died in the one-sided battle. The victory ignited a fierce controversy between Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, whom Sampson left in command of the blockade before departing with the warships that needed to refuel. Both men claimed credit for the victory and the ensuing Sampson-Schley controversy festered for a decade despite a court of inquiry meant to settle it as they and their supporters continued to press their cases. *See also* Manila Bay, Battle of; Navalism; Spanish Empire; United States.

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STEPHEN K. STEIN

Santo Domingo

The eastern two-thirds of a Caribbean island shared with Haiti and a target for European penetration dating to the arrival of Christopher Columbus under a Spanish flag in 1492. Santo Domingo became the first permanent European settlement in Western Hemisphere and the base for the Spanish conquest of the Americas, but in 1697 Spain nevertheless recognized French dominion over Haiti. After gaining independence from France in 1804, Haiti invaded Santo Domingo and ruled it until 1844. Between 1861 and 1863, Santo Domingo returned to Spanish rule but threw it off and gained full independence in 1865. That year also marked the end of the **American Civil War** and the beginning of the increasing interest of the **United States** in the Caribbean.

The Grant administration sought to annex Santo Domingo to secure a naval base at Samaná Bay, but the Senate rejected the annexation treaty. When in 1904 Santo Domingo, now the Dominican Republic, fell into bankruptcy and civil war, fear of European intervention moved President Theodore Roosevelt to declare the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the **Monroe Doctrine**. Annexation, however, was out of the question. "I have about the same desire to annex it," Roosevelt note, "as a gorged boa constrictor might have to swallow a porcupine wrong-end-to." Still, in 1916, President Woodrow Wilson sent the United States Marines to the Dominican Republic, and United States Marines occupied and administered it directly until 1924. *See also* Navalism; Spanish Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Sarajevo

Under Ottoman rule, the administrative center of **Bosnia-Herzegovina** in the mid-nineteenth century. When Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina in the aftermath of the Congress of **Berlin** in 1878, the Austro-Hungarian administration was located in Sarajevo, too. The multiethnic city with large Croatian, Serbian,

and Muslim communities was modernized and prospered, but conflicts between the major ethnic groups and between parts of the Slav population and Austro-Hungarian authorities could never be settled.

In the aftermath of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, the new provincial diet was established in Sarajevo. Several political organizations that shunned parliament and tried to get rid of Habsburg rule by propaganda campaigns and political violence were active in Sarajevo. Gavrilo Princip, a member of Young Bosnia (Mlada Bosna), a group supported by the Belgrade-based **Black Hand**, assassinated the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent, Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, precipitating the **July Crisis**. Austria-Hungary's leaders decided to use the assassination of Francis Ferdinand as legitimate cause for an ultimatum and finally a war against **Serbia**. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Sardinia

See Piedmont-Sardinia, Kingdom of

Satsuma Rebellion (1877)

Known in Japan as the *seinan senso*, or “Southwest War,” the Satsuma Rebellion was the greatest of the series of samurai rebellions that rocked the newly established Meiji regime between 1874 and 1877. The eight-month engagement pitted 60,000 troops of the new national conscript army against the 42,000 samurai warriors from the former feudal fiefdom of Satsuma. Suppression of the rebellion in September 1877 marked the end of significant armed opposition to the new regime.

The **Meiji Restoration** of 1868 brought the end of feudal Japan and the beginning of a new, modern national polity. Although the founders of the Meiji state came from the *samurai* class, among their modernizing reforms was the elimination of privileges that had guaranteed samurai supremacy in the early modern period: the exclusive right to bear arms (two swords), to receive a stipend from the local lord, to wear the hair in a top-knot, to possess a surname and family crest, and to ride on horseback. The new central government chipped away at these rights between 1870 and 1876, provoking a series of five major uprisings.

Although the Satsuma Rebellion far exceeded the next largest disturbance, the 1874 Saga Rebellion of 2,500 samurai, it followed a general pattern of samurai protest. As with its predecessors, the origins of 1877 lie in the 1873 debate over a proposed invasion of **Korea**. Disgruntled by the decision to prioritize internal modernization over foreign invasion, several members of the ruling circle quit the national government for their native lands and assumed leadership of growing local disaffection with Tokyo.

Directing the Satsuma Rebellion was Saigo Takamori, popularized in a 2003 Hollywood film as *The Last Samurai*. Saigo had played a pivotal role in toppling the

feudal regime and in promoting modernizing reforms. But after the 1873 split, he returned to his native Kagoshima and renounced public life. Moved by the sincerity of Satsuma resistance to the increasingly crass materialism of the nation, he agreed in February 1877 to lead a samurai march on Tokyo. An imposing figure of almost 6 feet, 240 pounds and piercing gaze, Saigo was already a celebrity in his time. His ritual suicide in the name of purity is legend and has ensured his place as modern Japan's greatest hero. *See also* Japanese Empire.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Scandinavia

Politically, the region is made up of **Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland**, and their dependencies. Iceland retained ties to the Danish crown until 1944. The nations bear many cultural similarities, with the Lutheran confession as official religion. Scandinavian languages—Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, and Danish—belong to the Germanic group that, with exception of Icelandic, could be mutually understood by its practitioners. Finnish, on the other hand, belongs to the Finnish-Ugrian group and so does the language of the Sami minority, living in northern Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula.

Between 1839 and 1850, the pan-Scandinavian movement was influential among Scandinavian intellectuals. It was partly a result of increased focus on the common history and heritage of the Scandinavian peoples, but it was also derived from the increasing pressure from outside great powers, most notably Russia and **Prussia**. It came up short, however, in confrontation with the realities of politics and the growing nationalism of each country.

For Scandinavia, the **Napoleonic Wars** were the final chapter of more than 800 years of struggle for regional hegemony. For the latter 500 years, the Danish and Swedish Kings were the main contestants; the former had sided with defeated France, the latter with the victors. Yet from 1814 to 1914, Scandinavia was little affected by the squabbles among the great powers. Instead, the region saw a period of growth of civic society, democracy, and modernization. In Finland, Sweden, and Norway, forestry had always been a major export; in the latter two, mining also contributed economically. Norway, and Denmark's dependency, Iceland, also had rich fisheries. Denmark enjoyed an export-oriented farming sector, shifting from grain to dairy and meat preserves in the 1870s. The first railroads were laid down in the 1850s, and railroad networks expanded in Scandinavia from the mid-nineteenth century. From 1870, industry was expanding, applying the latest technologies, using local raw material such as ore and wood pulp, and in Norway and Sweden, benefiting from development of hydroelectric power. Industrialization also created a new, urban working class, which grew into a significant social and political force at the turn of the century. Norway also had a significant merchant fleet, which grew from the eighth to the third largest during the nineteenth century.

By the 1814 Kiel peace treaty, Norway passed from Danish to Swedish rule. Norway had brought Iceland, the Faeroe Islands and Greenland into the union with

Denmark in 1380, but these possessions remained with the latter. The Norwegian constitution of 1814 was one of the most democratic of its time, and its adaptation was enabled by the absence of any Norwegian nobility. It was under constant attack from the ruling Swedish King, however, until the mid-nineteenth century, when the Norwegian Parliament took to the offensive leading to independence in 1905. Parliamentary government was also introduced in 1884.

Finland was lost by Sweden to Russia in 1809, and became a Grand Duchy directly under the tsar. Tsar **Alexander I** (1777–1825) gave Finland extensive autonomy. While Norway's independence developed gradually, Finland experienced repression under Russian Tsars **Alexander III** (1845–1894) and **Nicholas II** (1868–1917). Finland gained full independence as a consequence of the 1917 Russian Revolution and a bloody civil war lasting through 1918.

Both Sweden and Denmark entered the period as absolute monarchies and with a landed aristocracy that hampered development of democratic institutions. Reforms began in the mid-nineteenth century, but parliamentarism was not established before World War I. Universal suffrage was also obtained by both sexes in Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913, Denmark and Iceland in 1918, and Sweden in 1921. *See also* Russian Empire; Russo-Swedish War.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann von (1755–1813)

A distinguished officer in the Prussian Army during the Napoleonic period who is known as a remarkable reformer and administrator rather than as a battlefield commander. Hanoverian by birth, Scharnhorst transferred to Prussian service in 1801. He served as chief-of-staff first to the Duke of Brunswick at the disastrous Battle of Auerstädt on October 14, 1806, where he was slightly wounded, and towards the end of the campaign with Gerhard von **Blücher**, later to become **Prussia's** distinguished commander-in-chief. As a major general Scharnhorst headed the reform commission appointed to rebuild and reorganize the Prussian army, and it was in this capacity that his considerable talents were revealed. He advocated the creation of a national army based on wide conscription, the opening up of officers' commissions based on merit, and the creation of a national militia—all of which led to the establishment of the new fighting force, which in 1813 helped drive the French from Germany in that year. Scharnhorst became Blücher's chief of staff in 1813 but died from an infected wound received at the Battle of Lützen. *See also* Gneisenau, August Wilhelm von; Napoleonic Wars; Moltke, Helmuth von; Roon, Albrecht von.

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Peter. *Yorck and the Era of Prussian Reform: 1807–1815*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966.

GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Schleswig-Holstein

A region comprised of two of the three duchies on the lower Jutland Peninsula between **Denmark** and the Elbe River—the third being Lauenburg—with predominantly German-speaking populations yet subject to Danish rule for centuries. Holstein was given to the **German Confederation** in 1815 as punishment for Denmark's alliance with Napoleon **Bonaparte**. During the revolutions of 1848, Denmark sought to annex the duchies, but the local population resisted and was supported by Prussian troops. A conference in London in 1852 achieved a compromise among competing claims, but after the death of Frederick VII of Denmark in 1863, his successor, Christian X, whipped up Danish national enthusiasm for annexation against Austrian and Prussian counter-claims. Schleswig-Holstein thereupon became the first of the wars of German unification under Otto von **Bismarck**, when Austria and **Prussia** combined to defeat the Danes by October 1864.

Having disposed of Denmark with Austrian help, Bismarck contrived to eliminate Austria as well. First, he set about establishing Kiel as a Prussian naval base, a provocation to Austria that was temporarily settled by the Gastein Convention giving Schleswig and Launenbug to Prussia and Holstein to Austria; he thereupon orchestrated a war with Austria by charging that its government was violating the convention by continuing to encourage competing claims to the duchies. Following the **Austro-Prussian War** of 1866, Prussia dissolved the German Confederation and annexed Schleswig-Holstein. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Schlieffen Plan

Germany's infamous military deployment plan of 1914, named after Alfred Count von Schlieffen, chief of the Prussian general staff from 1892–1905. By the time the plan was implemented in August 1914, it should more aptly be called “Moltke-Plan,” as it had been changed and updated by Schlieffen's successor, Helmuth von **Moltke**, in the years 1906–1914.

Schlieffen's war planning was conducted against the background of international developments in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. Germany felt itself “encircled” by hostile alliances, and its military planners feared that it would most likely have to fight a war on two fronts if a European war were to break out. Schlieffen attempted to find an answer to the dilemma of how to win such a two-front war when faced with superior enemy numbers. As chief of the general staff, he had changed his predecessors' strategy of concentrating on the enemy in the East—Russia. Instead, he reversed years of planning by focusing on the enemy in

the West—France. Russia, he felt, could retreat into its vast terrain and avoid a decisive battle, but Germany would be too stretched to fight on two fronts and needed to secure an early victory, at least on one of those fronts. France seemed to offer that chance; Russia would be slow to mobilize and could be dealt with later. In 1905, faced with an enforced retirement, he put some of his thoughts to paper in a now infamous memorandum, intended to point his successor, the younger Helmuth von Moltke, in the right direction.

The timing of this memorandum is important, as it was written against the background of the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905. As a result of this conflict, which Russia lost, it was eliminated as a serious threat to the European status quo for the foreseeable future. Russia would first of all have to recover from defeat and revolution. For Germany's military leaders who feared Russia as a potential future enemy, this was a perfect time to consider "preventive war," for Germany still had a chance to defeat Russia if it chose to become involved in a European war. In the not-too-distant-future, Germany's military planners predicted, Russia would become invincible. The so-called Schlieffen Plan was developed against this background and designed primarily as a war against France—and if necessary Britain—in 1905. France, allied to Russia, would not be able to count on its ally's support in 1905, so this constellation offered a real opportunity to Schlieffen that Germany could avoid a two-front war altogether and concentrate solely on fighting in the west. With one enemy removed, Russia would in future be much less of a threat to Germany.

Schlieffen therefore saw Germany's best chance of victory in a swift offensive against France; in the east, the German army was initially to be on the defensive. He counted on the fact that that German victory in the west would move quickly and that Russian mobilization would be slow, so that a small German force would suffice to hold back Russia until France was beaten. After a swift victory in the west, the full force of the German army would be redirected eastward against Russia. In effect, this strategy would turn the threatening two-front war into two sequential one-front wars. The plan further entailed that Germany would have to attack France while avoiding the heavy fortifications along the Franco-German border. Instead of a "head-on" engagement, which would lead to position warfare of inestimable length, the opponent should be enveloped and its armies attacked on the flanks and rear, using the existing railway lines, which would ensure a swift German deployment. In addition, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Belgium were not expected to put up much resistance and their neutrality would not be respected in a German advance. Schlieffen intended to concentrate all effort on the right wing of the German advancing armies. The plan involved violating the neutrality of Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Belgium; however, the political ramifications of this act of aggression were considered insignificant.

This was the result of years of planning and of strategic exercises designed to find the best solution to the problem of a two-front war. Schlieffen put this version to paper in December 1905 in a memorandum written on the eve of his retirement. In the following years, his plan was adapted to changing international circumstances by his successor, the younger Helmuth von Moltke. The underlying principle—that of seeking to fight France before attempting to defeat Russia, and of attempting to envelope the opponent—remained the same until August 1914, however, when Germany's deployment plan was put into action.

In 1914, the plan imposed severe restrictions on finding a diplomatic solution to the July Crisis, particularly because of its narrow timeframe for the initial deployment of troops into Luxemburg, Belgium, and France. Particularly the need to capture the fortified town of Liège quickly put severe time pressure on the German advance. The escalation of the diplomatic crisis into full-scale war was in no small measure a consequence of Germany's offensive war plans.

Germany began the war with a deployment of the majority of its troops in the west. Seven armies were deployed there, and one army was deployed in the east, where the task of holding back the Russian army was to be shared with the Austro-Hungarian troops. The quick victory in the west, however, was not achieved; in the east the Russians were quicker to mobilize and deploy than had been anticipated, and the much needed support from the Austrians was less substantial than hoped for. What had seemed a sound strategy for winning a war on two fronts ultimately failed in August and September 1914, when trench warfare put an end to the idea of a quick victory on the western front. Arguably, Germany could not win a long war against numerically superior enemies, particularly once Britain entered the war and the naval blockade took effect. Once Moltke's interpretation of the Schlieffen Plan had failed, it seemed only a matter of time before Germany would lose the war.

After the war was lost and the victors blamed Germany and German militarism for its outbreak, details of the Schlieffen Plan were kept secret. Official document collections made no mention of it. In private correspondence and in their memoirs Germany's failed military leaders and former members of the general staff nonetheless frequently referred to Schlieffen's "recipe for victory," which had, in their opinion, been squandered by Moltke. Details of the memorandum did not become public until after World War II, when the German historian Gerhard Ritter published it and other documents in an effort to prove that German militarism was indeed to some extent responsible for the outbreak of war. Since then, generations of historians have come to accept that German military planning, epitomized by the Schlieffen Plan, was one of the factors for the outbreak of hostilities in August 1914.

This certainty has recently been questioned by the American historian Terence Zuber, who denies the existence of the Schlieffen Plan. Zuber's contention is that the famous 1905 memorandum did not amount to a military plan and that Schlieffen never intended to launch an attack on France via Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. This thesis has provoked a heated debate but has largely failed to convince critics that there was no Schlieffen Plan. Equally, Zuber's apologetic interpretation that Germany did not have an offensive war plan in 1914 has found little support. Nevertheless, the debate has reemphasized what others had already pointed out: that there never existed a perfect recipe for victory, that Schlieffen's hapless successor adulterated his plan, and that it would be prudent to think carefully about the terminology used to describe Germany's military plans of the prewar years. The notion of the Schlieffen Plan as a convenient way of summarizing German military strategy in August 1914 is inaccurate. The responsibility for the plans that were put into practice in August 1914 lay with Helmuth von Moltke, who had adapted Schlieffen's ideas to changing international and domestic conditions. Although the principle remained the same, the plans differed in important ways, such as Moltke's planned *coup de main* on Liège, which was intended to avoid a violation of Dutch neutrality. It would still be fair to say that the German war plan of 1914 contributed significantly to the outbreak

of fighting, but to blame Schlieffen for what followed thereafter is misleading. *See also* German Empire; Strategy.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Schmoller, Gustav von (1838–1917)

Among the leading economists of Imperial Germany and founder of the “younger historical school,” Schmoller attempted to square Germany’s waxing industrial strength and accelerating social change with the monarchic and authoritarian traditions of Prussia by advocating paternalist social reforms to meet the material needs of the working class. He further viewed overseas expansion as a way to offset the social effects of a rapidly increasing population in Germany. To avoid resorting to domestic political repression, Schmoller advised, the Reich would have to pursue social reconciliation at home while participating fully in great power struggles overseas. *See also* *Weltpolitik*.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Schönbrunn, Treaty of (1809)

A peace treaty signed on October 14 between France and Austria, which ended the 1809 War of the Fifth Coalition following Napoleon Bonaparte’s victory at Wagram, also signed by Napoleon’s ally, Russia. The treaty expressed Napoleon’s dominant position, as Austria was required to give up territories to the French emperor, who would then reallocate them. Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, together with part of Upper Austria, would later pass to Bavaria. The county of Görz, Montefalcone, Trieste, the province of Carniola, together with the parts of Carinthia and civilian Croatia, six Regiments (the Karlstadt and Banal districts) of the Military Frontier, Fiume and the Hungarian Littoral (coast), plus Austrian Istria lying to the west of the Save River would pass to the Kingdom of Italy.

These territories would later be consolidated with French-held Dalmatia into the Kingdom of Illyria under Napoleon’s rule. Austria also ceded Razuns, an enclave in eastern Switzerland. The king of Saxony had been a new French ally in the 1809 war and was rewarded with enclaves within Saxony previously attached to Habsburg Bohemia. The Saxon king was also ruler of the duchy of Warsaw and was awarded the Austrian territories in Poland taken under the 1795 Third Partition, that is West Galicia. For its half-hearted support in the war, Russia received a small part of eastern Galicia around Brody. Austria recognized the changes of monarch in

Spain, Portugal, and Naples, while also joining the **Continental System** blockade against the United Kingdom. The Austrian army was reduced to 150,000 men and the **Habsburg Empire** was to pay an indemnity of 85 million French francs. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Russian Empire.

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DAVID HOLLINS

Schwarzenberg, Prince Felix (1800–1852)

A Habsburg statesman, Prince Schwarzenberg was born in October 1800 in Krummau, a member of the highest ranks of the Bohemian aristocracy. He joined the Austrian army and switched to the diplomatic service after a few years, where he made an impressive career. In the revolution of 1848, Schwarzenberg reentered the military service, fighting against the Italians. Field-marshal Alfred Prince von Windischgraetz, his brother-in-law and the most influential counter-revolutionary general, made sure that Schwarzenberg became prime minister and foreign minister of the Habsburg monarchy in November 1848.

As prime minister, Schwarzenberg reestablished the Habsburg regime, dissolved the constitutional assembly and paved the way to neo-absolute rule. The new emperor, Francis Joseph, relied on Schwarzenberg's advice in domestic and international affairs. Schwarzenberg managed to restore the Great Power status of the Habsburg monarchy and the **German Confederation**. Yet when he died in April 1852, he had failed to strengthen Austria's position in the Confederation beyond the status quo ante. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Second Opium War

See Arrow War

Sedan, Battle of (1870)

The most decisive German victory of the **Franco-Prussian War**. With the French Army of the Rhine under Marshal Bazaine besieged in Metz, the last hope for France rested with the Army of Châlons, commanded by Marshal Patrice **MacMahon**. MacMahon's options were to either race east to Bazaine's aid or to retire to the west and use the strong fortifications around Paris to support his defense. The stronger course of action would be to retreat west, but MacMahon was under great pressure from the Empress Eugénie and her advisors. Furthermore, the Emperor Napoleon III himself was with MacMahon's army, and retreat would have dealt a grave blow to the political stability of the Empire. The Army of Châlons marched east.

To counter this threat, the German commander, General Helmuth von Moltke, split his forces into four armies. Leaving two to keep Bazaine contained at Metz, he ordered the other two to head west and find MacMahon. German cavalry probing ahead found indications that the Army of Châlons was heading northeast, perhaps to reach Metz via Sedan and Thionville, hugging the Belgian border. It would have been a grave risk for the Germans if they had turned north to pursue, only to find the French were not there. If the French move was a feint, Moltke would be presenting his left flank to MacMahon. On the other hand, if MacMahon was retiring to safety around Paris, the Germans would lose as much as a week reforming and chasing after the French, giving them ample time to bolster the defenses of Paris. Moltke was prepared to gamble and accordingly ordered the two armies to turn north and cut off MacMahon's line of advance. Through forced marches, the Germans caught up with the French and stopped the Army of Châlons at the town of Sedan, a few miles from the Belgian border, on August 31.

The Army of Châlons was now caught in a triangle-shaped position, surrounded by German forces on all sides. On September 1, the Germans commenced their final assault. Early in the action MacMahon was severely wounded, but there was confusion as to who would take his place. MacMahon appointed General Auguste Ducrot as acting commander; however, a more senior general and recent arrival, Emmanuel Wimpffen, refused to take orders from Ducrot and insisted he was now in charge. The two commanders disagreed over which direction the army should attempt a breakout. Ducrot advocated a breakout to the west and a return to Paris; Wimpffen ordered an attack to the east and a continuation of the drive to relieve Metz. Either option was doomed to failure. The German artillery controlled the heights above Sedan on all sides and was able to rain down artillery fire from different directions on the French troops below. There was no cover, and thousands of French soldiers and horses were cut to pieces. A few units were able to sneak to the north and into neutral **Belgium**, where they were interned, but the rest either died or were captured. By the end of the day, the French had suffered 3,000 men killed, 14,000 wounded, and 21,000 more taken prisoner, including the Napoleon III and MacMahon; over the next few days, the total French prisoner count reached nearly 100,000. The Germans' total losses—killed, wounded, and missing—were only 9,000, the vast majority of which had been incurred by a few ill-advised infantry assaults by commanders too impatient to let the artillery do their work for them. The defeat at Sedan was the last gasp of the French Second Empire and opened the road to Paris for the victorious German armies. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon; German Empire.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Senegal

Senegal was the largest, most important, and most democratic French colony in West Africa. Senegal was used as a jumping-off point for further colonial conquests

during the scramble for Africa. A European presence in the area dates to the mid-fifteenth century, when the Portuguese established trading bases along the coast for commerce in gold and slaves. By the seventeenth century, the Portuguese had given way to the French and British who operated coastal forts on the Senegal and Gambia Rivers, respectively. During the next two centuries Anglo-French conflicts caused the French forts to repeatedly fall into British hands until the end of the **Napoleonic Wars** permanently restored French control over St Louis, Gorée, Dakar, and Rufisque.

Interest in the interior remained limited until the arrival of Governor Louis Faidherbe in 1854. Driven by a desire to make Senegal financially self-sustaining through the creation of plantations and convinced by his own experiences as an army officer in Algeria that peaceful coexistence with Muslims was impossible, Faidherbe acted on his own initiative and repeatedly provoked border conflicts with al-Hadjj Umar's neighboring Tukolor Empire as a means of expanding the French presence into the interior. France subsequently spent the period from Faidherbe's 1865 retirement until the mid 1880s, digesting its holdings in Senegal and creating an export economy centered around peanuts, ivory, and gum arabic. Once the Scramble for Africa began, however, French forces simultaneously completed the conquest of Senegal and then joined with counterparts from the French Congo and Algeria in a bid to conquer the interior and establish a band of French held territory stretching from the Atlantic Coast to the Nile River.

In addition to its financial importance, Senegal also occupied a unique place as the most democratic colony in French Africa. Although the majority of Senegalese were considered subjects and were ruled directly by French colonial administrators, the policy of assimilation meant that from the mid-nineteenth century, Africans born in the so-called Four Communes of Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque, and St Louis were French citizens with full voting rights, eventually culminating in the 1914 election of Blaise Diagne as the first African member of the French National Assembly. Senegal's unique political status was further strengthened in 1895 when Dakar was selected as the capital of the newly created federation of **French West Africa**. *See also* Fashoda Crisis; French Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Sepoy

A corruption of *Sip-ah*, Persian for “army,” and a general term commonly, although somewhat inaccurately, used to refer to an infantryman of the lowest rank in the British-led Indian armies. Sepoys were recruited from the native Indian population by the British East India Company as early as 1667 and later by the British government in response to the French adoption of the practice. Many British army units in **India** initially had native officers of high rank, but they were gradually replaced by

officers of European origin. The term was therefore applied to any Indian soldier below officer rank who had been trained and equipped according to European tradition. Sepoys were serious, in equal parts possibly, about religion and military professionalism. Hindu and Muslim holy men typically blessed regimental colors and sent sepoy into action with a prayer, but sepoy also sought to face the same risks in battle as their British counterparts and often resented the practice of putting British troops in the positions of greatest danger. *See also* East India Companies; Indian Mutiny.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Serbia

A rebellious Ottoman possession in the Balkans and fully independent after 1878. The defeat of the medieval kingdom of Serbia by the Ottoman Turks on Kosovo Polje in 1386 was the prelude of centuries of foreign rule. After the mid-sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire fell into slow decline before emerging a modern European state in the twentieth century, and when southeast Europe was hit by waves of nationalism in the first half of the nineteenth century, both environment and inspiration lay ready for a growing Serb independence. On the eve of World War I, however, the region was Europe's most backward. Communications were poor, the majority of the population was illiterate, and the emerging nationalist sentiments fused with existing feudal structures and not the emerging national-states of the more central parts of Europe.

The Serbs had managed to maintain their culture, language, and orthodox Christianity. Many fled west to the Habsburg lands, settling in modern Croatia. In 1713, a Serb archbishopric was established there, and in this period ties with the Russian Orthodox Church were also strengthened. The population in Serbia had risen from around 1 million in the early nineteenth century, to 2.5 million by 1900. Belgrade had 100,000 inhabitants. In 1804, a tax increase triggered a Serb rebellion led by Djordje Petrovic (Karadjordhević, 1762–1817), but its underlying cause was strengthened by Serb national awareness. The revolt was quashed as the promised Russian support never materialized, but an uprising in 1813–1814 under Miloš Obrenović (1780–1860) managed to carve out some Serb autonomy. A struggle developed between Petrovic and Obrenović. The assassination of the latter, plotted by the former in 1818, began a conflict between their families that marked Serb politics until the twentieth century.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman *millet* system had divided society along religious lines, so that religion in large part constituted the Serb nation. Realizing that the Church was the sole unifying national institution, literary reformer Vuk Karadžić managed in the 1820s to establish language, too, as a defining factor of "Serbdom," enabling the inclusion of Muslim and Catholic South Slavs into the Serb nation-building project. This also entailed reforms and standardization of the written Serbo-Croat language. Under the weak Prince Alexander (1806–1885) from 1842–1858, Prime Minister Ilija Garašani, built up a hierarchical and centralized government apparatus after

an Ottoman model, enforced by a standing army. Still formally subservient to the Turks, Garašani had no problem justifying this approach. He also formulated the program of unification of all South Slavs under Serb leadership, which heralded the later creation of Yugoslavia. He also coveted **Bosnia-Herzegovina**

The Turkish garrison in the capital Belgrade left in 1867, but full Serb independence was reached in the Treaties of **San Stefano** and Berlin only after the Ottomans were defeated by Russia in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. New territory was added in the southeast, including Niš, Serbia's second largest city from then on. Although Russian aid was welcomed, leaders like Garašani were careful not to become puppets of the tsar and let Russian designs limit Serbia's national ambitions. In 1882, Serbia was proclaimed a monarchy.

Thereafter, the increasing appeal of pan-Slavism—a call for unification of all Slav nations—troubled Serbia's relations with Austro-Hungary, itself a home of numerous Slav peoples. The situation was aggravated by the 1903 coup, bringing the throne to the Karadjordhević family and forging stronger Serb ties with Russia. The 1908 crisis over Bosnia-Herzegovina was prevented from escalating only after Germany pressured Russia to persuade Serbia to accept Austria's annexation, but new conflict soon erupted to the east.

In alliance with **Greece** and newly independent **Bulgaria**, Serbia attacked the Ottoman Empire in 1912, adding **Montenegro** to the kingdom and reducing the European possessions of the Turks to their current borders. Fighting broke out again the next year among the victors over the spoils, and Austria intervened to prevent further expansion of Serbia's territory.

On June 28, 1914, Archduke **Francis Ferdinand**, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, was shot and killed on a visit in Sarajevo, the provincial capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The assassin, Gavrilo Princip, a young student, was a member of the underground organization Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia) with supposed ties to another organization, the **Black Hand**. The latter was known to be under the influence of Serb officers. The Austrians claimed that the Serbian government had staged the assassination and thus triggered the diplomatic crisis that led to World War I. Serbia was overrun in 1915, but in 1918 liberated Serbia could fulfill the goal of uniting South Slavs when Yugoslavia was established. *See also* Balkan Wars; Croatia-Slavonia; July Crisis; Russian Empire; Slavism.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Sevastopol, Siege of (1854–1855)

The culminating action of the **Crimean War**. The principal objective of the Allied army during the war was the capture of Russia's principal Black Sea port at Sevastopol, situated on the southern coast of the Crimean peninsula. After landing nearby in September 1854, the siege began on October 8 when the Russians' southern defenses were still incomplete. Indeed, the northern section was never invested, and supplies and reinforcements continued to pass in and out of the city for the

entire period of operations. Bombardment of the city began on October 17, by which time the Russian engineers had rendered the place virtually impregnable to assault. The besiegers fought successfully at **Balaklava** on October 25 and **Inkerman** on November 5 to stop a Russian field army from disrupting their operations against Sevastopol, and suffered terribly from freezing conditions over the winter months. Normal operations resumed in April 1855, followed by two extremely costly Allied assaults on June 8 and September 8, the second of which, although only partly successful, convinced the defenders to evacuate the devastated city that evening. *See also* Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Seven Weeks War

See Austro-Prussian War

Shaka Zulu (1783–1828)

Founder and king of the Zulu nation of southern Africa. The Zulu and related or preceding Nguni tribes were preliterate societies, so precise details of Shaka's early career are uncertain. Shaka was probably the illegitimate son of a chief; he entered the service of another chief as a young man and rapidly became a successful warrior with a following in his own right. In 1824, he made contact with British ivory traders who had landed at what is now Durban; the diary of their medic, Henry Francis Fynn, is one of the few primary sources available. Shaka was a military innovator in both tactics and organization, and his army expanded with his conquests. Zulu conquests, largely in the area that subsequently became Natal but also extending into the eastern Cape, played a role in precipitating the massive movements of peoples in southeast Africa known collectively as the *mfecane*, movements that left large areas relatively sparsely populated at the time of the arrival of the Boer Voortrekkers.

Shaka was always suspicious of revolt and refused to acknowledge any sons, often killing or exiling women he had made pregnant. In 1828, he was killed by his followers, including his half-brother Dingane, who succeeded him as Zulu king. Shaka had made the Zulu into a powerful military nation, but also bequeathed to them a persistent succession problem. A subsequent succession dispute was referred to the British for arbitration, and played a role in embroiling them in the **Zulu War** of 1879. That war opened with the catastrophic British defeat of **Isandhlwana**, but ended with the final breaking of Zulu military power. Shaka's legacy was claimed by various future movements. He became a mythic figure for Zulu leaders and among African nationalists more widely; he also became a symbol of an exclusive ethnic identity, and was deployed to this end by the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Shanghai

Situated at the mouth of the Yangtze River in east central China, Shanghai was one of the five original **treaty ports**—along with Canton, Fuzhou, Xiamen, and Ningbo—opened to foreign commerce in 1842. Shanghai grew quickly into China's largest city, commercial and, later, industrial centre. By 1850, the surrounding swampland had been drained and the river banks shored up, thus accommodating an influx of foreign shipping. The city also became the focal point of foreign cultural influence and economic interests in China. The latter were concentrated in the International Settlement, administered by the quasi-autonomous Shanghai Municipal Council, elected by the richest among the Western firms and businessmen. *See also* Nanjing, Treaty of.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891)

A prominent Union military leader during the **American Civil War**, William T. Sherman was the son of an Ohio judge. At 16, Sherman obtained an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy and graduated seventh in his class in 1849. He served in the second Seminole War and the **Mexican-American War** and was promoted to captain. In 1853, he resigned his commission and held a number of positions in San Francisco, New Orleans, and St. Louis.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Sherman enlisted as a colonel in the regular army. He rapidly moved up the ranks and, by the spring of 1863, was a major general and an Army Corps commander under his friend, Ulysses **Grant**. When, in 1864, Grant went east to take command of the Union war effort, Sherman was placed in command of the Army of Tennessee. By the fall of 1864, Sherman was convinced that the only way to end the war was to crush the South's economic ability to wage war. After the capture of Atlanta in the fall of 1864, he led his army on the famous "March to the Sea," during which the army pillaged its way from Atlanta to Savannah. In the spring of 1865, he used the same tactics in South Carolina, marching through Columbia and into North Carolina. There he accepted the surrender of the last remaining Confederate army east of the Mississippi, effectively ending resistance.

When Grant was elected president in 1868, he appointed Sherman commander-in-chief of the army. In that position, he used the same scorched earth tactics against Indian tribes who resisted being moved onto reservations. He implemented a policy of slaughtering the buffalo on the Great Plains, understanding that this would force the Indians to either stay on the reservations or starve. Once the Indians were on the reservations, he worked to make sure they were fed and spoke out forcefully,

although not particularly effectively, against the civilian government mistreatment of them. Sherman's policy against the Confederacy and the Plains Indians was controversial then and now. His campaigns presaged the "total war" of the twentieth century; for better or worse, he has been called "the first modern general." *See also* Sioux Wars; United States.

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JOSEPH ADAMCZYK

Shimoda, Treaty of (1855)

An agreement marking the opening of official diplomatic relations between the **Russian Empire** and Japan. The treaty was sought by Russia for two principal reasons: the Russian Empire was territorially overextended, stretching into Central Asia, Siberia, Alaska, and Northern California; and Russia was simultaneously troubled by competition from the **United States** for entry into Japan, symbolized in the visit of Commodore Matthew Perry and the Treaty of **Kanagawa** in 1854. Russia sought an Asian partner in trade for the development of its far-flung territories, as well as a wedge against American and British influence over Japan. The Shimoda treaty opened the ports of Hakodate, Nagasaki, and Shimoda to Russian commerce. It also defined the border between the two countries, rather inconclusively, through the Kuril Islands and determined joint influence over the island of **Sakhalin**, which the two divided in 1858. *See also* Japanese Empire; Manchuria; Russian Far East; Sakhalin.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Shimonoseki, Treaty of (1895)

Signed on April 17, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki ended the **Sino-Japanese War** in which a modernized and westernized Japanese military had defeated handily the antiquated forces of the **Qing Dynasty**. The treaty was negotiated by Count Hirobumi Ito for the Japanese and Li Hongzhang for the Chinese, and imposed harsh terms on a defeated **China**. The Chinese were forced to pay an indemnity of 200 million taels of silver and to recognize the autonomy and independence of **Korea**, as well to cede Formosa (present-day Taiwan) and the Pescadores Islands to Japan. In addition China was to cede **Port Arthur** and the Liaodong Peninsula, and open new treaty ports in Shashi, Chongqing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou. The harsh terms of the treaty prompted the so-called Triple Intervention by Russia, France, and Germany, which pressured Japan to renounce its claims to Port Arthur and the Liaodong peninsula in return for a larger Chinese indemnity. *See also* Russo-Japanese War.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Siam

Siam, contemporary Thailand, was the only country of the Far East, besides Japan and **China**, never to experience colonial rule. In the early nineteenth century, Siam's leaders concentrated on rivalry with neighboring Burma until realizing that the main threat came from the British and French Empires. King Mongkut, an acute observer of international affairs, managed to come to terms with the British by granting them **extraterritoriality** and **free trade** in the Bowring treaty of 1855.

Mongkut and his son Chulalongkorn relied on a mixture of modernization, diplomacy, and sometimes good fortune to defend Siam's independence. Under their leadership, limited but real reforms were introduced, often with the help of experts and advisers recruited from the European colonial services. A Western-style government and a centralized provincial administration were created in the 1890s, as well as an independent judiciary, a body of codified law, and a competent administration of the country's finances. Reforms helped preserve financial independence, prevent incidents that might provide pretexts for intervention, and win back jurisdiction over British subjects in 1909. Britain was interested chiefly in stability and free trade, whereas France, pursuing territorial rather than economic interests, was harder to placate. Repeatedly, Siam had to offer territorial concessions, beginning with the "Siam Crisis" of 1893 when French gunboats forced their way to Bangkok. After France had accepted to restrain her ambitions in Siam in the **Entente Cordiale** and Siam had ceded further territory to France in 1907 and Britain in 1909, independence was finally secure.

Except through the settlement of Siam's lowlands by people escaping from the control of the nobility and producing rice for export after the introduction of free trade in 1855 and the immigration of Chinese traders and laborers into Bangkok, Siamese society changed very little and only at the top. Chulalongkorn had received a partly Western education and from the 1880s, princes were educated in Europe. Administrative reforms and the creation of a modern army were accompanied by the training of new staff and resulted in the appearance of a small modern middle class. Universal education remained a distant prospect, however, held back by cautious fiscal policies that also hampered efforts at economic diversification. Siam managed to secure independence and create the structures of a modern state, but social and economic change was limited. *See also* Burma; French Empire; Indochina.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Siberia

For nineteenth-century Russia, Siberia was a resource frontier like the legendary American West for the **United States**. Until the peasant liberation of 1861, migration to Siberia was mostly compulsory. Exiles were forced to work in Siberian mines. By 1858, nearly 3 million people lived in Siberia, 1.7 million in the western and 1.3 million in the eastern part. Suspicious of British engagement in China after the **Opium Wars**, the tsarist government began to develop the Siberian frontier. Fearing British expansionism and taking advantage of China's weakness, Russia annexed in the 1850s and 1860s parts of China's northern borderlands, specifically the Amur region and the nearby Pacific shore where the harbor Vladivostok was founded in 1860.

In 1861, the so-called great Siberian migration began. **Alexander II** gave peasants from European Russia who wanted to settle in Siberia free homestead on state land and exempted migrants to the borderlands from taxes. Between 1882 and 1890, nearly 200,000 peasants settled in Siberia, but the construction of the **Trans-Siberian Railroad** accelerated this process. The project of the Trans-Siberian Railroad was not only ambitious, but also a serious drain on the national budget as the construction swallowed up a sum between 770 million and 1 billion dollars. Nevertheless, the economic development of the Siberian frontier before World War I would have been unthinkable without the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Thanks to the railroad, 2.5 million peasants migrated to Siberia between 1896 and 1904. Migration contributed to the Russification of the frontier. By the outbreak of World War I, the Siberian population was overwhelmingly Russian. In the same period Siberia's agriculture was booming thanks to the import of American machinery. The most famous Siberian product on the world market was butter. The nineteenth century also saw the birth of a strong regional movement in Siberia. For many Russian exiles, Siberia became a homeland where they propagated their democratic conviction that the people in Siberia were freer and more egalitarian than in European Russia. They envisioned Siberia as a "second America" and believed that the natural resource base of Siberia would accelerate industrial revolution and democratization. In the nineteenth century, however, the majority of intellectuals and officials in European Russia rejected any westernization and democratization and stressed Russian national exceptional status independent from Europe and America alike. Ultraconservative tsars like Alexander III and Nicolas II feared Siberian separatism, so that any autonomy or federalist plans for the Russian Empire were rejected. *See also* Russian Empire; Russian Far East.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Sicily

See Italy

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone was the first British colony in Africa, aside from the coastal forts of the Gold Coast region. It was founded in 1787 under the influence of evangelical

abolitionists, who wanted to resettle liberated slaves and other blacks in Africa, thereby creating “legitimate” trade as an alternative to the **slave trade**. The colony did not prosper, and was refounded under the Sierra Leone Company, notwithstanding its name a philanthropic enterprise, in 1791. Approximately 1,200 loyalist blacks were transported there from Nova Scotia, along with maroons from **Jamaica** following the 1797 rebellion. Sierra Leone became at this time the first jurisdiction in which free blacks were granted political rights.

Zachary Macaulay, the evangelical father of T. B. Macaulay, governed the colony from 1794–1799, and is credited with making it a permanent concern. In response to concern about the expansion of French West Africa, a British **protectorate** for the interior region around Sierra Leone was established in 1896. As a result of Admiralty interest in using it as a naval base, Sierra Leone became a crown colony in 1808 and was used thereafter as a destination for slaves liberated from slave ships by the **Royal Navy**.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Sikh Wars (1845–1846, 1848–1849)

Two short but particularly brutal wars waged by British forces against the **Khalsa**, the army of the Sikh religious sect, for control of the **Punjab** in northwest **India**. The First Sikh War followed hot on the East India Company’s failed effort in **Afghanistan**, 1838–1842. The British presence in Afghanistan and annexation of Sind in 1843 provoked first apprehension and then a preemptive response from the Sikh court in Lahore, which quite rightly feared a British attack. A Khalsa force estimated between 12,000 and 20,000 men crossed the Sutlej River into British India on December 11, 1845, and seized Ferozepore two days later. When it pressed its offensive further southward, it was met and defeated by an Anglo-Indian force of 10,000 under General Sir Hugh Gough at Mudki. Gough’s army then attacked and captured in bitter fighting Sikh entrenchments at **Ferozeshah**, after which the Khalsa withdrew across the Sutlej. When in January 1846 the Sikhs again crossed the frontier, the British forces were ready. They inflicted defeats on the Khalsa at Ludhiana and **Aliwal** before capturing the village of **Sobraon** near Lahore. Hostilities ended with a treaty signed at the Sikh capital on March 11, 1846, whereupon the Punjab became a British protectorate and the Sikhs were forced to pay an indemnity of £1.5 million.

The second war was the product of a conviction on the part of Khalsa that it had never been truly defeated and an ambition on the part of Lord **Dalhousie**, the new governor-general of India, to annex the Punjab outright. Both sides, in other words, were hankering for a return bout when the murder of two British officers at Lahore provided Dalhousie with appropriate outrage to invade the Punjab protectorate. After a bloody but indecisive engagement at Chilianwala in January 1849—the battle cost 2,300 British casualties and prompted a call to replace Gough as commander-in-chief in India—the British force captured Multan and then shattered a combined Sikh-Afghan force of 50,000 with his artillery at **Gujarat**. Gough, who thereby concluded the war and made himself a hero before he could be fired, described Gujarat as “a victory, not over my enemies, but over my country.” The Punjab was annexed on March 30. *See also* British Empire; East India Companies; Singh, Ranjit.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Silk Road

English translation of *Seidenstrasse*, a term coined by the German geographer and traveler Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905) to describe the network of land and sea trading routes connecting **China** to **India** and the Near East and whose heart was in Central Asia. For more than a thousand years, from the second century to the fourteenth century, the Silk Road was a medium of commercial and cultural exchange between East and West. The trade route fell into disuse from the fourteenth century with the eclipse of Mongol power, whose stabilizing influence had encouraged trade, and the subsequent rise of maritime trade routes based in Western Europe. For several centuries the route was largely forgotten.

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed the intensification of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia as the **Russian Empire** advanced steadily southward to threaten British India. In this context, Central Asia became a contesting ground between Russian and British adventurers and influence peddlers on whose heels arrived a host of scholars and explorers intent on studying the culture along the former Silk Road while pursuing their own host nation's interests. Most notable among such explorers were the Swede Sven Hedin (1865–1952) and the naturalized Englishman Aurel Stein (1862–1943). Sven Hedin is credited with opening up the region for exploration after his groundbreaking journeys through the Taklamakan Desert in the 1890s. Stories of the region's archaeological treasures soon attracted explorers representing Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. The effect of this intense period of activity, which lasted nearly up to the outbreak of World War I and in many ways mirrored larger imperial rivalries, was the birth of Central Asian studies. In the process, however, innumerable artifacts and ancient documents were looted from the region and taken to European museums and libraries. *See also* Great Game.

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DANIEL C. KANE

Singapore

An island abutting on southern tip of the Malay Peninsula in the narrow waters joining the Malacca Strait to the South China Sea, originally named *Singapura*, Sanskrit for “Lion City.” A lease on it was acquired by Sir Stanford **Raffles** in the name of the East India Company from the Sultan of Jahore in 1819. Raffles established a free-trade port city in Singapore that quickly eclipsed other ports as the entrepôt servicing trade between **India** and **China**, Japan, Indonesia, and **Australia**. Singapore encouraged immigration, by virtue of which it acquired a cosmopolitan character and a population composed of Malays, Javanese, Indians, Chinese, and English.

In 1826, Singapore came under the united administration of Singapore, Malacca, Penang, and Province Wellesley in the Straits Settlements, and in 1858 the East India Company ceded the entire Straits Settlement to the British crown. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Singapore became an important link to Middle Eastern trade as well. As a naval station, it ranked as one of Admiral John Fisher's "five strategic keys" to the British Empire. *See also* British Empire; East India Companies; Free Trade; Royal Navy.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Singh, Ranjit (1780–1839)

The architect of the **Khalsa Kingdom of Punjab**. In 1792, at the age of 12, Ranjit succeeded to the leadership of Sukerchakia *misl* (principality), which controlled the territory between Lahore and Attock. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, he was able to establish control over the whole of Punjab. The Napoleonic Empire fascinated him, and he also kept well informed regarding the British anxiety about the advance of tsarist Russia into Central Asia. Whenever he got a chance, he discussed military affairs with foreign visitors.

In 1805, Jaswant Rao Holkar arrived in Punjab, retreating before the British General Lord Gerard Lake. Ranjit mediated peace between the two parties. He visited Jaswant and heard with astonishment about the war exploits of the British, concluding that infantry disciplined and equipped in the Western style along with field artillery would enable him to survive against the onslaught of the British East India Company. From 1807, Ranjit trained Western-style infantry equipped with Brown Bess muskets from the deserters of the company's troops and demobilized soldiers of the Maratha armies; he depended on ex-Napoleonic officers for training his army and establishing gun foundries. In total, more than 100 European officers were employed by Ranjit. Despite the opposition from his *sirdars* in particular and the Sikh community in general, who were votaries of light cavalry, Ranjit was successful in westernizing part of his army and took personal care of its westernized contingents, spending three to four hours every day watching the parade and frequently rewarded soldiers for good performance. After Ranjit's death on June 29, 1839, the court lost control over the Khalsa. This encouraged the company to invade Punjab. *See also* British Empire; East India Companies; India; Sikh Wars.

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KAUSHIK ROY

Sinn Féin

Gaelic for "ourselves alone" or "we ourselves," Sinn Féin is a nationalist movement for Irish political and economic autonomy originating in Dublin during

1905–1907. Conceived as a nonviolent resistance to English imperial rule, by the eve of World War I, Sinn Féin transformed itself into an active political party dedicated to establishing an independent Irish parliament. Britain's distraction with World War I became an opportunity for Irish separatists to stage an uprising during Easter 1916.

Although militarily unsuccessful, the Easter Rebellion and subsequent English repression produced a wave of Irish nationalism that catapulted Sinn Féin to prominence. Sinn Féin coordinated and became identified with nationalist policies during the Anglo-Irish guerrilla war (1918–1921), which ended with Home Rule established in the Irish Free State. In the years after instituting dominion status and the partitioning of Ireland, Sinn Féin reorganized as the political voice of the Irish Republican Army. *See also* Home Rule.

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JONATHAN GANTT

Sino-French War (1883–1885)

A conflict between China and France over Vietnam. The Sino-French War revealed the inadequacy of China's modernization efforts such as the Self-Strengthening Movement of the 1860s, as the imperial Qing government was unable to act effectively and decisively while facing a national crisis. Historically, Vietnam was China's major protectorate in the south. Since 1664, the rulers of Vietnam had sent more than 50 tribute missions to Beijing. During the mid-nineteenth century, however, France began to colonize southern Vietnam by sending its forces to protect Catholic priests and their converts. In 1874, a Franco-Vietnamese treaty of "Peace and Alliance" was reached. The French acquired the right to navigate the Red River and began to expand into northern Vietnam by stationing troops in Hanoi and Haiphong. Facing the growing French encroachment, the ruling Nguyen dynasty of Vietnam asked the Chinese for protection. Unwilling to concede its influence in the region, the Chinese government dispatched troops in 1883 from the Yunnan and Guangxi Provinces across border into Tonkin, where they engaged the French in a series of battles.

While the hostilities dragged on the frontline without decisive victories, the Chinese imperial court was divided between the appeasement wing of Viceroy Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) and the Purists' hard-line advocacy of war to defend China's honor and uphold its obligations to a tributary state. After further French advances, Prince Gong (1832–1898) and the Grand Council were dismissed, and Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) was appointed governor general of Guangdong and Guangxi, in charge of military affairs with the French. Concurrently on the diplomatic front, in May 1884 Li Hongzhang managed to negotiate a settlement with France in which the two countries agreed to make the area a joint protectorate. Although no indemnity was required, the so-called Li-Fournier agreement specified the Chinese withdrawal and the recognition of French interests in Vietnam. This agreement, however, was rejected by the Chinese government when the conservative war party emerged with force and began to pressure the court to take a hawkish approach

against the French aggression. Therefore, fighting resumed when a French ultimatum expired in August 1884, and both sides dispatched reinforcement troops to northern Vietnam.

Although on the land the French forces stayed on the offensive, taking control of the delta region and pushing toward the Chinese border in March 1885, the Chinese army recaptured the strategic Zhennan Pass, a surprising turn of events that led to the downfall of the French cabinet. Along the Chinese coast, the newly established imperial Qing navy was nonetheless no match for the French fleet. Although China had more than 50 modern warships, they were under four separate commands of the Beiyang, Nanyang, Fujian, and Guangdong fleets. Because of bureaucratic rivalry, there was no coordinated national war, as Li Hongzhang and Zeng Gongquan (1824–1890) were reluctant to mobilize the two major fleets under their commands. When facing the French assault, the Chinese naval officers were poorly trained, ill informed, disorganized, and indecisive. In August 1884, French warships attacked Jilong in northern Taiwan and destroyed 11 vessels of the Chinese Fujian Fleet established by Viceroy Zuo Zongtang (1812–1885), and demolished the Fuzhou Shipyard constructed in 1866 with the aid of French engineers. After an extra year of costly warfare, the wavering Qing government was ready for a new settlement. Finally in June 1885, Li signed a peace treaty in Paris based on the original Li–Fournier agreement. Consequently, the French protectorate of Vietnam was recognized, and the historical Sino-Vietnamese tributary relationship was terminated. *See also* Annam; French Empire; Indochina; Qing Dynasty; Tonkin.

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WENXIAN ZHANG

Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895)

The result of a dispute between China and Japan over influence in Korea, which was rooted in an ongoing rivalry between the two nations for dominance in the region. Through the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876, China had de facto allowed Japan to recognize Korea as an independent state—although it was technically Chinese territory—and the subsequent attempt by the Chinese to reassert influence over the peninsula became a source of dispute between the two nations. To avoid open conflict, the Li-Ito Convention was concluded in 1885, requiring both nations to withdraw their armies from Korea and to provide notification of any new military deployments there.

In 1894, a rebellion occurred in Korea in the wake of the assassination of its pro-Japanese reformist prime minister, prompting China and Japan to intervene militarily. Having crushed the rebellion, Japan refused to withdraw its forces and instead sent further reinforcements. War was officially declared on August 1, 1894, and Japanese forces handily defeated the Chinese armies at Seoul and Pyongyang and proceeded north into China proper. By November 21, the Japanese had advanced and captured Port Arthur on the Liaodong peninsula. At sea, the

Chinese Beiyang fleet lost 8 of 12 warships in an engagement in the Yellow Sea and was forced to retreat behind the fortifications of the naval fortress at Weihaiwei. The remnants of the fleet were destroyed in harbor by Japanese forces in a flanking landward attack from the Liaodong peninsula, which then proceeded to besiege Weihaiwei.

With the easing of harsh winter conditions and the fall of Weihaiwei on February 2, 1895, Japanese armies continued their advance into **Manchuria**. This advance prompted the Chinese to sue for peace and the Treaty of **Shimonoseki**, which ended the war, was signed on April 17, 1895. In China, the humiliating defeat at the hands of an “inferior” state and the harsh terms of the peace treaty prompted calls for further reforms and accelerated modernization. For Japan, victory in the war was viewed as vindication of the modernization programs of the **Meiji Restoration** and would encourage further encroachment into China. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russo-Japanese War.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Sioux Wars (1862, 1876–1877, 1890–1891)

A series of conflicts between the **United States** and one of the great confederacies of plains Indians occasioned by the westward expansion of white settlement and the seizure of indigenous lands, often in violation of treaty agreements. In the uprising of 1862, the **American Civil War** prompted the Sioux of the Minnesota Territory to exploit the division within the growing white population to rise in revolt. In attacks on farms along a 200-mile stretch of the Minnesota River Valley 800 whites were slain, many of them women and small children. A militia raised for a punitive expedition defeated the Sioux in a skirmish at Wood Lake, after which a trial sentenced 303 Sioux to death. This number was reduced to 38 by President Abraham **Lincoln**, but the subsequent hanging was nonetheless the largest mass execution in North American history.

The Great Sioux War of 1876–1877 was the largest operation of the U.S. Army since the Civil War. The conflict resulted from a campaign to force the Sioux led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse out of the Black Hills of Montana and on to the Great Sioux Reservation against their will. It began with a Sioux attack on Fort Pease, Montana, in early 1876 and was not concluded until the defeat of the Sioux at the Battle of Rosebud Creek in May of 1877. Its most storied engagement was the defeat of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry under Major General George Custer by a combined Sioux and Cheyenne force at Little Bighorn in June 1876. The Messiah War of 1890–1891 arose when a religious revival led to an uprising among the Sioux of the Black Hills Reservation, sometimes referred to as the Ghost Dance Disturbances. It ended with the defeat of the Teton Sioux at Wounded Knee, North Dakota. *See also* Indian Wars; Riel Rebellion.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Slave Trade

For most of the nineteenth century a commerce in human misery was in steady decline among the imperial powers. The Atlantic slave trade during the sixteenth century was initially established by Spain and Portugal for the transport of enslaved African labor to the Americas. In the seventeenth century, both Britain and the **Netherlands** also became deeply involved, in Britain's case the Royal Africa Company established in 1662 claiming an official if not actual monopoly on the sale of slaves in the English colonies. Markets such as the **United States**, **Brazil**, and other South American plantation economies, and the Caribbean accounted for the transport in the most appalling conditions of some 12 million Africans to the fate of forced labor and early death in the New World.

Beginning in the 1780s, humanitarian movements dedicated to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade based on Christian humanity were progressively reinforced by the industrialization of European economies and the increasing political influence of a bourgeois class to whom slave labor epitomized the economic backwardness of agrarian interests. **Denmark** banned slave trading within its empire in 1792, followed by Britain and the United States in 1807, and France in 1815. Largely as the result of British insistence, the Congress of **Vienna** adopted a resolution banning the slave trade, yet left it to each of the powers present to decide when to act on the sentiment. The trade in slaves continued illegally well into the 1860s, and the use of slave labor was not banned in the **British Empire** until 1833 and in the United States not until the defeat of the Confederacy and its slave-based economy in 1865. The Netherlands waited until 1863 to ban slavery. Although France banned the trade in 1815, the trafficking of slaves and use of slave labor lasted for decades in many French colonial possessions. Because after the Battle of Trafalgar the **Royal Navy** was omnipotent on the high seas, it was in a position to repress the slave trade and made an honest attempt to do so. It had the greatest impact on the Atlantic passage. Elsewhere, such as the Arab slaving network stretching across the Indian Ocean and deep into the African interior, the sheer volume of the commerce often exceeded the navy's capacity. Moreover, variations on slave labor and its legacy persisted in corners of the British Empire. British missionaries inveighed against the cruel treatment of native Africans by the Boers, and British circuit courts in the Cape Colony took legal action. The Slachter's Nek Rebellion of 1815 erupted when a farmer charged with mistreating a Khoikhoi laborer refused to appear in court. When a force of colonial police consisting partly of Khoikhoi regulars was sent to arrest him, a skirmish ensued in which the farmer was killed. Several of his supporters were subsequently tried and hanged. The episode provoked outrage among Boers who thought it absurd that a farmer be punished for abusing a Koikhoi, and it presaged the tension between South African Boers and British authority that eventually led to the Anglo-Boer Wars. *See also* American Civil War; Pax Britannica; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Slavism

A movement with roots in Slavic Romanticism stirred up by the French Revolution and human ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity but also influenced by idealistic German philosophers such as Johann Gottfried von Herder. Slavism was a literary and intellectual movement. The most prominent writers and philosophers were Pavel J. Savarik (1795–1861) and Frantisek Palacky (1798–1876) among the Czechs and Slovaks, Bronislaw Tretowski (1808–1869) and Adam Mickiewicz (1789–1866) among the Poles, Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819) and Ljudant Gaj (1809–1872) from the Balkans, Mikhail P. Pogodin (1800–1875) and Fyodor I. Tyuchev (1803–1875) among the Russians. **Pan-Slavism** was by contrast political and envisioned the unification of all Slavic peoples. It was supported by Slavic nationalities in the **Habsburg Empire** and **Ottoman Empire** and was also a foreign policy tool of the **Russian Empire**.

Like Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism was awakened by the **Napoleonic Wars**. Slavs rediscovered their history, philology, and folklore to create a sense of national unity. Pan-Slavism had many facets, like the call for the independence of the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and southern Slavic peoples, but also for the inseparable union of the Russian Empire. On the one hand, it stood for self-determination and independence, on the other for the cultural superiority of the Slavic people over non-Slavic nationalities within the Russian Empire. During the revolution of 1848, the movement held its first congress in Prague. There was the idea of a Pan-Slavic University in Warsaw and three Slavic empires: the Russian Empire, including all territories east of the Vistula; a Western Slavic empire with Prague as its capital; and a southern Slav empire with Belgrade as its capital. But these ideas remained utopian. The problem was that western Slavs were overwhelmingly loyal to the Habsburg Empire, whereas the Balkan Slavs, in particular the Serbs, were loyal to the Russian Empire.

From the very beginning, in fact, the Pan-Slavist movement was divided. The Poles showed strong anti-Russian tendencies, whereas minor Slavic nationalities feared that the Russians would dominate the movement and exploit the vision of Slavic unity to make the nationalities of Central Europe and the Balkans into Russia's vassals. Russian Pan-Slavists believed that, because they had not experienced Habsburg or Ottomans rule, Russians were the "true" Slavs and the natural leaders of the movement. Some proponents even thought that the other Slavic nationalities should adopt Russian as the *lingua franca* of all Slavs, the Orthodox religion, and even Cyrillic writing. Russian Pan-Slavists sought less the emancipation than the Russification of Slavic peoples.

Before World War I, Czechs and Slovaks aimed more autonomy within the Habsburg Empire—the so-called **Austro-Slavism**—but southern Slavs openly advocated complete independence from Habsburg and Ottoman rule. The Serbs sought to unite all of the Balkan Slavs under their rule and turned to Russia for support.

The Serbs were at the fore of the Slavic independence movement and were less compromising than the Czechs or Slovaks who favored the solution of the Slavic question through modernization and democratization. Whereas western Slavs were oriented toward the ideals of Western Europe, the orthodox Serbs shared a more Slavic-centered ideology with Russian Slavophiles. Russian Slavism had been influenced by philosophers like A. S. Khomiakov (1804–1860), I. V. Kireevskii (1806–1856), and K. S. Aksakov (1817–1860), who rejected Western ideas based on rationalism and materialism that would destroy Slavic spiritualism. They propagated a return to old Slavic tradition through a renaissance of conservative social and political structures and considered the peasant communalism as the ideal social structure, because most regions of Eastern Europe were agrarian. Aksakov rejected any modernization as degenerate.

From the mid-nineteenth century, Russian pan-Slavism became more aggressive. The defeat of Russia in the **Crimean War** of 1853 and the inner reforms of the 1860s were considered symptoms of decay. Humiliation in foreign policy and domestic modernizations based on Western models drove Russian Pan-Slavists to foster an idea of national salvation for all Slavic nationalities through the rejection of industrialization and urbanization and the embrace of agrarian society and the simple life of Slavic peasants as a human ideal. Russian Pan-Slavists also believed in the mission of the Orthodox religion as a universal idea that attracted their orthodox brethren in Serbia. Between 1806 and 1815, the Serbs became autonomous of the Ottoman **Porte** and were very soon seeking expansion in the Balkans in order to bring all southern Slavs under Serbian rule. This aim endangered the unity of the Habsburg Empire, so Vienna pursued an extremely repressive course in domestic politics that fueled the fire of southern Slavic nationalism and would eventually lead to the **July Crisis** of 1914.

In Poland, Pan-Slavism had a difficult quality, because the Poles had known oppressive occupation under by the Russian Empire and viewed the movement as a tool of Russification. As the Russian movement became more aggressive after Russia's defeat in the Crimean War and the Polish January Revolt of 1863, Russo-Polish animosity revealed deep strains within Pan-Slavism. Polish delegates did not take part in the Pan-Slavist Congress in Moscow in 1867. The Czech delegation under the leadership of the Czech historian Frantisek Palacky spoke up for a Russo-Polish rapprochement, but the Russians clung to their leadership of a movement that under Russian predominance defended Russia's imperial policy. During the Balkan crisis of 1875–1878, the Pan-Slavist movement propagated an aggressive policy toward the Ottoman Empire, including the conquest of Constantinople as the future capital of a Slavic Union. Western Slavs had no interest in southern Slav irredentism and Russian expansionism. Although they preferred a compromise with Vienna, Czechs and Slovaks were nonetheless not free of radicalism, especially where cultural autonomy was concerned. An extensive pamphlet literature and a series of journals revealed a tone not of reconciliation but of confrontation. Pan-Slavism in the Habsburg Empire, furthermore, provoked anti-Slavism. Hungarians defended their exclusive rights within an empire in which Hungarian had to be the second public language. The Slovaks and Serbs of Hungary criticized the privileged status of Hungarians.

Nevertheless, Pan-Slavism was no more aggressive than other nationalist movements such as German and Hungarian nationalism, and it had a profound impact on Slavic identity. From the mid-nineteenth century until World War I, Slavic

nationalities within Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire experienced a cultural renaissance, as Slavs rediscovered a history dating to the Middle Ages before Habsburg and Ottoman domination—a period that appeared to have been a golden age. The *fin-de-siècle* Slavic language experienced a rebirth in journals and schoolbooks. Merchants, the clergy, and teachers supported Slavic cultural renaissance. As each Slavic nationality—Polish, Czech, Slovak, southern Slav, Russian—was grounded in a different historical tradition, Pan-Slavism had never been a homogeneous movement. The two main and opposing factions—a conciliatory policy favored by western Slavs of Catholic belief faith that followed the Western European model of national development, and a violent variant propagated by Serbs and Russians of Orthodox belief who rejected the Western model of the nation-state—represented the divergent paths of gradual transformation and eruptive confrontation. In contrast to Orthodox Pan-Slavism, Austro-Slavism had the character of a democratic national federalism. Czechs recognized that true national and cultural emancipation required a break with imperialism. The main reason for this difference was religion. Western Slavs were influenced by a liberal Catholicism that was an important bond with Austria-Hungary. Russia, as an Orthodox Great Power, was suspicious of conciliatory Austro-Slavism that gained influence in the Balkans among the Croats and Slovenians and in Galicia among the Polish and Ukrainian national movements. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the comments on Czech Austro-Slavism in Russian periodicals were highly negative, and Austro-Slavism was rejected as a betrayal of the Pan-Slavist ideal. Croatian and Slovenian loyalty to the Habsburg Empire endangered Serb and Russian influence in the Balkans, and conflict among Slavists contributed to a confrontation between the Habsburg and the Russian Empire that led to World War I. *See also* Balkan Wars; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatia-Slavonia; Serbia.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Smith, Adam (1723–1790)

The founding theorist of classical political economy, Adam Smith was educated at Glasgow, where he came to know many of the key figures of the Scottish enlightenment, and at Balliol, Oxford. He became friends with David Hume and, in 1751, was offered a post as professor of logic at Glasgow, where he also taught moral philosophy. Smith's first book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* was as much about the psychology as the ethics of moral feelings: in it he first used his famous phrase “an invisible hand,” conveying a notion that the world was a rational system characterized by natural balances. It was an idea that carried forward into Smith's major work, the *Wealth of Nations* of 1776. Smith was influenced both by his meetings with contemporary French political economists and by his acquaintance with Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer under William Pitt the Elder, and the prominent

Scottish politician Sir Henry Dundas (later Lord **Melville**). *Wealth of Nations* was a work of two volumes, treating numerous topics of political and economic—two categories not then separate—relevance, but focusing, as its title implied, on the historical, geographical, and political factors that made a nation wealthy or poor. Smith's most famous argument related to the division of labor, which, enabled by its necessary concomitant, trade, made "the progress of opulence" possible.

Smith began by describing wealth as the sum of material assets in a society, from which "the necessities and conveniences of life" were supplied, and that wealth was originally the creation of labor. These ideas were directly opposed to the mercantilist doctrine then current that bullion was equivalent to wealth. International trade, he taught, should be freed of protectionist impediments designed to accumulate specie. For Smith, society progressed through various stages of history, although there is little trace of determinism in his account. No opponent of class privilege—class differences being for him a simple fact of life—Smith nevertheless argued that a prosperous nation was one in which the poor had a basic standard of living above mere subsistence. *The Wealth of Nations* had no great immediate impact—the British political world being somewhat preoccupied with the wars of 1775–1783—but in subsequent decades it came to be regarded as a canonical work. It influenced William Pitt the Younger's 1786 trade agreement with France and became the standard point of reference for subsequent political economists. Although to some degree Smith was overtaken as a theoretical economist by David **Ricardo** and John Stuart **Mill**, and was superseded by the marginal economics of W. S. Jevons later in the century, his arguments for **free trade** became a standard text for politicians in the nineteenth century, and his name has remained a touchstone for free market advocates to this day. Smith was a strong supporter of the Scottish Union, which had opened imperial markets to Scottish merchants, as well as an advocate of an Irish Union.

In directly imperial matters, Smith's distaste for the bullion-centered theories of wealth led him to emphasize the corrupt character of the **Spanish Empire**, and by contrast the wholesome character of the **British Empire** of settlement. His opposition to protectionism on grounds of the theory of comparative advantage led him to oppose closed mercantilist colonial schemes as counterproductive and at any rate unenforceable. He thought the British colonies in America the most productive in the world and attributed this to "plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs," although he thought they were of no direct value to England. Smith was a determined opponent of chartered companies of the East India type, holding that theirs was the worst of all governments. He was not, however, a dogmatic free trader, recognizing that some public purposes, such as defense, were more important than trade. The wider impact of *Wealth of Nations*, beyond its specific policy arguments, was to function as the canonical text of the idea that free markets, and more generally capitalist economies in the round, were a progressive force making not merely for the "progress of opulence" but for the improvement of all concerned. Such ideas permeated Victorian thought and formed the environment in which both the imperialist and the anti-imperialist arguments of the nineteenth century were constructed. *See also* Anti-Corn Law League; Free Trade; Liberalism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Smolensk, Battle of (1812)

An indecisive battle on Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s march to Moscow. French delays earlier in the campaign allowed the Russians to combine two armies, commanded by Generals Barclay de Tolly and Peter Bagration, at Smolensk, about 280 miles east of Moscow, and the Russian force now numbered about 50,000 men. Napoleon did little on August 15, allowing the Russians to prepare for battle. Battle came the next day as the two sides clashed in the suburbs, each sustaining heavy casualties. On August 17, Napoleon sent three corps against the city walls, but this was ineffective and both sides again sustained heavy losses. A lull on August 18 allowed Bagration to withdraw his army eastward, with Barclay soon following suit. Prompt French action could have been decisive, but General Junot failed to properly pursue and the Russians successfully retired, leaving a burning city to the French. Napoleon considered staying there for the winter, but ultimately marched east toward **Borodino** and Moscow. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Russian Empire.

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J. DAVID MARKHAM

Smuts, Jan Christiaan (1870–1950)

Prime minister of **South Africa**, a British imperial statesman, and a Boer general during the Boer War of 1899–1902, Jan Smuts went on to become a British field marshal and an advocate of Commonwealth unity. Smuts was the son of a prosperous South African farmer, and was educated at the University of the Cape of Good Hope and at Cambridge. He was an outstanding student and was trained as a lawyer in England. He entered cape politics as a supporter of the Afrikaner Bond in 1895, and, in a theme that persisted throughout his career, called for the two white races of South Africa to unite against black “barbarians.” Following the **Jameson Raid**, however, he became an ardent opponent of British imperialism, and joined Paul **Kruger**'s Transvaal government. He led ultimately unsuccessful efforts to negotiate a solution to the issue that led to the South African War, the franchise for British immigrants to the Transvaal.

In that war, he placed his hopes for victory on international intervention. Originally a civilian, he became a guerilla commander, remaining in the field after the British occupation of Pretoria. In the discussions that led to the peace of **Vereeniging**, he insisted that the question of the native franchise be left to a self-governing South Africa, a decision with fateful consequences. After the war, he became a leading Afrikaner politician, consistently opposed to political rights for Africans. In 1914, he supported the Union of South Africa's entry into the war on the British side, suppressing a rebellion by some of his former Afrikaner

nationalist comrades. He commanded South African forces in their invasion of southwest Africa, and then took command of British forces in east Africa, with the rank of lieutenant general in the British army. Representing South Africa in London in 1917, he was made a member of the war cabinet and became influential with David Lloyd George.

In contrast to his rigid opposition to black rights at home, and his vision of a settler-dominated Africa, he was in extra-African affairs a keen liberal internationalist. He produced a pamphlet urging a League of Nations, resisted the vindictive aspects of the Treaty of Versailles, and, in the aftermath of the World War II, he drafted the preamble of the United Nations Charter. The latter was quoted back at him, and at subsequent South African leaders, by human rights advocates. In commonwealth affairs, he was an advocate of **dominion** autonomy. Nevertheless, in domestic South African politics, he lost Afrikaner support and found himself in alliance with the English population and mining interests; the latter identification was reinforced by violent action against strikers both black and white. He led a sorely divided South Africa into World War II, becoming again a key figure in imperial politics, and a trusted confidant of **Churchill**. But he was defeated by the pro-apartheid and anti-imperial National Party in 1948. An intellectually ambitious man, Smuts attempted to reconcile religion and evolution and ecology through his philosophy of "holism." Smuts died in 1950, lauded with honors internationally but increasingly irrelevant in South African affairs. *See also* Boer Wars; Vereeniging, Treaty of.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Sobraon, Battle of (1846)

The final showdown of the First **Sikh War** fought on February 10, 1846, near the village of Sobraon. The Sikhs had constructed 3,000 yards of entrenchments in a semicircle, with each end touching the Sutlej River. Construction was shoddy, especially on the right side, as the Sikh generals practically wanted defeat. General Sir Hugh Gough, with his 15,000 troops, rightly wanted to launch the main assault against the Sikh right flank and then attack the center and left. The battle began at dawn with artillery fire for two to three hours, but the British quickly ran low of ammunition. Gough ordered an infantry charge, which was initially repulsed, but finally succeeded in pushing back the Sikh army. Because Tej Singh had removed much of the pontoon bridge that went across the Sutlej, many Sikh soldiers were forced to retreat into the river, which quickly became clogged with dead and dying men. British casualties amounted to nearly 2,300, of whom 300 were killed. The Sikhs had upwards of 8,000 casualties. The British victory at Sobraon broke the **Khalsa**, and fighting in the First Sikh War came to an end. *See also* India; Punjab.

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DAVID TURPIE

Social Darwinism

An ideological trend widespread at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries advocating laws of human social and political development based on crude association with the laws of biological evolution theorized by Charles Darwin. Competition, natural selection, struggle for existence, and survival of the most adaptive individuals are recognized as basic determinants of social life and in a wider context applied to social theory, arguing the necessity of competition for social progress. It originated in the specific historical, cultural, political, and economic context of the end of nineteenth century, characterized by wars over resources, competition in the world market, rising militarism and territorial expansionism, class struggle, social tensions, and antagonistic nationalisms. In such situations it became convenient to believe that the world of nations was organized according to the same basic principle as the animal world and that predatory behavior afforded the best chances of survival.

Aspects of social Darwinism are found in the ideas of English economist and priest Thomas R. Malthus (1766–1834), according to whom contradictions and difficulties of social progress were explained by eternal and absolute laws of nature. Malthus was well known for his “natural law” of human population growth and regulation. A theoretical expression of social-Darwinist views is found in works of the English philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). It was Spencer who coined and put into circulation in social science the concept of “struggle for existence.” In nature the best chance for survival belongs to the best-adapted organisms, the organisms with the highest degree of functional differentiation. According to Spencer, in a social context, the higher the internal differentiation of the society, the higher its capacity to adapt. Spencer neglected the role of the state and of any political institutions in society regulation. At his later period he underlined primacy of the individual in the industrial society; the role of the state he considered as secondary and non-necessary in the process of social development. As a result of Spencer’s significant impact and influence on the development of social Darwinism’s theoretical base, this direction in social thought sometimes is also called spencerism.

In Great Britain Darwinist ideas applied to social behavior were sometimes used as an argument to attack privileges, but they were also used to explain failure. The most politically liberal form of social Darwinism was developed in the United States and is associated with a new generation of industrialists such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie who considered their success in business as the best proof of the social Darwinist principle that competition inevitably leads to progress. The least liberal form of social Darwinism saw an inherent virtue in competitive nationalism and militarism, at its worst justifying, in an age of rampant colonial competition, the subjugation of inferior peoples by their “natural” superiors. *See also* Race.

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OLENA V. SMYNTYNA

Solferino, Battle of (1859)

The last engagement of the second War of Italian Independence. It was fought in Lombardy between an Austrian army and a Franco-Piedmontese army and resulted in the annexation of most of Lombardy by **Piedmont-Sardinia**, thus contributing to the unification of **Italy**.

After its defeat at the Battle of **Magenta** on June 4, the Austrian army of about 120,000 men had retreated eastward, and Emperor **Francis Joseph** had arrived to dismiss General Count Franz von Gyulai and take personal command. The Franco-Piedmontese army, of approximately equal size, under the command of Napoleon III of France and Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont-Sardinia, pursued the Austrians. Neither side had accurate information about the other's troop movements, and on June 24, they unexpectedly clashed, in and around Solferino, four miles southeast of Castiglione della Stiviere in Lombardy at a time when the French expected to engage only the Austrian rear guard, and the Austrians expected to engage only the French advance units. The battle developed in a confused and piecemeal fashion until midday. After extremely costly fighting, the French broke the Austrian center in mid-afternoon. Smaller actions, including a vigorous delaying action by the Austrian general Ludwig von Benedek, continued until dark, leaving the French and Piedmontese too exhausted to pursue the defeated Austrians.

The Austrians lost 14,000 men killed and wounded and more than 8,000 missing or prisoners; the Franco-Piedmontese lost 15,000 killed and wounded and more than 2,000 missing or prisoners. These heavy casualties contributed to Napoleon III's decision to seek the truce with Austria that effectively ended the Second War of Italian Independence. The bloodshed also inspired Henri Dunant to lead the movement to establish the International Red Cross. *See also* Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon; Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Somaliland

Located along the Horn of Africa, a territory carved into three **protectorates**, French Somaliland and British Somaliland along the Red Sea, and Italian Somaliland along the Indian Ocean. Until the early 1870s, the **Ottoman Empire** exercised a nominal sovereignty over the Red Sea Coast until the Egyptians expanded into the area all the way to Cape Guardafui. When they evacuated, European powers followed, expanding their influence through the establishment of protectorates over

native rulers. The British established a protectorate over the Red Sea port of Zeila, while the French, seeking to contain further British expansionism and to establish trade with Ethiopia, occupied the port of Djibouti. Finally, the Sultan of Zanzibar, nominal sovereign over the Benadir cities, the Obbia, and Mijjerthein sultanates negotiated protectorates with the Italians in 1887–1893.

All three colonial powers faced the same problems: native uprisings, investment costs to develop their colonies, and an increasingly expansionist Ethiopian Empire. The most serious native uprising occurred in British Somaliland between 1899 and 1905 when Mohammed ben Abdullah and his Dervishes rebelled and raided British and Italian Somaliland. And, though bribed with land in southeastern British Somaliland, his presence required a British garrison and hindered development. With an ill-defined border, Ethiopian warriors constantly raided the British and Italian protectorates. The French were investing in a massive railroad project to build a line from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, the Empire's capital, while the Ethiopians continued to press more and more demands. The Italian government was the last to start investing in its colony, having only assumed governmental control in 1905. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; British Empire; Egypt; Ethiopia; French Empire; Italy.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Soor, Battle of

See Burkersdorf, Battle of

South Africa Act (1910)

An act of Parliament creating the Union of **South Africa**, a federal **dominion** within the British Empire, consisting of four provinces, the **Cape Colony**, Natal, the **Transvaal**, and the **Orange Free State**. The latter two were Afrikaner-dominated formerly independent states conquered during the South African or Boer war of 1899–1902. The Cape Colony and Natal were in general dominated by their Anglophone or British populations. All had a large majority of Africans who, with few exceptions, were disenfranchised. The South Africa Act was passed by the Liberal government of H. H. **Asquith**, many of whose supporters had opposed the conquest of the Boer republics and believed strongly in the principle of self-government. By the terms of the Peace of **Vereeniging**, which had concluded the South African War, however, the question of the African franchise was left to the white voters of the new Union of South Africa. Despite a brief Afrikaner rebellion in 1914, the Union of South Africa, under the premiership of the former Boer general Louis **Botha**, remained loyal to Britain in World War I, providing one of the most prominent imperial statesmen, Jan Christiaan **Smuts**. *See also* Boer Wars; Transvaal.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Southwest War

See Satsuma Rebellion

Spanish Empire (1516–1714)

An empire in final decline and disintegration in the nineteenth century, starting with the loss of the Louisiana Territory in 1800 in the context of the Napoleonic Wars and ending with the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam after the Spanish-American War of 1898.

The Age of Expansion of the Spanish Empire had started early in the sixteenth century, under the Habsburg dynasty, of Austrian origin, brought about by the succession to the throne of Carlos I (1516–1556). Carlos was also known as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, the grandson of Isabella and Ferdinand, who sponsored the “discovery” of America. The map of Spanish holdings in the Americas up to the dawn of the nineteenth century would start in the north with the Louisiana Territory, founded in 1699 by the French who lost it to Spain after the Seven Years’ War. France briefly regained control of Louisiana in 1800, under Napoleon Bonaparte, who sold it to the United States in 1803. Spain disputed the borders of Louisiana, however, because the United States considered it to include territory corresponding to Texas, part of New Mexico, and West Florida, which Spain still regarded as colonies. Part of the squabble was settled in 1819, with the Adams-Onís Treaty, whereby Spain also ceded all of Florida to the United States.

The Napoleonic Wars generally undermined Spain’s control of its American colonies. The Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, a resounding victory for the Royal Navy, resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleet, leaving Spain without the means to enforce its administrative control in the Americas. The tables were turned in 1808, with the Peninsular War, when Napoleon’s troops invaded Spain and Portugal, which were supported this time by Great Britain. The war ended with the British army crossing the border into France and Napoleon’s abdication in 1814. The Spanish economy nevertheless went in freefall for most of the nineteenth century. By 1825, Spain had lost all its mainland American colonies.

The Spanish holdings in the Americas were organized and administered as vice-royalties. The first ones to be created, in the sixteenth century, were the Viceroyalty of New Spain, containing the North and Central American territories, and the Viceroyalty of Peru, covering most of South America. In the eighteenth century the Viceroyalty of Peru, created in 1542, was modified through the addition of the Vice-royalties of New Granada and of Río de la Plata, and left with the territory of what today is Chile and Peru. These two countries obtained their independence in 1818 and 1821, respectively, thus marking the end of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

The Viceroyalty of New Granada was created in 1717 for administrative reasons, because Lima, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru, was not easily accessible. It included present-day Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela. Revolutionary movements of independence emerged in this area in 1810, under the leadership of Simón Bolívar (1783–1830) and Francisco de Paula Santander (1792–1840). In 1819, these territories declared their independence as the confederation of the Republic of Gran Colombia. It lasted until 1830, when Ecuador and Venezuela proclaimed their independence. Panama remained a Colombian department until

1903, when it seceded from Colombia and declared its independence, emboldened by the United States, whose government immediately was granted exclusive rights to build and administer the **Panama Canal**.

The Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata was created in 1776 and covered the territory of what today is **Argentina**, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. In 1778, Portugal annexed the Uruguay territory, which would become part of Brazil when it declared its independence in 1822. A revolt started in 1825 and in 1828 Uruguay declared its independence. With the Spanish fleet devastated in the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, military enforcement of Spanish dominion in the area became impossible. British troops repeatedly attacked Buenos Aires and Montevideo in 1806 and 1807 but were successfully overcome by local forces, raising hopes for self-rule. Paraguay declared its independence in 1811 and Argentina in 1816. Bolivia had proclaimed itself independent in 1809, but strife continued until 1825, when a republic was finally established.

The Viceroyalty of New Spain was the first to be created, in 1525, and the last to fall apart. It covered the Spanish territories in North and Central America. The territorial disputes with the newly established United States, stirred by Napoleon's sale of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, were settled through the **Adams-Onís Treaty** of 1819, and New Spain ceased to exist in 1821 when Mexico gained its independence along with all the Central American territories, except for the Caribbean islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The Philippines had also been annexed to New Spain in 1565 and continued to remain under Spanish domination after 1821. Late in the nineteenth century, Spain colonized the Palau Islands, located in the Pacific Ocean, east of the Philippines, and in 1899 sold them to Germany. Also in the Pacific Ocean there were the Marshall Islands, first explored by Alonso de Salazar in 1529. Spain claimed them in 1874, but in 1885 they became a German protectorate. The struggle for independence intensified toward the end of the century, particularly in Cuba and the Philippines, duly supported by the United States. This led to the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the Treaty of **Paris**, whereby the United States took over Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Cuba was granted conditional independence in 1902, through the **Platt Amendment**, but the United States continued to exercise strict control over its affairs and even occupied it between 1906 and 1909.

The colonies that Spain managed to hold on to the longest were several small north African territories. In 1778 Spain had received territorial and commercial rights in the Gulf of Guinea from Portugal in exchange for South American land rights. The respective area would become Spanish Guinea in 1885, a Spanish claim reinforced by the 1898 Treaty of Paris. Only in 1968, under international pressure, was the Guinea protectorate declared an independent state and renamed Equatorial Guinea. The **Berlin Conference** of 1884–1885 parleyed the colonization of Africa by European powers, and one of the consequences was that Spain and France went on to collaborate in controlling northwestern Africa, mainly the Algerian, Moroccan, and Western Saharan territories, until well after World War II. *See also* Portuguese Empire.

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GEORGIA TRES

Spanish-American War (1898)

A conflict marking the beginning of American **imperialism**. As Secretary of State John Hay put it, the conflict was indeed, in many respects, a “splendid little war,” in that it was popular, short, and relatively cheap; it brought easy victories at a low human cost; it was fought for the sake of a noble cause; and it eventually made the **United States** a world power.

American economic policy was indirectly responsible for the Cuban war. The tariff of 1894, which put high duties on Cuban sugar, worsened economic conditions on the island and triggered a new revolt against Madrid’s autocratic rule in February 1895. The Spaniards vainly tried to put down the rebellion, and the conflict was a constant source of irritation to the United States. There were frequent naval incidents and destruction of American property. Approximately 50 million dollars were invested in Cuban plantations, sugar refineries, and factories. Moreover, there existed the risk of a European intervention in support of Spain, as Great Powers on the whole sympathized with Madrid, although none committed itself openly.

The part then played by the anti-Spanish “yellow press” and the response of public opinion were crucial elements in the outbreak of hostilities. The Cuban Junta in New York City had other powerful allies in organized labor, notably the American Federation of Labor, Protestant clergymen who disliked “Pope-ridden” Spain, Republican expansionists, and even Democrats who thought that “a little ‘Jingo’” could do no harm in the coming presidential election of 1896.

By contrast, the attitudes of the last two presidents of the nineteenth century, Grover Cleveland and William McKinley, were strikingly similar: neither wanted to precipitate American involvement in the conflict. By March 1898, the country was nonetheless in a frenzied state owing to a number of occurrences, notably the explosion of the battleship *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor—accidental, as it later turned out—on February 15, which brought public indignation and anti-Spanish sentiment to the highest pitch. The role of Congress was essential in that it somewhat prodded a cautious chief executive into declaring war. Recent scholarship tends to describe the president’s diplomacy as patient, firm, and courageous. In his war message of April 11, 1898, McKinley asked Congress for authority to use the military and naval forces to terminate hostilities in Cuba and ensure peace. The Congress responded with a joint resolution that amounted to a declaration of war, inasmuch as it proclaimed Cuba to be free, demanded the withdrawal of Spain, and empowered the president to use the armed forces for these purposes. The Teller Amendment specified that the United States did not intend to annex the island of Cuba. President McKinley signed the resolution and, by an act of Congress, war was retroactively declared on April 21, 1898.

According to most accounts the U.S. expeditionary corps was ill-equipped and ill-trained, and the Cuban campaign a bungle. But the Spaniards fared no better,

and the United States easily got the better of declining Spain. The most famous victory was probably Commodore George Dewey's destruction of the Spanish fleet on May 1, 1898, at **Manila Bay** in the Philippines, a long way from Cuba. The most popular feat of the Santiago campaign was undoubtedly Rough Rider Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill. Hostilities ended on August 12, 1898. The peace negotiations opened in Paris on October 1, and a treaty was signed on December 10, 1898.

The outcome of the Spanish-American War was the creation of a new colonial power at the expense of Spain, which lost Puerto Rico, occupied by American troops toward the end of the war, Guam in the Marianas, and the **Philippines**, whose main seaport, Manila, came under American control. The benefits of the Cuban venture for the United States were threefold. First, the Caribbean—and more generally the Americas—had been freed from European influence in accordance with the principles enunciated in the **Monroe Doctrine**, and the United States could keep closer watch over the future isthmian canal in Central America. Second, the United States had made her strength known to the world and acceded to the status of a Great Power, which would imply increasing and unavoidable world commitments in the near future. Third, the United States had acquired colonial possessions that were deemed by some to be vital strategically and economically.

The future as a world power now had to be faced. Before the government made momentous choices and decisions, a debate went on throughout the country, in the press and in Congress—perhaps the most important since the founding of the Republic. The arguments of the imperialists were based on **Manifest Destiny** and the civilizing mission of the United States. Furthermore, the strategic importance of both Cuba and the Philippines impressed itself on the advocates of American naval power. In addition, economic motives were far from negligible as the **Open Door** was threatened in China. Unlike Cuba or **Puerto Rico**, where U.S. trade and investments were a reality, however, the Philippines interested part of the business community for their commercial potential, and not everyone in that community was convinced that its promise would be realized. Puerto Rico's case was different. Annexation was simply inevitable from an imperial point of view because of the island's vital strategic situation in the Caribbean near the Isthmus of Panama, as well as the growth of American trade and investments there.

The anti-imperialist opposition was a motley crowd: Democrats from the East and the Plains states, old-generation Republicans, intellectuals, scholars and writers, union leaders who anticipated a steady flow of cheap imported Filipino labor, top business people who were indifferent or hostile to the siren song of overseas expansion and feared competition from Philippine products. The anti-imperialists on the whole reasoned primarily in terms of moral principles and tradition. They referred to Washington and Jefferson's warning against foreign entanglements; they invoked the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as well as Abraham Lincoln's teachings, and insisted that governments derived their powers from the consent of the governed; they doubted the wisdom of transplanting American institutions into alien lands whose peoples differed so from the Americans in culture, race, and speech—and of doing so against their will. Could there be such a thing as an imperial republic with democracy at home—possibly threatened by the attendant militarism—and despotism in the colonies? The issue of unconstitutionality was raised. For the first time the United States was to acquire territories that it

had no intention of Americanizing and developing into states. Still, the Supreme Court in the so-called Insular Cases of 1901 agreed with the imperialists that the Constitution did not follow the flag. Many anti-imperialists also rejected expansion on economic grounds and warned the country against the predictable increase in defense expenditures for the sake of a business minority whose profitable investments overseas were to be safeguarded with public money.

McKinley, who groped for the most satisfactory solution, eventually instructed the American Peace Commissioners in Paris to negotiate the cession and ultimately the purchase of the whole Philippine archipelago for \$20 million. In addition an executive order on December 21, 1898, extended American military rule over all of the islands. The peace treaty, signed on December 10, 1898, was ratified by a narrow margin of two votes on February 6, 1899, after a heated debate. Rejection of the treaty, many senators felt, would have been tantamount to a repudiation of the president and to national humiliation.

Just as the debate over ratification had confused the issues by reducing approval of the treaty to a choice between support or disavowal of the president's policies, the election of 1900 confused them by mixing imperialism with free silver and prosperity. Whereas the Democrats at first did their best to make imperialism "the paramount issue" of the campaign in their muddled Philippine plank, the Republicans tried to defuse that issue by focusing on William Jennings Bryan's advocacy of free silver, by stressing the prosperity enjoyed during McKinley's first term, by posturing as the only true patriots. Many Republicans later interpreted McKinley's sweeping victory as a mandate for imperialism. Obviously, things had not been as simple and straightforward as that. Many anti-imperialists were probably reluctant to vote for Bryan because of his financial theories, which they feared might endanger the economic recovery. All in all, domestic problems certainly influenced the electorate more decisively than foreign policy, which possibly won a consensus by inertia.

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SERGE RICARD

St. Petersburg, Treaty of (1875)

A temporary compromise over Russo-Japanese rivalry in the Western Pacific. Signed on May 7, 1875, between foreign minister Aleksandr Mikhailovich Gorchakov of Russia and Admiral Enomoto Buyo of Japan, it gave Russia sovereignty over Sakhalin in return for Japanese sovereignty over the central and northern Kurile Islands. Supplementary articles signed in Tokyo on August 22 allowed for the Japanese still living on Sakhalin to retain their nationality, continue in their business and industrial enterprises, chiefly fishing, and exemption for life from all taxes and duties. Sakhalin's Ainu population, however, were forced to declare themselves

subjects of either the Russian or Japanese emperor; in the latter case they were to be transferred to Hokkaido. Approximately 800 were transported after the island's formal transfer in September.

Japan's decision to renounce its claims to land it had discovered and sparsely settled long before the Russians arrived was based on recognition of the Russian Empire's preponderant strength at the time. Since the 1850s, Russia had been populating the island with a mix of soldiers and convicts, and had established several major settlements and a coal-mining industry. By 1875, plans were in place for a full-scale penal colony, and Sakhalin's Slavic population already outnumbered the small cohort of Japanese fishermen living there. Thus Tokyo faced something of a *fait accompli*. Japanese officials had nevertheless turned attention to colonizing Korea and Formosa instead of the climatically less hospitable island. By signing the treaty, Japan avoided a diplomatic and possible military standoff with Russia and gained several decades of peace with which to increase its military and economic strength. The fledgling empire was therefore well placed to defeat Russia during the 1904–1905 war, invading Sakhalin in June 1905. Japan subsequently annexed the southern half of the island, which it retained until the end of World War II. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War.

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ANDREW A. GENTES

Stanley, Sir Henry Morton (1841–1904)

British-American journalist, politician, and explorer whose expeditions to find David Livingstone and explore the Congo river basin opened the African interior to European expansion and touched off the Scramble for Africa. Born John Rowlands, he left Britain in 1859 as a deck hand on a ship bound for New Orleans and on arrival took the name of a local businessman who befriended him. After serving in the American Civil War, the newly renamed Stanley began his career as a journalist working for the *Missouri Democrat* and then the *New York Herald*.

Stanley's coverage of the 1868 Abyssinia War led the *New York Herald* to send him to Africa in search of David Livingstone, the British missionary who had disappeared while exploring the lakes region of central Africa. Stanley traveled overland from Zanzibar, finally finding Livingstone in November 1871. After returning to Europe to publish an account of his exploits, he resumed his African explorations in 1874 with a new expedition that circled Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika and then followed the Congo from its source to the Atlantic. Shortly thereafter he was hired by Leopold II of Belgium and worked from 1879–1884 overseeing the construction of trading stations and signing treaties with local chieftains who gave Leopold control over the Congo. Stanley returned to Africa in 1887 to lead an expedition to rescue Emin Pasha, the Egyptian governor of Sudan who had been cut off by the Mahdi's revolt. Although the mission was a success, the expedition's heavy losses and his reputation for violence and brutality earned on earlier expeditions significantly damaged Stanley's reputation.

Shortly after his return to England in 1889, he married, became a re-naturalized British subject, and ran for Parliament as a member of the Liberal Unionist party. He was knighted in 1899 and retired to his country estate in Surrey the following year. *See also* Abyssinia; Berlin, Conference of; Egypt.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Steamboats/Steamships

As revolutionary a development for transportation over water as the advent of the **railroad** for transportation over land. In combination with railroad transportation, in fact, shallow-draft steam-driven riverboats that could negotiate narrow waterways with or against the current were as vital in opening up the interior of the United States on rivers such the Mississippi and the Ohio as in penetrating the African continent by way of the Congo and Nile. The first successful steamship, the *Charlotte Dundas*, towed barges on the Forth and Clyde Canals starting in 1801. Without either the vast interior or an interconnecting river network of the United States, however, Britain took the lead in building ocean-going steamships. The first passenger steamer crossed the English Channel from Brighton to Le Havre in 1816, and, in 1825, the 120-horse power *Enterprize* made Calcutta in 113 days.

The **Royal Navy** was initially unimpressed with the implications of steam power, so that the commercial development of it initially outstripped its military use. At the time of its ill-fated maiden voyage in 1912, the White Star Line's *Titanic* displaced 50,000 tons and could make 25 knots; when the Vickers shipyard completed *Kongo*—36,000 tons and 27 knots—for sale to Japan, the gap had long since been closed. In the interim armed shallow-draft, steam-driven vessels called “gunboats” carried imperial firepower upriver into **Burma** in the name of the East India Company in the 1820s and were critical to Britain's victory in the **Opium Wars** of the 1840s. The era of “gunboat diplomacy” for all the imperial powers lingered in various manifestations until World War I. The opening of the **Suez Canal** in 1869 put an end to the age of sail clippers for commercial use, both because steam engines had become more efficient in the use of coal while steamships could now reach any far eastern port faster than sail. In 1860, the Royal Navy launched *H.M.S. Warrior*, the first iron-hulled battleship, twice the length of Nelson's *Victory* and propelled 5,200 horsepower engines to a speed of 14 knots. The *U.S.S. Monitor*, a turreted warship launched the same year, introduced another revolutionary development. The combination of steel hulls, gun turrets, and ever-improving steam power propelled warship development through the predreadnought era of the Russo-Japanese and Spanish-American Wars toward the next revolutionary change with the launch of *H.M.S. Dreadnought* in 1906. *See also* East India Companies; Great White Fleet; Navalism; Tirpitz Plan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Stein, Friedrich Karl Reichsfreiherr vom und zum (1757–1831)

The leading member of the group of the so-called Prussian reformers who, as a state minister, set the stage for Prussia's modernization at the beginning of the nineteenth century. After Prussia's crushing defeat by Napoleon Bonaparte, Stein and his followers launched a revolution from above by introducing important liberal reforms in all areas of public life. In his efforts Stein was helped by a widespread demand for change, which, however, faltered increasingly once Napoleon's fortunes declined.

Stein studied law at the university of Göttingen where he was influenced by modern constitutional ideas, especially of British and French origin. After completion of his studies, he entered the Prussian civil service, starting in the mining administration. Nominated Prussian secretary for finance and the economy in 1804, he tried in vain to prepare the kingdom for the impending military confrontation with Napoleonic France. In the wake of the defeat at Jena and Auerstädt, King Frederick William III dismissed him on January 3, 1807.

In the ensuing leisure time Stein argued in the instantly-famous "Nassau memorandum" for the need for profound change in the political, economical, societal, and military fields. Reinstated after the humiliating peace of Tilsit on September 30, 1807, which reduced Prussian territory and population by nearly half, Stein became first minister of the Prussian state. Napoleon's victory demonstrated that Prussia was moribund if it did not embrace reform, particularly in the military field, a fact that at least temporarily outflanked ultraconservative and reform-resistant circles such as the *Junkers*. Fighting for Prussia's immediate survival and long-term future, in the next 14 months Stein tackled a myriad of scene-setting reforms.

The most important of these were the emancipation of the peasants and the initiation of municipal self-government. After Stein's dismissal, the introduction of the freedom of trade in 1811, the emancipation of the Jews in 1812, and major reforms in the educational sector, as well as in the armed forces, among others, followed suit. Collectively they marked a watershed in the slow transformation of Prussia from an absolutist agrarian to a modern constitutional and industrial state. At the time Prussia still had a long way to go to, but Stein, together with Karl August von Hardenberg, paved the way for its ultimate ascendancy and the resounding military successes of the years 1864–1870. Although most of these reforms had been devised before Stein rose to the highest public office, his determination and tenacity in realizing the blueprints proved decisive.

Stein's efforts did not meet with general approbation. Confronted with only slightly diminished resistance from conservative circles, Stein's reform effort slackened all too quickly. Voices calling for his resignation multiplied, and Napoleon, too, interfered. On November 24, 1808, Frederick William gave in to these demands, and Stein was dismissed for the second time within two years. The French outlawed him soon after, and he had to flee to Austria from where

he fanned the flames of opposition to Napoleon. After becoming political adviser to Tsar **Alexander I** in 1812, Stein returned to Germany with the Russian military offensive against France. He remained in Russian service until 1815 and took part in the Congress of **Vienna**. Failing in his efforts to secure the formation of a unified Germany, Stein withdrew into private life. Although he remained politically active until his death, he exercised no further influence on affairs of state. *See also* Gneisenau, August Wilhelm von; Roon, Albrecht von; Scharnhorst, Gerhard Johann David von.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBERG

Straits Question

See Bosphorus; Dardanelles; London Straits Convention

Strategy

The use made of military force or the threat of force to achieve political goals. Carl von **Clausewitz** initially defined strategy narrowly as “the employment of the battle to gain the end of the War” but immediately conceded that strategy is inherently theoretical, because the application of force is always based on conjectures “some of which turn out incorrect.” Because Clausewitz defined war itself as “a mere continuation of policy by other means,” policy dictated the goals of strategy and required that strategy incorporate instruments other than the purely military into the pursuit of such goals. He was, moreover, explicit in distinguishing strategy from tactics, the latter involving the thought behind the deployment of armed forces in an engagement, the latter representing the overarching logic behind not only the use of military forces but all the capabilities of a nation—economic, technological, diplomatic—to achieve the foreign policy objectives of the nation in war *and* peace.

During and after the **Napoleonic Wars**, the major European powers either established or reconstituted academies for the education of staff officers. Meanwhile, the most ambitious military literature of the time was, like Clausewitz, concerned with analyzing the fundamental strategic principles revealed by the Napoleonic Wars, as well as with their application to future conflict. Because Napoleon **Bonaparte** had demonstrated the effectiveness of waging war with the full force of national energy, strategy in the nineteenth century concentrated evermore attention to the matter of how best to bring national energy to bear against the most probable adversary or coalition of adversaries. The **American Civil War**, for example, demonstrated the advantages of superior railway transport to the Union cause. The Prussian general staff of the 1860s, contemplating future conflict with traditional foes, France in the

West and Russia in the East, came to view the construction of a dense domestic railway network as indispensable in bringing its military forces to bear quickly and in large numbers on whatever front they might be needed.

By 1900, European staff colleges were accustomed to abstract war planning, and general staffs were developing elaborate war plans, Germany's **Schlieffen Plan** and France's Plan 17 being the most noteworthy. Each was notable for its inflexibility, high secrecy, and remarkable *lack* of attention to the political, economic, diplomatic, and moral dimensions Clausewitz deemed crucial to the comprehensive and coherent vision of war that in the twentieth century was referred to as grand strategy. *See also* Mackinder, Halford; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Sudan

A largely desert country to the south of **Egypt**, extending along the Nile from the second cataract in the north to Uganda in the south, and encompassing large tracts of desert on either side. It is inhabited by Islamic and ethnically Arab peoples in the north, but by black Africans in the south. Originally animist, many of the latter were converted to Christianity by Western missionaries in the nineteenth century. Slavery, largely practiced by the Islamic population at the expense of the equatorial Africans, was a consistent feature of Sudanese life and also provided both a motivation and a pretext for imperial intervention.

Although the Nile—its source uncertain for much of the nineteenth century—does not begin in the Sudan, it ensured that those with interests in Egypt thought of the Sudan as a strategic territory, providing a further motive for imperial interest. Long claimed by the rulers of Egypt, the nineteenth century saw a succession of largely unsuccessful Egyptian expeditions into the Sudan, and these drew in European opportunists and evangelists, many in the Egyptian service. General Charles **Gordon** was made governor-general of the Sudan, under claimed Egyptian suzerainty, in 1873, where he conscientiously tried to abolish slavery. The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 caused Britain to inherit Egypt's troubles to the south. An uprising by a self-proclaimed **Mahdi** led to bloody defeats for the British-officered Egyptian army, and to a call in London to do something. In response, Gordon was sent back to arrange a withdrawal. Gordon decided on his own initiative to stay instead, and his 1885 death at the hands of the Mahdi's forces made him a martyr in the eyes of much British opinion.

The subject remained dormant until the Italian defeat at Adowa in 1896 raised the specter of an Islamic empire in east Africa. The government of Lord **Salisbury** resolved to send an expedition to avenge Gordon. It proceeded deliberately up the Nile under the leadership of General Herbert **Kitchener**, capturing Khartoum after the battle of **Omdurman** in 1898. Notwithstanding plans to develop a cotton

industry, the Sudan remained henceforth a backwater of empire. Formally under the joint rule of Egypt and Britain, a fiction that was increasingly a source of anger to Egyptian nationalists, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan became independent in 1956. *See also* Adowa, Battle of; British Empire; Slave Trade.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Suez Canal

A 100-mile long sea-level canal in **Egypt**, across the isthmus of Suez between Port Said on the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez at the north end of the Red Sea, opened in 1869. It was built by a French consortium led by Ferdinand de Lesseps, the then-viceroy of Egypt taking a percentage of its shares. The canal was built in the face of British opposition, both because it competed with a British-owned railway from the Nile to Suez, and because in the opinion of Lord **Palmerston**, it would cause numerous diplomatic complications. Transit through Egypt to India and the Far East had grown rapidly after the introduction of **steamship** services in the Red Sea in the 1840s; the canal led to even more traffic, avoiding the long Cape route by traveling through Egypt. Most of this traffic, given the predominance of the British merchant marine and British control of **India**, was British.

In 1875, Benjamin **Disraeli** engineered the British purchase of the financially pressed Khedive's shares, largely to keep complete control of the canal out of French hands. In 1882, in part in response to fears of instability on the canal's doorstep, the British occupied Egypt, nominally a Turkish vassal state, and landed an army in the Canal Zone. The British army stayed there until 1954, notwithstanding much talk about the temporary or limited nature of the occupation. In 1914, Britain declared a **protectorate** over Egypt, and the Canal Zone became a large strategic base area, not merely because of the canal but also as a base from which to attack Turkish territories in the Middle East. The Suez Canal, "the swing door of empire," came to have a key place in the British imperial imagination, a place that lasted until the divisive intervention against Nasser's nationalization of the canal in 1956. *See also* Panama Canal; Steamboats/Steamships.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Sun Yatsen (1866–1925)

Chinese revolutionary leader educated in Honolulu, Canton, and Hong Kong, where he was baptized and trained as a doctor. Living in exile in Japan, Indochina, and Europe since 1894, Sun led various revolutionary groups and organized numerous abortive uprisings in **China**. Surprised by the outbreak of the revolution of October 1911 while touring the **United States**, Sun returned and was elected president by an assembly representing the provinces that supported the revolution.

He agreed to step down in favor of Yuan Shikai in a deal arranging for the abdication of the **Qing Dynasty** in January 1912. Sun and the Kuomintang party he led turned against Yuan's increasingly authoritarian regime in the "second revolution" of 1913. Defeated, Sun went to Japan but returned in 1916 to participate in the chaotic politics of the warlord era before reorganizing the Kuomintang with Soviet help and seizing power in Peking. *See also* Boxer Insurrection.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Suttee

Suttee, or *sati*, is a Hindu custom in which widows immolated themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Suttee was supposed to be voluntary, but it was in fact often coerced. The practice was banned in Indian territory held by some of the European powers and as early as 1515 by the Portuguese in Goa. The British, far and away the most powerful imperial force on the subcontinent, tolerated it into the nineteenth century, although individual officers made attempts to suppress it. In 1812, the Bengali reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, started a campaign to ban suttee, and it was formally suppressed in 1829 by Governor-General William **Bentinck**. *See also* India.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Sweden

A declining Great Power and industrial power of **Scandinavia**. King Gustavus IV Adolphus (1779–1837) pushed his luck in the **Napoleonic Wars**, lost Finland to Russia in 1808, and was forced to resign. A leading power in the military revolution of the seventeenth century, Sweden emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as a second-rate power despite being on the winning side. Superior organizational skills and a technological edge could no longer compensate for a small population as the ideas of modern warfare spread throughout Europe. All of Sweden's possessions along the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic were lost, and by the Treaty of **Kiel** in 1814, Sweden confirmed the loss of Finland to Imperial Russia, but it acquired control over Norway in exchange. The Norwegians maintained their constitution and legislature, and the Swedish king gradually lost control over Norway until full independence was achieved in 1905.

Sweden also largely withdrew as a player in European diplomacy. Its strategy of nonalignment in peace and neutrality in war lasted until World War I and well beyond; even the 500-year long struggle for Scandinavian hegemony was suspended despite the fact that Sweden was now the most powerful Nordic nation. A brief exemption from neutrality was made in 1848, when Sweden sent troops to **Denmark** to preempt a German assault. In 1809, Sweden adopted a new constitution. The king maintained control over the executive, but the legislature was transferred

to a parliament based on the division into estates. Through an 1840 administrative reform, departments headed by ministers were introduced, and in 1866 a bicameral system replaced the estates. An 1842 reform also introduced local government to which farmers and workers with a certain level of income were enfranchised. From 1858, some freedom of religion was granted. A proportional vote was adopted in 1911, parliamentary government in 1917, and adult universal suffrage in 1921. Introduction of full democracy followed the development of associations and organizations through all aspects of Swedish public life, from trade unions to social and religious societies.

The wealth accumulated through one-and-half century of expansion was reinvested into mining and emerging industries, making Sweden one of the wealthiest European nations, despite its nonparticipation in the general race for overseas possessions. Sweden participated in the exploration of the Arctic, and the territories offered rich fisheries and whaling. It was cut off from this arena, however, when Norway gained independence in 1905. A technology-intensive industrialization gained momentum toward the end of the nineteenth century, concentrating on products like ball bearings, dynamite, electromotors, and telephones. Swedish iron ore was also of a unique quality, providing industry with prime raw material as well as export income. The building of the Göta Canal, 1810–1832, across southern Sweden greatly improved internal communications, and, in 1856, the first railroad between Örebro and Ervalla was opened. After 1870, Sweden became more pro-German, which affected the orientation of the economy and cultural life. Sweden introduced compulsory military service for men in 1901 and increased defense budgets, but stayed neutral in World War I. *See also* Norway; Russian Empire; Russo-Swedish War.

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FRODE LINDGJERDET

Syria

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Syria comprised the area that today contains the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan. For the **Ottoman Empire** the area was divided into four provinces: Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, and Sidon. Religion was the oldest source of European interest in the region and derived from the existence of the Holy Places in Palestine, which had never ceased to attract a flow of pilgrims, and from the presence of various communities of Eastern Christians to which different European powers gave protection. The Russians claimed to speak for the Greek Orthodox and the French for the Catholics.

The Damascus uprising in July 1860, in which between 5,000 and 10,000 Christians were massacred, turned the scale in favor of European intervention in the form of a French army. Napoleon III was obliged to appease outraged French Catholic opinion. France insisted on major governmental reforms in Lebanon. Under the new system, introduced in 1861, and revised in 1864, Mount Lebanon—not including Beirut, the Biqa', Tripoli, or Sidon—was to be autonomous under international guarantee with a Christian governor assisted by an elected council on which all communities were represented. The strategic position of Syria was another source

of European interest in the region. From the late eighteenth century the European powers manifested a greater interest in the Levant, and, with the enlargement of her Indian empire, Britain became concerned about the safety of communications through the Levant. To sever these communication lines, Napoleon landed at Alexandria on July 1, 1798, defeated the Mamluks on July 21, and occupied Cairo. Then **Bonaparte** set off into Syria, but was checked at Acre in May 1799 and returned to Egypt where he abandoned his army and sailed back to France.

Thereafter, the European powers did as they could to retain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Muhammad Ali of Egypt was determined to conquer Syria, which he had been promised for his assistance in suppressing the Greek uprising. In November 1831, **Ibrahim Pasha** invaded the region. The Ottomans resisted and on December 27, 1832, were beaten at Konya. There appeared to be nothing to prevent the Egyptian forces from advancing to Istanbul. The Ottomans appealed to other states for assistance, and received it from Russia, which sent troops to the Bosphorus and signed a defensive alliance with the Ottomans on July 8, 1833, called **Inkiar Skelessi**. Russian policy was in line with her 1829 decision to preserve the Ottoman Empire, but to the other European powers, it seemed as though Russia had acquired a protectorate over the Ottoman Empire.

The object of British policy was to undo the effects of Inkiar Skelessi and to support the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire against all threats. The opportunity to undo the 1833 arrangement arose in 1839. In April 1839, the Ottomans attacked Muhammad Ali, hoping to expel him from Syria by force. Instead, the Egyptians defeated the Ottoman army at Nazib on June 24, and shortly afterwards the Ottoman fleet deserted to Egypt. The new sultan, Abd al-Majid, appeared helpless and his empire likely to collapse. To prevent this, the European powers decided on joint mediation between the sultan and Muhammad Ali. They took action to force Muhammad Ali out of Syria and leave him with only the hereditary possession of Egypt still within the bonds of the Ottoman Empire. During World War I France and Britain divided Syria between themselves: Syria and Lebanon under French mandate and Transjordan and Palestine under British mandate. *See also* British Empire; Crimean War; French Empire.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

T

Taft, William Howard (1857–1930)

An American politician who served as chief civil administrator in the **Philippines** (1901–1904), secretary of war (1904–1908), twenty-seventh President of the **United States** (1909–1913), and Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1921–1930). William Howard Taft was born in 1857 in Cincinnati, Ohio. His education was geared toward law and political life, following in his father's footsteps and graduating from Yale University. He later obtained his law degree from the University of Cincinnati and subsequently entered private practice.

Taft's main ambition was to one day be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and it was in pursuit of this that he began his political career. In 1900, President McKinley asked Taft to serve as president of the commission to oversee the newly won Philippines. Between 1900 and 1903, Taft was devoted to his work as governor in the Philippines, so much so that he turned down two offers to serve on the Supreme Court from McKinley's successor, Theodore **Roosevelt**, so that he could finish what he had started.

After returning to the United States, Taft became Roosevelt's secretary of war and quickly gained the president's full confidence. Roosevelt had sworn not to serve another term and backed Taft's ascension to the presidency in the belief that Taft would continue his reform programs. Taft shied away from domestic progressivism yet sought to follow through on Roosevelt's foreign policy. The centerpiece of his approach became known as "Dollar Diplomacy" and involved enhancing American international influence through the use of economic power with the cultivation of trade and the promotion of loans from private banks in support of overseas projects involving American interests. Taft used his dollar diplomacy to protect American interests in the **Panama Canal** region, buying off Latin American debts to European powers and refinancing Haiti's debt, setting the stage for future plans there. This policy also extended to Asia, where Taft convinced banks to help finance railroad construction in China in both cooperation and competition with Britain, France, and Germany.

Although Taft was successful in extending American influence internationally, he caused suspicion and resentment among the European powers involved in China, and his dollar diplomacy did not survive the revolution that erupted in China in 1912. His aversion to progressivism lost him support not only from his own party, but also from the American public. He handily lost his second election, an outcome he was not particularly saddened by. His lifetime dream nonetheless was realized in 1921 when President Warren G. Harding appointed him to the U.S. Supreme Court. *See also* Mexico; Open Door.

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ARTHUR HOLST

Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864)

A rebellion against the **Qing Dynasty** of China. It began in China's southern Guangxi province under the leadership of Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864), a teacher and failed civil service exam candidate from nearby Guangzhou (Canton). Hong had been the victim of a hallucinatory episode in 1837 following his fourth failure to pass the state civil service examination. Reading some early Protestant teachings circulating in Guangzhou, Hong came to believe he was the son of God and brother of Jesus Christ come to save China. In collaboration with Feng Yünshan, a Christian convert, Hong founded the “God Worshipper’s Society,” composed mostly of disaffected peasants of Guanxi province. In 1850, Hong led the society in rebellion and the next year declared the establishment of a new dynasty, the Taiping Tianguo—Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace—proclaiming himself its heavenly king.

With growing membership and efficient organization, the Taiping rebels scored a series of stunning early victories and, by spring 1853, had captured the major Chinese city of Nanjing, which they made their new capital. The Taipings set off on a broad program of social and land reform that promulgated social equality and a peculiar version of Christianity while repudiating Confucianism. Initially curious as to the nature of the rebellion and its Christian and reformist aspects, several Western powers dispatched envoys to the Taiping capital to learn more and initially opted to take a neutral stance toward the rebels.

While the Taiping was wracked by infighting in 1856, the Qing government began to see some successes in the form of an army led by the talented official and scholar, Zeng Guofan (1811–1872). Zeng’s well-trained forces, all from his native Hunan province, were able to put the Taiping on the defensive. Following its defeat in the **Arrow War** of 1856–1860, the Qing Dynasty opted for a more cooperative attitude with the West. This, combined with a second Taiping attack on Shanghai, a treaty port open to Western trade, instigated Western support of the Qing against the Taiping. It came in the form of the “Ever-Victorious Army,” a foreign mercenary force headed first by the American Frederick Townsend Wade and then the Englishman Charles George Gordon. From 1862, with the combined assault of Qing and

Western troops, the Taiping was in retreat. Hong died of illness during the siege of Nanjing in June 1864, and the city's fall the following month brought an effective end to the rebellion.

The Taiping Rebellion cost more than 20 million lives and bequeathed a legacy of tremendous destruction. Although the Qing Dynasty was able to defeat it, the rebellion was severely weakened by the effort and never able to restore full central authority before its eventual fall in 1912. Although defeated, the egalitarian and revolutionary ideas the Taiping rebels espoused have had a lasting impact on Chinese society. *See also* Boxer Insurrection.

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DANIEL C. KANE

Taisho Democracy

A term associated with the reign of the Taisho Emperor Yoshihito and used to symbolize the wave of liberal reform that swept Japan in the early twentieth century. Although Yoshihito occupied the throne only between 1912 and 1925, "Taisho Democracy" more generally refers to the critical transition period between the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905 and the Manchurian Incident of 1931.

The Meiji Emperor **Mutsuhito** died in 1912. But military victory over the great continental empire of Russia, signaled the triumph by 1905 of the principal goals of his reign: national unity, industrialization, military might, empire, and imperial sovereignty. By contrast, postwar developments hinted at a new and unsettling era: the rise of individualism, public opposition to war and excessive armaments, mounting labor agitation, a plot to assassinate the emperor, and the emergence of modern China, not on the model of Japanese constitutional monarchy but of American republicanism. The death of the Meiji emperor in July 1912 confirmed the end of an exalted age. Only seven months later, a coalition of political parties toppled an oligarchic cabinet for the first time in Japanese history.

World War I spurred the most dramatic reforms associated with Taisho. Propelled by an enormous boost in overseas trade, Japan experienced a new wave of industrialization, urbanization, and commercialization that spawned a new middle class. The principal consequence was the rise of political party government in place of oligarchic rule. By 1918, Japan welcomed its first party cabinet. From 1924 to 1932, two bourgeois political parties commanded policy-making in Japan. At the same time, new advocacy groups championed the rights of urban labor, rural tenants, women, and outcasts.

The 1920s also brought dramatic change in Japanese external affairs. After the steady advance of empire and arms under Meiji, the interwar years invited a retraction of empire, disarmament, and a new commitment to internationalism. Japan became a charter member of the League of Nations in 1920; withdrew troops from Shandong, China, and **Siberia**; slashed naval arms in compliance with the Washington 1922 and the London 1930 naval treaties; and cut four divisions from the Imperial Army. When members of the Japanese "Guandong Army" sparked an

“incident” along the Manchuria Railway in 1931, they signaled their strong displeasure of these dramatic symbols of “Taisho democracy.” *See also* Japanese Empire; Manchuria; Meiji Restoration; Russian Empire.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1754–1838)

A remarkable French foreign minister, with many political lives, serving in turn governments during the French Revolution, the First Empire, and the Bourbon restoration. Born in Paris into an aristocratic family, he was sent to the seminary at Saint-Sulpice where he took holy orders in 1779. He was consecrated bishop of Autun a decade later and became politically involved in the French Revolution. In July 1792, the government sent him on a diplomatic mission to London, but while away he was condemned as a traitor and took refuge in the **United States** until 1795. Through connections with Paul Barras, he was appointed foreign minister in July 1797 and the next year proposed the sending of an expedition to Egypt to threaten British interests in India. He resigned from office in July 1798 when he failed to prevent the formation of a Second Coalition of powers against France. Offering strong support to Napoleon **Bonaparte** during the young general's coup d'état of November 1799, Talleyrand was reinstated as foreign minister shortly thereafter. He was instrumental in arranging the **Concordat of 1801** with the pope, negotiated the Treaty of Amiens with Britain in 1802, and helped establish the **Confederation of the Rhine** in 1806. In the wake of the Treaty of Tilsit, in which Napoleon made peace with Russia and **Prussia**, Talleyrand began to distance himself from his emperor's policies, and he left his post in August 1807.

Napoleon nevertheless continued to consult with Talleyrand, who strongly opposed French intervention in Spanish internal affairs, especially the emperor's decision to remove King Charles IV and Crown Prince Ferdinand from power. After a heated exchange with Napoleon in January 1809, in which the emperor accused him of treachery, Talleyrand lost his post of grand chamberlain of the court, although he continued to exercise some influence over imperial affairs through his role as vice grand elector. By the time invading forces neared Paris in 1814, Talleyrand had already established secret communication with the sovereigns accompanying Allied headquarters. Having assembled some of Napoleon's disaffected marshals to discuss their emperor's abdication, Talleyrand then entertained Tsar **Alexander** of Russia, whose influence led to Talleyrand's taking charge of the provisional government, which reached an agreement with the restored Bourbon king, **Louis XVIII**. Talleyrand was created a prince and appointed foreign minister, once again, in May 1814.

In short order, he represented the new regime at the Congress of **Vienna**, where he virtually single handedly restored his defeated country to the status of a Great Power by playing one victor off against the other to secure concessions for France. After Napoleon's second abdication in 1815, Talleyrand served as prime minister for a few months before retiring to his estate to write his much-biased memoirs, which only appeared in print long after his death. During the revolution of 1830,

Talleyrand returned to Paris to aid Louis Philippe's accession to power. He served as ambassador to Britain from September 1830 to August 1834. *See also* French Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Tampico and Vera Cruz Incidents (1914)

Incidents between the **United States** and **Mexico**, arising indirectly from the overthrow of the elected government of Francisco Madero by José Victoriano Huerta. Unlike the European powers, the administration of Woodrow Wilson in Washington refused to recognize the Huerta dictatorship and sought to isolate it from foreign sympathy and aid. In April 1914, American sailors from the *U.S.S. Dolphin* were arrested by Mexican authorities in Tampico on a charge of having entered a restricted area. Although the sailors were released with an apology, the local American commander peremptorily demanded the hoisting of the American flag and a 21-gun salute from the Mexican port commander and was refused.

Wilson asked for and received congressional permission to use force to secure U.S. rights, and American forces had already landed on Mexican soil when a German warship arrived with munitions and supplies for the Mexicans. The Americans blocked delivery of the supplies and, on April 21, American forces bombarded Vera Cruz and occupied the city. Huerta promptly broke diplomatic relations. The two countries were on the brink of war when they accepted the mediation of the **ABC Powers**. *See also* Monroe Doctrine.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Tariff Reform League

A lobby formed in London July 21, 1903, to advocate the adoption of tariff protection for British or imperial industry and the abandonment of unilateral **free trade**. It was formed in reaction to Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain's call for the rejection of Britain's post-Corn Law adherence to free trade, in favor of a system of **imperial preference**. Free trade had been increasingly challenged in the previous two decades, beginning with the founding of the Fair Trade League in 1881.

The increased popularity of protectionist ideas derived from increasing foreign competition, from the obvious successes of protectionist countries such as Germany and the **United States**, and from a desire to establish more formal bonds within the empire. The cause attracted much support from former members of the Imperial Federation League. Chamberlain's call for protection nevertheless aroused strong resistance, especially, but not only, from the **Liberal Party**, the inheritor of the

tradition of free trading radicalism. Britain abandoned free trade, largely for revenue reasons, during World War I. Imperial preference gained a victory at the 1931 Ottawa conference, but the interests of the different parts of the empire were so varied that the movement never produced the kind of unified imperial market that its supporters wanted.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Tatars

A Turkic-speaking people originally from the Crimea. In the nineteenth century the Tatars, settling along the river Volga and on the Crimea, developed a sophisticated discourse about their nationality and its relationship to the Russians while the tsarist government tried to incorporate non-Russians, especially the Asian nationalities, into a politically, socioeconomically, and culturally homogeneous Russian state. The main question for Russian intellectuals and the tsarist administration was how the Tatars and other Asian nationalities could be assimilated into the Russo-European nation. Tatars sought to keep their nationality vital within the empire. Although at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were some Tatar voices who demanded a secularization of Tatar-Muslim culture, they were isolated.

The great discussion on the future of the Tatar identity began after the Crimean War of 1853. The confrontation with the Western powers was not only for Russians but also for Russian Muslims a trauma, because Tatars understood that the Muslim world had become a colonial object of European powers. One of the most influential Tatar leaders of the nineteenth century was Ismail Bey Gaspirali (1851–1914). In a century where industrialization and modernization meant a Russian political, economic superiority, Gaspirali demanded an educational and spiritual renewal of Tatar identity to overcome Tatar backwardness. In 1881, Gaspirali wrote a book entitled *Russian Islam: Thoughts, Notes and Observations of a Muslim* in which he propagated a Tatar-Muslim renaissance that could be done—in his opinion—only in concert with the tsarist government. Gaspirali was convinced that a coexistence of different cultures was possible, and through Tatar-Russian cooperation, the tsarist government would give up its hostility toward Muslims. Gaspirali was also a spokesman of women's rights and emancipation. He emphasized that the Qur'an demanded a fair treatment of women and that the veil was nothing more than an Asian relict. Gaspirali understood that without women's emancipation, it would be difficult for the Tatar-Muslim society to follow Russia's modernization. As a reformer (jadidist), however, Gaspirali faced opposition from the traditional Tatar-Muslim elite, as well as the Russian conservative Pan-Slavists. *See also* Russian Empire.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Telegraph

From the Greek word meaning distant writing—*tele* distant, *graphein* to write—the invention of telegraphy revolutionized communications as it was adopted by government offices, press, business, military, and the travel industry. Count Alessandro Volta (1745–1827) invented in 1800 the voltaic pile (battery) for producing continuous electric current. Hans Christian Oersted (1777–1851) discovered the relationship between electric current and magnetism. An electromagnetic telegraph was developed by Paul Schilling (1768–1837) in 1832, and Joseph Henry (1797–1878) operated the electromagnetic telegraph. Charles Wheatstone and William F. Cook made significant advances in the 1830s. Much of the credit is given to Samuel Finley Morse (1791–1872) as “father of the telegraph.” Morse applied existing technology commercially, particularly that of Joseph Henry, and worked out a viable communication system using combinations of short clicks (dots) and long clicks (dashes) for the letters of the alphabet. These were transmitted by electrical pulses from a sender along a wire. By means of an electromagnetically controlled pencil, the receiver prepared dots and dashes equivalent to the extent of the current. On May 24, 1844, Morse sent the message, *What hath God wrought*, the first one over long distance between Washington and Baltimore. In spite of strong opposition in some quarters, like the office of postmaster-general of the **United States**, Congress approved the Morse Bill. Skilled operators sent and received messages with great speed with Morse code. As it was difficult to convert Morse code into plain language, David E. Hughes (1831–1900) solved the problem by inventing a printing telegraph having a rotating wheel with alphabets. The use of punched paper tape began in 1858, and a new era in telecommunications was ushered in by the Atlantic cable of 1866 joining Europe and the United States.

The **Crimean War** witnessed the first military use of the telegraph, when a submarine cable running from the Crimea to Varna, **Bulgaria**, and standard cable from Varna to London and Paris gave the allies direct communication with the theater of war. Telegraph was also used during the **Indian Mutiny**, **American Civil War**, and the **Franco-Prussian War**. The telegraph also changed diplomatic communication, but its most famous use before 1914 was in the most undiplomatic use of the **Ems Telegram** by Otto von **Bismarck** to provoke the Franco-Prussian conflict. *See also* Railways.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Teller Amendment (1898)

Part of a Joint Resolution of the **United States** Congress authorizing President William McKinley to use force to secure the independence of **Cuba** from Spain. The Teller Amendment disclaimed “any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island [Cuba] except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people.” The resolution came in response

to McKinley's message to Congress on April 11, 1898, in which he requested permission to forcibly intervene in Cuba to stop the fighting between Spain and its rebellious colony. Congressional opponents of the McKinley administration feared that intervention would lead to annexation and wanted to restrict the president's actions by recognizing the Cuban Republic. McKinley opposed the action but submitted to the Teller Amendment as a compromise measure. *See also* Foraker Amendment; Spanish Empire.

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JAMES PRUITT

Terrorism

A distinct organized practice considered to have emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in which the systematic use of fear or terror is used as a means of coercion against a people or government. The term was introduced through the French language, in the context of the French Revolution, as *terrorisme*, derived from the Latin verb *terrere*, meaning “to frighten.” It appeared in 1795 and it was used to characterize Jacobin rule known as the “Reign of Terror” (1793–1794), involving arrest and execution, usually by guillotine, of opponents to the revolutionary government. The term therefore was initially applied to the acts of a regime, not those of its opponents.

In mid-nineteenth century anarchists like the Russian Mikhail **Bakunin** (1814–1876) and later the Italian Errico Malatesta (1853–1932) regarded the use of violence as necessary, and even moral, in the pursuit of social reform. Some Russian anarchists and nihilists, organized in secret societies, engaged constantly in acts of violence, which culminated with the assassination of Tsar **Alexander II** in 1881. In **Italy**, too, there were several attempts to assassinate members of the royal family. In Great Britain there appeared what was to become known as “republican terrorism”—attacks organized and carried out by the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a nationalist group founded in Dublin in 1858 that called themselves **Fenian Brotherhood** and organized the failed Fenian Rising of 1867. The group reemerged in 1910 and then organized another revolt, also doomed, the Easter Rising of 1916. They were the precursors of the Irish Republican Army. The American counterpart of the Irish Republican Brotherhood was the Clan na Gael, founded in New York by Irish immigrants who also pursued the goal of an independent Irish republic. By 1868, they even raised an army for this purpose, made up mostly of veterans of the **American Civil War**. In support of the cause of Irish independence, they planned attacks on British military bases in **Canada** between 1866 and 1871. Other terrorist occurrences in the **United States** included the Haymarket Riot in Chicago in 1886; the assassination in 1901 of President William McKinley by anarchist Leon Czolgosz; and the bombing of the *Los Angeles Times* building in 1910, which killed 20 workers.

Other heroes of *fin-de-siècle* “nationalist terrorism,” besides the Irish, were the members of the Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Committee, which pursued Bulgarian and Macedonian independence. It was founded by Bulgarians in 1893 in Thessaloniki, now part of Greece but then under Ottoman occupation,

like **Macedonia** and parts of **Bulgaria**. The group changed its name in 1902 and again in 1906, and, since 1920, it has been known as the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. It was revived in the 1990s as a nationalist political party in both Macedonia and Bulgaria. It was also an act classified as terrorism that marked the end of the Age of **Imperialism**—the assassination of the Habsburg Archduke **Francis Ferdinand** of Austria and his wife Sophie on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, by Bosnian Serb nationalist Gavrilo Princip, a member of both the Bosnian nationalist youth organization Young Bosnia and the Serbian nationalist secret society **Black Hand**. *See also* July Crisis; Nationalism.

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GEORGIA TRES

Texas

A Spanish possession for three centuries when **Mexico** became independent in 1821. By opening the territory to immigrants from the **United States**, the Mexican government eventually defeated its own settlement scheme. By the mid-1820s, Americans were pouring in, lured by an attractive colonization plan, of which Moses and Stephen Austin made the most. These immigrants would outnumber, by four to one, and displace the natives. There was little the distant Mexican government could do to forbid slavery within its borders or force Protestants to become Roman Catholics as stipulated in their contracts.

Worried by the growing American influence in Texas, the Mexican Congress in 1830 vainly tried to cut off further immigration from the United States. When in 1835 Mexican President Antonio López de Santa Anna attempted to impose a new constitution establishing a centralized government and curtailing state rights, the North American settlers, led by Sam Houston, revolted, expelled the Mexican garrison, and set up a provisional government. The March 5, 1836, disaster of the **Alamo**—the fortress of San Antonio where 200 Texans were wiped out at great cost by a force 3,000-strong—was followed by an American victory, and revenge, under the slogan “Remember the Alamo,” at San Jacinto on April 21. The new Texan constitution was ratified and slavery legalized. The Texans elected Sam Houston president and sought annexation to, or recognition by, the United States. President Andrew **Jackson** recognized the Lone Star Republic on March 3, 1837, on his last full day in office. Britain and France also recognized Texas.

Yet annexation did not come about, owing to northern opposition, the danger of upsetting the fragile balance between free states and slave states, the risk of war with Mexico, and the Panic of 1837. Another treaty was denied ratification by the Senate in 1843. North and South were naturally at cross-purposes over what was likely to imperil the Union most, the success or failure of annexation. Outgoing President John Tyler obtained a joint resolution of both houses on February 28, 1845, and the new chief executive, James K. Polk, concluded the negotiations. On March 6, 1845, the Mexican minister to Washington solemnly protested and left the American capital. The Lone Star Republic formally accepted in July 1845 and

thus became the 28th state of the Union, an event that was to trigger off hostilities between Mexico and the United States. *See also* Manifest Destiny; Mexican-American War.

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SERGE RICARD

Thailand

See Siam

Thiers, Adolphe (1797–1877)

In succession, a lawyer, journalist, historian of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, minister of the interior under Louis Philippe, prime minister in 1836 and 1840, suppressor of the **Paris Commune** in 1871, and the first president of the French Third Republic. Thiers negotiated with Otto von **Bismarck** the terms for the peace to follow the **Franco-Prussian War** and was subsequently responsible for securing the German evacuation of French territory by promptly paying off the financial indemnity arising from the treaty. Thiers enjoyed the support of the Versailles Assembly as well most of provincial France in the campaign to defeat the Paris Commune, the military prosecution of which lasted from April 1 to May 28, 1871 and witnessed piles of dead ultimately numbering in the tens of thousands. The fighting killed so many anarchists and socialists that it guaranteed the moderate and bourgeois character of the Third Republic yet simultaneously became a potent symbol to the insurrectionalist left in France. *See also* Haussmann, Georges Eugène.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Thugs

A corruption of *thagi*, from the Sanskrit *sthaga* for “scoundrel,” applied in **India** to a cult of Hindu, Muslim, and occasionally Sikh assassin-priests who preyed above all on travelers with large-scale robbery and murder, usually by strangulation. The practice was common all over India until its suppression by Lord William **Bentinck** in the 1830s. By 1837, some 3,000 thugs had been arrested and incarcerated on the power of an 1836 act that provided for a life sentence for the convicted. By 1840, the practice had been all but eradicated. The popular novel by Philip Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*, introduced the word to the English language in 1839. *See also* Suttee.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Tientsin, Treaties of (1858)

A set of agreements that opened China to further foreign penetration. It was one of the unequal treaties signed between China and the Imperial powers. The First **Opium War** had started the process of active foreign aggression against China. The treaty of **Nanjin**, concluded between Britain and China in August 1842, had forced China to open its doors for foreign commerce. The Second Opium War, or **Arrow War**, was the result of tension between China and foreign powers after 1842. The immediate causes were the murder of a Catholic missionary and the seizure of a British registered ship, the *Lorcha Arrow*. Anglo-French troops took Guangzhou and Tientsin, forcing the Chinese to accept a treaty. It was signed at Tientsin, the largest commercial city in Chih-li, the metropolitan province of China and hence the name of the treaty. The first phase of the Arrow War was over. France, Britain, Russia, and the **United States** were party to the treaties, and the preamble of each treaty affirmed the “lasting and sincere friendship” between sovereign of the Chinese Empire and the respective governments.

China provided 10 new ports, including Niuzhuang, Danshui, Hankou, and Nanjing for foreign trade and commerce. Britain, France, Russia, and the United States were also permitted legations in the closed city of Beijing. The Yangtze River became free for foreign ships, and even the warships could anchor at 15 Chinese ports. Where the treaty of Nanjin had opened up 5 ports, 10 more were now added. Toleration for Christianity and missionary activity was guaranteed. Foreigners with passports could travel to interior regions of China for trade. The humiliation was complete when China agreed to pay a huge war indemnity to Britain and France. The opium trade was legalized and millions of Chinese became addicted. It took two years to ratify the treaty. Meanwhile, hostilities broke again in 1859. The imperial summer palace was burned and Beijing besieged. By the Beijing Convention in October 1860, the terms of the treaties of Tientsin were confirmed and the weakness of China fully exposed. *See also* Boxer Insurrection.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Tilsit, Treaties of (1807)

The peace ending the War of the Fourth Coalition. The French Emperor Napoleon I (see **Bonaparte, Napoleon**) was at the zenith of his power following the French occupation of **Prussia** in October 1806 and the defeat of the Russians at **Friedland** on June 14, 1807. Napoleon and **Alexander I** met at Tilsit on a raft in the River Niemen to discuss the terms of peace. Sharing common hatred of the

British, a persuasive Napoleon brought Alexander I to agree to observe the **Continental System** and recognize the Confederation of the Rhine. A secret clause bound Alexander to declare war against **Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal** if they permitted British shipping in their ports. Russia was also given a claim on Finland, which the tsar then tested against Sweden in 1809. The tsar recognized Napoleon as the emperor in Western Europe in return for his own claim to rule the East. Prussia lost all territory west of the Elbe River; the Kingdom of Westphalia established with Jérôme Bonaparte as its monarch; and Danzig was restored as a free city. Two of Napoleon's other brothers were given the thrones of Holland and Naples, and France agreed to share certain European territories of the **Ottoman Empire** with Russia. The Franco-Russian alliance lasted until 1810, when the tsar allowed neutral ships to land in ports of Russia and Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812. *See also* Napoleonic Wars; Portuguese Empire; Russian Empire; Russo-Swedish War.

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PATIT PABAN MISHRA

Timbuctu

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Timbuctu was a prized destination for competing European adventurers. Located in the contemporary West African country of Mali, Timbuctu had for centuries been an established scholarly center and locus for trans-Saharan trade in salt and gold. During the medieval period, the great empire of Mali and its successor, Songhay, incorporated the city within their dominion. Timbuctu gained international prestige in the fourteenth century after the Malian ruler, Mansa Musa, made an extravagant pilgrimage to Mecca. During the journey, his entourage dispersed gold so freely in Cairo that the value of the precious metal was depressed in the city for several months after his departure. After this event, tales of Timbuctu's wealth reached foreign lands and shaped European perceptions of the city for centuries to come. By the nineteenth century, however, this longstanding perception was in stark contrast to Timbuctu's reality of steady decline following a devastating Moroccan conquest in 1591.

As European explorers and adventurers descended on every corner of Africa during the nineteenth century, Timbuctu remained an elusive prize. Several Europeans perished in their quest to reach the city, including British military officer Alexander Gordon Laing, who reached Timbuctu in 1826, but was murdered before returning home. Frenchman René Caillié entered the city two years later and was able to return to Europe to relate his findings. Several decades later, German Heinrich Barth reached Timbuctu in 1853. Their accounts of the city's appearance and meager resources shattered the centuries-old view of Timbuctu's wealth. By the late nineteenth century, a European colonial infrastructure was being established in West Africa, and Timbuctu was captured and controlled by French forces in 1894. *See also* French Empire; French West Africa.

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BRENT D. SINGLETON

Tirpitz, Alfred von (1849–1930)

A key figure in German domestic and foreign policymaking as the naval minister of Kaiser Wilhelm II from the late 1890s until his dismissal in 1916. Tirpitz was born in Kuestrin on the River Oder on March 19, 1849 into an upper middle class family. His father was a judge. Tirpitz himself had an undistinguished school career and left at age 16 to join the Prussian navy. In those years, this navy was in poor shape and offered opportunities for a young officer who had now found his vocation. Tirpitz proved to be a skilled organizer who was keen to modernize the navy, even more so after the unification of Germany in 1871 as an officer of the new Imperial navy. When from 1877 onward the torpedo boat became a weapon of the future, Tirpitz helped to develop it in a systematic fashion that was also the hallmark of his later organizational efforts.

By the early 1890s, Tirpitz had risen to a staff position at the Naval High Command, which, after a recent larger reorganization of the entire naval administrative structure, had been charged with training and war planning. It is in these years that Tirpitz pushed for a shift in strategic thinking away from cruiser warfare and the preparation for conflicts with other colonial powers in distant waters toward a fleet prepared to do battle in the home waters, and here not just against France or Russia, but also against Britain, then the dominant naval power in the world. This new strategy required the building of battleships rather than cruisers.

In 1897, Wilhelm II put Tirpitz in charge of the Reich Navy Office where he had to deal with the naval budget and with obtaining the financial resources for a planned expansion of the navy from a reluctant national assembly, the Reichstag. With the help of a well-oiled naval propaganda department and pressure groups such as the recently founded Navy League, Tirpitz convinced the deputies to ratify the First Navy Law in 1898, followed by another one in 1900, thereby securing the next stage of his grand plan, thereafter named the **Tirpitz Plan**, to build a navy of no fewer than 60 battleships by 1918.

For several years until 1911–1912, Tirpitz was a towering figure in the Reich government, supported by a monarch who had signed on to his naval secretary's design—a building program that, once completed, would enable Wilhelm II, as supreme commander and man in charge of German foreign policymaking, to conduct “a great overseas policy,” as Tirpitz once told him. By 1907–1908, however, this policy had run into serious trouble. It promoted the diplomatic isolation of the country when, in 1904, Britain and France formed the **Entente Cordiale** followed in 1907 by the addition of Russia to create the **Triple Entente**. This left Germany in the middle with its only reliable ally, the ramshackle Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, by then the **Royal Navy** had engaged Tirpitz in a quantitative and qualitative arms race in big ships, with the launch of the *Dreadnought*, which he lost a few years later.

By 1914, with his position in the government and public opinion badly battered, Tirpitz realized that the Imperial navy was too weak to confront Britain at sea. Accordingly, his battleships remained bottled up at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven throughout the war, except for a brief sortie that resulted in a strategic defeat by the British in the Battle of Jutland in 1916. In the meantime, the Imperial navy had begun a frantic buildup of a submarine fleet, which, physically and symbolically, was the opposite of Tirpitz's dream of a proud and very presentable fleet of 16 battleships. The kaiser dismissed him rather ignominiously in 1916.

Tirpitz, however, had always been too political an officer to begin a quiet retirement at age 57. He was among the founders of the extreme right-wing Fatherland Party, a movement that agitated for a continuation of the war until a final German victory and large territorial annexations were achieved. As this victory became ever more elusive, the Fatherland Party stepped up its chauvinistic, antisocialist, and anti-Semitic propaganda. After Germany's defeat in 1918, Tirpitz fell silent for a number of years until the conservative-nationalist *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* that had absorbed some of the elements of the Fatherland Party in 1918 persuaded him to stand as a candidate for the 1924 *Reichstag* elections. He gained a seat and used the aura of his name in right-wing circles to advance a radical revisionism in German foreign policy aiming at the destruction of the hated Versailles peace treaty. In 1929, he tried to persuade Paul von **Hindenburg**, then president of the Weimar Republic, to withhold his signature from the Young Plan, the renegotiated reparations settlement that replaced the Dawes Plan of 1924.

Tirpitz died on March 6, 1930. Apart from the conservative-nationalist Stahlhelm veterans association, Adolf Hitler's Stormtroopers also attended his funeral. The "Tirpitz Myth" of a powerful German navy was carried forward by his admirers in the naval officer corps under Hitler who, via the so-called Z-Plan, were happy to begin the building of world-class fleet of super battleships and aircraft carriers to be completed by the mid-1940s. *See also* British Empire; Fisher, John Arbuthnot, Lord Fisher; *Weltpolitik*.

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VOLKER R. BERGHAHN

Tirpitz Plan

Named after its creator, Alfred von **Tirpitz**, and related to the contemporaneous notion of *Weltpolitik* of Kaiser **Wilhelm II**, the Tirpitz plan called for an ambitious expansion of the German Imperial Navy. The term *Tirpitz Plan* was not in use at the time it was conceived in the late 1890s. Rather, its full dimensions emerged 60 years later when the files of the Reich Navy Office became available to researchers for the first time. These files had been held under lock and key by the German navy after World War I until they were captured by the Allies in 1945 and housed uncatalogued in Cambridge, England. After their return to West Germany in the 1960s, scrutiny of the massive holdings revealed a program for the expansion of the Imperial Navy that was much more ambitious than earlier scholarship had assumed.

There was, to begin with, a highly technical side to the Tirpitz Plan. In a narrow sense it was concerned with the replacement of older ships and the building of additional new ones. Toward this end, Tirpitz and his team of naval officers arranged, as a first step, the older battleships and cruisers in such a way that they came up for replacement in a sequence of two per annum. If, because of an earlier building tempo, more than two came up, the replacement would be stretched so as to secure a regular tempo of two ships.

However, Tirpitz's ambition was to launch three ships per annum. Accordingly, one new ship was added to the two replacements, resulting in what came to be called an annual "3-tempo." These three ships were then to be replaced again after 20 years, producing in the meantime a fleet of 60 big ships. There were two considerations behind this systematic design not revealed in Tirpitz's First Navy Law of 1898. First, this law stipulated that those 60 ships were to be automatically replaced after 20 years, so that the start of the renewal cycle in 1918 would not require any further budgetary approval by the *Reichstag*. Second, it provided funding for only three years, 1898–1900, and the Reich Navy Office kept silent about the intention to introduce a second bill in 1900 that would extend the 3-tempo for a further four or five years. After that period more bills were to be submitted until 1918 when the gap would be filled with the building of three battleships per annum.

Because the deputies were not told in 1898 and 1900 that there were more bills to come to extend the 3-tempo all the way until 1918, they also did not appreciate that the 20-year replacement rule in the 1898 law was intended to deprive them of their budgetary powers over the navy. This means that in 1918, Tirpitz would have been independent of the vagaries of the Reichstag approval process. The navy of 60 big ships would be replaced automatically and hence be at the disposal, without interference from the democratically elected assembly, of the monarch who was in exclusive charge of German foreign policy.

Apart from this antiparliamentary calculation, the Tirpitz Plan to expand the Imperial navy in several stages to a total of 60 battleships in 20 years was also adopted with Britain in mind. If London had realized from the start that the kaiser aimed to have all those ships, the British would have been so alarmed that they would have tried to "outbuild" the Germans. Because of the initially veiled German buildup in stages, they recognized rather belatedly what Tirpitz was planning, but when they did, they engaged Germany in a naval arms race that began in 1905–1906.

This plan to establish a 3-tempo over 20 years with its cool antiparliamentary and anti-British considerations emerge clearly from the memoranda and tables that the Reich Navy Office drew up at the turn of the century. Not familiar with this material, historians in the early post-1945 period believed that the strengthening of the navy had a purely defensive purpose to protect the country's overseas interests and colonies at a time when other great powers were also building ships. Others have seen the systematic planning in the Reich Navy Office as part of a bureaucratic power struggle in which Tirpitz, as navy minister, tried to assert himself against the high command, in charge of war planning, and the admiralty staff, responsible for personnel policy. Here Tirpitz is seen as a skillful administrative infighter in a struggle that also revolved around the question of whether the German fleet should consist of cruisers or battleships.

The third position argues that Tirpitz was a very political officer who, with his program, pursued two major long-term objectives. The first one was, as already indicated, to liberate the Imperial navy from the shackles of budgetary approval by the

Reichstag and to achieve an “iron budget” that could not be reduced. Here the army was the model. After 1918, only further additions to the fleet of 60 ships could be voted on, and calculations have in fact survived in the files that show an increase in the 3-tempo to four ships per annum. The German army had a similarly untouchable budget.

Apart from its domestic role, however, the Tirpitz Plan also had a veiled foreign policy angle. Once completed, the 60-battleship fleet was deemed by Tirpitz and his advisers to be powerful enough to defeat the Royal Navy in a do-or-die battle in the North Sea; for they had also reckoned that over the next 20 years, London would not be able to build more than 90 ships. Naval doctrine of the time assumed that a fleet with a one-third inferiority had a genuine chance of defeating an opponent, provided the latter was the attacker. If this attack ever came, Tirpitz hoped to defeat the Royal Navy in their home waters. Britain would then have lost its dominant position in the world in one bold stroke. If, on the other hand, London sat tight, Tirpitz expected the 60-battleship fleet to provide the kaiser with the diplomatic leverage to extract concessions at the conference table when it came to the much-vaunted “redistribution of the world” in the twentieth century. This is where the ambitions of the Tirpitz Plan became connected with those of Wilhelmine *Weltpolitik*.

The plan failed just as *Weltpolitik* did. Suspecting that the Germans were up to something sinister—that they wanted “to steal our clothes”—the British engaged the kaiser in a quantitative naval arms race, more and more ships, as well as a qualitative arms race, and bigger and bigger ships. The launching of the *Dreadnought* class from 1906 suddenly made Tirpitz’s existing ships obsolete. He tried to keep up by also building both more and bigger ships, but he was defeated by the escalating costs. It proved more and more difficult to persuade the deputies who, after all, still had to approve the naval budget to allocate the additional resources needed to keep up with the Royal Navy. By 1912, the original design was in disarray. The army came along and demanded the priority in defense that the navy had enjoyed in previous years. Germany returned to a continental strategy and the war that broke out in July 1914 was fought on land. Tirpitz’s navy remained idle for most of the war, and submarines became the instrument of German naval warfare.

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VOLKER R. BERGHAHN

Tisza, István (1861–1918)

Hungarian prime minister and statesman. István Tisza was born April 22, 1861, in Budapest. His father, Kálmán Tisza, was the leader of Hungary’s Liberal Party. In 1886, István Tisza became a member of the Hungarian parliament. He was prime minister of Hungary from 1903 to 1905, when his Liberal Party was defeated at the polls. In a time of deep controversy about Hungary’s status within the Habsburg monarchy and of political instability, Tisza managed to take control of the Liberal

Party and to rein in the opposition in parliament. Leader of the lower house from 1912 and prime minister again from June 1913, Tisza dominated Hungarian politics until he resigned in June 1917. In the **July Crisis** of 1914, he insisted on the importance of preliminary diplomatic steps to be taken against Serbia before any military action to avoid a great power war. During the war, however, he supported the war effort wholeheartedly. After his resignation, he was assassinated by a Hungarian leftist in October 1918.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Tisza, Kálmán (1830–1902)

Founder of the Hungarian Liberal Party, Tisza was born in December 1830 in Geszt, into a Calvinist family belonging to the Magyar gentry. In the revolution of 1848–1849, Tisza joined the revolutionary regime and was exiled by the Habsburg authorities after the Hungarian defeat. After his return to **Hungary**, he held an important position in the efforts to restore Hungarian autonomy within the Habsburg monarchy. Since 1875, Tisza supported the status quo of 1867, the *Ausgleich* between Hungary and Austria. He became the leader of the new Liberal Party, which represented the interests of the nobility, business elites, and landowners. Tisza was prime minister of Hungary from 1875 to 1890 during which the country was modernized. He died in March 1902. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Hungary.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Togo

A West African territory colonized by Germany in the late nineteenth century as part of an effort to flex diplomatic muscle, preserve international trading rights, and placate interest groups at home. German interest in Togo began in the late 1840s with the arrival of missionaries and a series of small German merchant firms along the coast trading in palm products, cocoa, cotton, and rubber. In the 1880s, Britain's decision to raise import duties along the **Gold Coast** triggered fears that German merchants would be shut out of local markets completely. Otto von **Bismarck**, the German chancellor, responded in July 1884 by sending an armed expedition under the command of Gustav Nachtigal to encourage west African chiefs along the coast of **Cameroon** to sign treaties of protection that would place them under German control. Along the way Nachtigal made an unsanctioned stop in Togo where he obtained similar treaties and announced the creation of a German **protectorate**. Other colonial powers soon recognized Germany's new colony and during the next 15 years the Germans expanded into the interior in the hopes of gaining access to the Niger River. Those hopes were ultimately dashed by a combination of resistance from the indigenous Ewe peoples and simultaneous expansionist efforts of Britain

and France. Togo's final borders were set in 1900 via a series of treaty negotiations between Britain, France, and Germany.

Despite early hopes for Togo's financial future, before the turn of the century its small size and limited trade opportunities discouraged investment, leaving most financial enterprises in the hands of small German merchant firms. By 1900, however, railway construction and other infrastructure projects facilitated commercial access to the interior and attracted a variety of larger trading companies. Mirroring earlier coastal operations, both the colonial administration and these new trading companies focused their energies on running plantations and encouraging the indigenous peoples to harvest cash crops, thereby turning Togo into the most lucrative of all Germany's African possessions.

Despite Togo's reputation as a model colony, its financial success barely masked growing racial tensions between colonizer and colonized. Starting in 1900, the Ewe increasingly protested their lack of rights, the extensive use of corporal punishment, and the ongoing economic discrimination that they faced. These protests in turn helped give rise to a nascent nationalist movement that partially explains the rapid collapse of German forces in the face of a joint Anglo-French invasion in August 1914. The decision of the victorious allies to split Togo between them was ratified in 1922 when the newly created League of Nations granted Britain and France mandates over the former German colony. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; Berlin, Conference of; German Empire.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Tokugawa Shōgunate (1600–1868)

The hereditary feudal military dictatorship of Japan, passed down the male line of the Tokugawa clan, which was toppled in 1868 and resulted in the **Meiji Restoration**. In 1603, following the warring-states period, political power was centralized by Ieyasu Tokugawa, who took the title of shōgun or military dictator. The shōgun ruled Japan from Edo (present-day Tokyo); the figurehead emperor and the imperial court were kept isolated in Kyoto. The Tokugawa shōgunate maintained a rigid feudal class structure, with the warrior-caste of samurai at the top of the hierarchy and farmers, artisans, and traders at the bottom. The *daimyo*, or feudal lords, attempted to challenge the rule of the Tokugawa clan but the shōguns were able to dominate them politically and militarily by virtue of their monopoly on the importation of gunpowder. Ieyasu Tokugawa had been in favor of foreign trade but his successors, fearful of foreign influence, placed heavy restrictions on contact with the outside world.

The isolationist policies of the Tokugawa shōgunate have been credited for two centuries of relative political stability, but they also resulted in economic stagnation. The appearance of Commodore Matthew Perry's squadron in Tokyo Bay in

July 1853 threw the Tokugawa shōgunate into a state of political turmoil. Hoping to avoid the fate of Qing China, the shōguns signed a series of “unequal treaties” with the United States, Britain, France, and Russia, which opened up Japanese ports to foreign trade, granted extraterritorial rights to Western citizens, and ceded control of Japan’s foreign trade tariffs to the Western Powers. The *daimyo* of Chosu and Satsuma used the opening of Japan to foreign trade to acquire gunpowder superior to the old saltpeter of the shōgunate, and a Tokugawa army dispatched to quell the rebellion in Chosu and Satsuma was defeated. Sensing the weakness of the shōgun, the *daimyo* allied themselves with the new Meiji emperor, who, in January 1868, declared his own restoration to full sovereignty and the abolition of the shōgunate. The shōgun, Yoshinobu, declared the emperor’s act illegal and attacked Kyoto but was defeated by imperial forces and surrendered unconditionally in May 1868.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Tonkin

The northernmost territory of French **Indochina**, part of **Annam**, which became the target of strong military action against China by the government of Jules Ferry in the Third French Indochina War of 1881–1885. When in May 1883, a French expedition was ambushed and wiped out by Chinese “Black Flags,” a stronger expeditionary force composed of Foreign Legion and Algerian colonial forces was sent in retaliation and, through 1884, campaigned from Haiphong into the interior to clash with the Black Flags at Tuyen Quang and then to capture Lang Son near the Chinese border. Although the heavy losses and cost of the expedition toppled Ferry’s government, French forces had prevailed by April of 1885, when China signed a treaty. The Chinese momentarily renounced the peace, but the bombardment of Hanoi and Haiphong produced a second and final peace in August 1885, whereupon Tonkin became a French **protectorate**. *See also* French Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Toussaint l'Ouverture (c. 1743–1803)

Known originally as François-Dominique Toussaint, Toussaint l'Ouverture was a self-educated former slave who became one of the leaders of the revolt in St. Domingue that overthrew French rule and created the independent nation of **Haiti**. As the French Revolution unfolded in Europe, slaves in the north of St. Domingue staged their own rebellion in 1791 in a bid to gain their freedom. Although initially uncommitted, Toussaint l'Ouverture joined the rebels when the white planters refused to honor earlier promises to grant voting rights and citizenship to all

free men regardless of color. After rising quickly through the ranks of the rebel army and briefly allying himself with invading Spanish forces from the neighboring colony of Santo Domingo, in 1794 l'Ouverture declared himself a French patriot following the decision in Paris to grant freedom to all slaves who fought on behalf of the Revolution.

From 1794 to 1801, Toussaint l'Ouverture used his forces to end foreign military intervention and capture Santo Domingo on behalf of the French Republic. Shortly thereafter he drafted a new constitution for the colony, which formally abolished slavery and named him governor-general for life. Because these actions threatened Napoleon Bonaparte's plans to restore St. Domingue to its former status as a profitable plantation colony, the newly crowned French emperor ignored Toussaint l'Ouverture's claims of continued allegiance and launched an invasion in 1802 to restore French authority on the island. After several months of fighting, Toussaint l'Ouverture signed a truce in May 1802 and retired to his farm. Three weeks later he was arrested and deported to France where he died in prison. Less than a year later, his followers defeated the French and declared independence. *See also* French Empire; Slavery.

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KENNETH J. OROSZ

Trafalgar, Battle of (1805)

The most decisive naval engagement of the **Napoleonic Wars**, in which a **Royal Navy** fleet of 27 ships under Admiral Horatio Nelson routed a combined French and Spanish fleet of 33 ships commanded by Rear-Admiral Pierre Charles Villeneuve. It took place off Cape Trafalgar on the southwestern coast of Spain on October 21, 1805.

Weather conditions on the morning of that day were such that Nelson was able to approach the Franco-Spanish line from the northwest to catch Villeneuve's ships downwind and sailing a northerly course. To attack Nelson formed his ships in two parallel lines and ordered them to close on Villeneuve's fleet, forming a line-ahead formation north-to-south, at right angles. This tactic had in fact been anticipated by Villeneuve, yet he had no counter to it and indeed had difficulty keeping his line orderly owing to its awkward position to the wind. One column of ships, headed by Nelson's flagship *Victory*, steered into and split off the top third of Villeneuve's line; the other, headed by Vice-Admiral Wilfrid Collingwood's *Royal Sovereign*, split off the bottom third. Nelson's tactics ran the danger of exposing his ships to punishing fire as they closed on Villeneuve's line. Yet they also temporarily separated a third of the French admiral's ship from action as the two British columns tore into the Combined Fleet's line and engaged it at close range. Once this had been accomplished, the gunlock firing mechanism of the Royal Navy's cannon and the superior discipline of its gun crews was able to deliver a volume and rate of fire that inflicted casualties and damage disproportionate to what was received. Villeneuve's

line broke apart as Nelson's ships fell among them, *Royal Sovereign* alone engaging no fewer than eight enemy ships. *Victory*, and in succession the ships that followed her into the French line, fired broadsides into Villeneuve's flagship, *Bucentaure*, toppling its masts, shattering its timbers with solid shot, and tearing up its crew with grapeshot. Nelson lost no ships yet managed to sink or capture 19 of the Combined Fleet; 449 British died against 4,000 French and Spanish. In Britain, national jubilation at so spectacular a victory was submerged in grief at the news of Nelson's death from the ball of a sniper.

Trafalgar did not, technically, save Britain from invasion. Napoleon's plans in this direction had already been all but abandoned. It nonetheless guaranteed Britain's survival and economic prosperity, which in turn permitted her to continue the struggle for the next decade and to support her continental allies in the effort. Napoleon had, in 1805, not yet reached the zenith of his success, but, as he eventually stretched his ambition and resources to Spain and Russia simultaneously, having an implacable foe such as Britain meant that Trafalgar was a defeat of strategic dimensions. This was even more so for Spain whose loss of a fleet at Trafalgar emboldened its colonies to rebellion had hastened the demise of a vast overseas empire. Lastly, it gave Britain almost the century of naval predominance that enabled it to preserve and extend its own imperial interests, a fact that, by the 1890s, moved Mahan to cite Trafalgar in making the case for the influence of sea power on history. *See also* Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Pax Britannica; Tirpitz Plan.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Transcontinental Treaty

See Adams-Onís Treaty

Trans-Siberian Railway

A railroad across Russia, between Moscow and Vladivostok, part of Russia's industrialization plan at the end of the nineteenth century. Officially begun on May 31, 1891, the project received financial and administrative support from Minister of Finance Sergei Witte. Moreover, a special committee was created to oversee the project that included the heir to the throne, **Nicholas II**. Nevertheless, the project was plagued by labor and material shortages, as well as the constant threat of disease and attacks by mosquitoes and tigers. Moreover, the harsh weather and difficult terrain regularly slowed construction. The work force on this enormous project included Turks, Italians, Chinese, and Russians, some of whom were convicts. This railroad promoted Russia's penetration of northern China, thus heightening tensions with Japan. Although there are technically three routes, the most common, from Moscow to Vladivostok, runs 5,810 miles and takes about a week to travel. *See also* Manchuria; Russian Empire; Russian Far East; Russo-Japanese War.

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LEE A. FARROW

Transvaal

A Boer state established north of the Vaal River in South Africa during the Great Trek in 1852. It was annexed by Britain in 1877 in an agreement with the Boers who sought protection against the predations of the Zulu at a time of insolvency for the Transvaal's finances. Outright annexation was never popular among the Boers. They considered it a violation of the principles of the **Sand River Convention**, were annoyed by the taxes and parsimony of British administrations, and outraged at the abuses to themselves and their property by misbehaving British troops. They were also led to hope for the recovery of their independence by William Gladstone's attack on the Conservative government of Benjamin Disraeli as "drunk with imperialism" and the annexation of a free and tenacious protestant community as a gross offense to liberal principle. When Gladstone returned to office and decided instead that the Boers should accept the liberty afforded them by confederation, they revolted. The First Boer War is therefore occasionally referred to as the Transvaal War. Transvaal was again annexed by Britain after the Second Boer War. *See also* Boer Wars; Orange Free State.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Treaty of 1818

See Anglo-American Treaty (1818)

Treaty Ports

Ports in China, Japan, and Korea that were opened to the trade and residence of foreigners under pressure from Western powers. The Treaty of **Nanjing** ending the **Opium War** in 1842 forced China to open five treaty ports; a second list of ports was opened after the **Arrow War**, so that by 1917 there were 92, some of them opened on China's own initiative. Western activity in the Far East concentrated in the treaty ports, where consulates exercised **extraterritorial** jurisdiction and, in the larger ports—**Shanghai**, Tientsin, Hankow—settlements administered exclusively by the European inhabitants, "concessions" as they were commonly called, were created. Japan opened Shimoda and Hakodate in 1854 and added five more ports in 1858.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Treitschke, Heinrich von (1834–1896)

Born in Dresden, Heinrich von Treitschke was one of the most well-known German historians of the later nineteenth century. Appointed as Leopold von **Ranke**'s successor at the Humboldt University in 1874, Treitschke's name is closely associated with his unswerving support for German nationalism. After German unification in 1871, he also held a seat as a National Liberal in the **Reichstag**. He edited the monthly *Preussische Jahrbücher* and became in 1886 Prussian state historian. In his *German History in the Nineteenth Century*, published in a series of volumes between 1879 and 1894, Treitschke sought to provide a historical justification for German unification and expansion. His aim was to arouse in the hearts of his readers "the pleasure of living in the Fatherland." Full of vitriol for the British, whom he described as "dreadful hypocrites" with an Empire based on an "abundance of sins and outrages," his works were extremely well received and inspired leading figures such as Bernhard von **Bülow**. See also German Empire; Prussia.

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PAUL LAWRENCE

Trent Affair (1861)

A diplomatic incident that threatened to bring about a war between Britain and the **United States** in the midst of the **American Civil War**. On November 8, 1861, a Union warship commanded by Charles Wilkes intercepted a British mail packet, the *Trent*, in the Bahaman channel. Wilkes removed two Confederate diplomats bound for Europe, James M. Mason and John Slidell, and took them to Boston where they were confined as prisoners. Wilkes clearly had violated international law: the two Confederates had sailed under the protection of a neutral flag. According to law, the most that Wilkes should have done was to seize the ship and take it to port for an admiralty court to judge whether the *Trent* had done anything wrong. Instead he had seized only the two men. Worst of all, the removal of the Confederate diplomats had insulted Britain whose **Royal Navy** was accustomed to dominate the high seas.

Public opinion in the Northern states applauded Captain Wilkes' bold action, but public opinion in Britain was outraged. Prime Minister Lord **Palmerston** began preparations for war. For him this was a matter of national honor and not part of any pro-Confederate policy. Foreign Secretary Lord John **Russell** and Prince Consort Albert, then struggling with a terminal illness, persuaded Palmerston to moderate his demands in the diplomatic note that he sent to Washington. The British diplomat there, Lord Lyons, delayed until December 23 his formal presentation of the note to give passions a chance to cool. After Secretary of State William H. **Seward** received the note, he reluctantly conceded the British demand for the release of Mason and Slidell, as did President Abraham **Lincoln**. It was not realistic for the United States to risk a naval war with Britain while fighting a civil war with the seceding states of the Confederacy. As Lincoln said, "one war at a time." Historians are divided about how serious the danger of war had been but agree that if Britain had declared war

on the United States, the Confederacy might well have secured its independence. In January 1863, the Confederate diplomats were released, Mason going to London and Slidell to Paris, where neither of them accomplished anything.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Trieste

An ancient port city at the northeastern corner of the Adriatic Sea, which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became the most important sea harbor of the Habsburg monarchy because it offered direct access to the Mediterranean. The city was occupied three times by French troops during the Revolutionary and **Napoleonic Wars**. From 1857 to 1918, Trieste was among the most prosperous harbors on the Mediterranean, but it was also home to a strong irredentist movement seeking annexation to Italy. On the eve of World War I, approximately two-thirds of the population of Trieste were Italians, most of the rest Croats or Slovenes. James Joyce spent almost a decade in Trieste and for a time taught English to officers of at the Habsburg naval base in nearby Pola. After World War I, Italian troops occupied the city in accordance with the treaty of London of 1915. *See also* Habsburg Empire.

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GUENTHER KRONENBITTER

Triple Alliance (1882)

A secret alliance of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy pledging mutual assistance in the event of an attack by France. Franco-Italian relations had been strained since the Italian occupation of Rome in 1870. When France formalized its protectorate over Tunis in 1881, Italy decided to pursue an alliance with Austria-Hungary, already allied with Germany.

Germany and Austria-Hungary were initially cool to Italian advances, as there appeared to be no benefits to them. Berlin was in fact happy to see France diverted by North African adventures, while Vienna had made it clear that Austria-Hungary was unwilling to go to war against France on Germany's behalf and even less willing to enter a war for the sake of Italy. A crisis in the Habsburg province of Bosnia over the autumn and winter of 1881–1882, however, led to a reevaluation of the situation by both. Though Russia had remained officially neutral during the crisis, prominent ministers and generals had spoken in favor of Franco-Russian alliance in support of the Bosnians. Fear of such sentiments drove Germany and Austria-Hungary into the arms of Italy.

The alliance was signed on May 20 as an agreement renewable every five years. Like the Dual Alliance, which it replaced, it was a defensive pact designed to work against France or against “two or more Great Powers not members of the alliance.” In the event of an Austro-Russian war, Italy was pledged to benevolent neutrality.

Finally, to allay Italian fears, the pact stated that it “cannot . . . in any case be regarded as directed against England.” The Triple Alliance provided the greatest benefit to Italy by making her part of the Great Power system and providing her with stronger partners in the event of conflict with France. For Germany and Austria-Hungary, the gains were minimal, as the alliance removed the threat of an additional partner for Russia and posed for France a complication in any war with Germany. The pact was renewed until 1912. The Italians chose not to enter World War I in 1914, because, they argued, the terms of the alliance had not been met. *See also* Bosnia-Herzegovina; German Empire; Habsburg Empire; July Crisis; Triple Entente.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Triple Entente (1907)

A term commonly used to refer to cooperation among Britain, France, and Russia after 1907. It was not an alliance and was composed of three diplomatic agreements: the Franco-Russian alliance on 1894, the 1904 **Entente Cordiale** between Great Britain and France, and the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement. These separate arrangements were initially settlements of disputes rather than positive diplomatic commitments, and the three powers involved did not craft a military alliance until after the outbreak of World War I, at which point they agreed, on September 3, 1914, that none of them would sign a separate peace treaty with Germany or Austria-Hungary. That alliance did not survive the war. With the revolution of 1917, the Bolshevik government in Russia renounced the alliance and in 1918 signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. *See also* British Empire; French Empire; Russian Empire.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Tripoli

A city located in northwest Libya on the Mediterranean coast. Tripoli was the capital of the former Ottoman province of Tripolitania in western Libya. The city's climate was mitigated by the Mediterranean, but the desert winds that swept the region during the summer rendered widescale agriculture expensive and impractical. The Turks, therefore, used Tripoli mainly as a port along the Sudan-Sahara trade route. In 1714, the Karamanli dynasty seized control of Tripoli and, with the city-states of Tunis, Morocco, and Algiers, formed the Barbary States. Their pirate fleets seized European and American trade in the Mediterranean in return for tribute and ransoms. In the Barbary Wars of 1801–1805 and 1815, the **United States** defeated the pirates, forcing them to either lower or abandon their blackmail. The wars also allowed the Turks to return.

The Ottomans reestablished authority over Tripoli in 1835 but were unable to impose strong centralized rule, and instead relied on Arabs and Europeans to help administer the province. One Arab tribe was the Islamic fundamentalist brotherhood, the Senussi, founded in 1837 by Muhammad bin Ali al-Sanusi (1791–1859). Italian emigrants in Tripoli opened up branches of the Bank of Rome throughout Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to handle the provinces' trade. Each group mistrusted the other and were jealous of their prerogatives.

In 1911, Italian imperialists pressured the government into launching a colonial war against Turkey for Libya on the pretext that the Turks were restricting Italian economic rights. During the Italo-Turkish War (1911–1912), the Italians bombarded and occupied Tripoli, installed a government, and formally annexed Tripolitania and Cyrenaica by royal decree. Tripoli became capital of the Italian colony of Tripolitania. *See also* Italo-Turkish War; Italy; Ottoman Empire.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Troppau, Congress of (1820)

The third meeting of the **Congress System**, at the village of Troppau—Opava in the contemporary Czech Republic—involving Austrian, Prussian, and Russian delegations with British and French observers. The meeting dealt with the outbreak of liberal revolutionary upheavals in Italy and Spain. Dominated by Prince von **Metternich**—with the enthusiastic cooperation of Tsar **Alexander I**, who had recently been shaken by upheaval and conspiracy in Russia—the meeting produced the Protocol of Troppau, according to which “States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other States, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantees for legal order and stability.” It went on to pledge that “the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance.” Britain endorsed Austrian intervention in Italy but rejected the thrust of the protocol that intervention was justified to defeat any liberal revolt in Europe. *See also* Aix-la-Chapelle; Laibach; Prussia; Russian Empire; Vienna, Congress of.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Trotha, Adrian Dietrich Lothar von (1848–1920)

A commander of German colonial troops who is most noted for his defeat of the **Herero Revolt** in **German Southwest Africa**. Von Trotha had joined the Prussian army at 17, served previously in the **Austro-Prussian War** and the **Franco-Prussian War**, and also led the First East Asian Brigade against the **Boxer Insurrection**. In the latter case he had used mass reprisals against the defeated Chinese that he developed

into a *Vernichtungspolitik* or “policy of annihilation” that he applied to the Herero. The policy stated that the Herero people would no longer be considered German subjects and further that any Herero who remained within German territory, armed or unarmed, was to be shot. Woman and children were to be driven into the desert. Public outcry against von Trotha’s actions prompted Chancellor von Bülow to have him relieved of his command, by which time the Herero had been reduced through shooting, starvation, and overwork from an estimated population of 80,000 to some 15,000 survivors. *See also* Maji-Maji Revolt.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Trotsky, Lev Davidovich (1879–1940)

One of the primary leaders of the **Bolshevik** Revolution in Russia. Trotsky was born Lev Davidovich Bronstein—he assumed the name Trotsky in 1902—the son of a Jewish farmer in a small village in the Ukraine. His early revolutionary activities resulted in his arrest, exile, and eventual movement abroad, where he met V. I. **Lenin** in London in 1902. In the 1903 meeting of the Russian Social Democrats, Trotsky rejected Lenin’s idea of a small, restrictive party, preferring that of Julius Martov, who favored a broader party membership, open to all who embraced Marx’s theories. Over the next years, Trotsky remained more or less isolated, not linked to any one revolutionary group, criticizing Lenin and warning that his vision for a centralized party would inevitably result in the dictatorship of one man. Despite his isolation, Trotsky became well known, largely on the strength of his exceptional writing and oratory skills.

In early 1905, Trotsky emerged as a leader of the Petersburg Soviet, although he was later arrested and again went abroad. During the spring of 1917, he returned to Russia and joined the Bolsheviks and by the early fall, he was leading the party while Lenin was in hiding. When the actual insurrection began in late October, Trotsky directed the revolutionaries’ activities, ordering the seizure of major city installations, such as phone and transportation offices. In the immediate aftermath of the coup, when some socialists refused to participate in the new government, Trotsky gave his famous speech in which he told these opponents to go “into the dustbin of history.” In the new Soviet government, Trotsky took the position of Commissar of Foreign Affairs. In 1918, as commissar of war, he was the Soviet representative during the negotiations for the Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany. After Lenin’s death in 1924, Trotsky was isolated and expelled from the party by Joseph Stalin’s aggressive maneuvering to become the country’s new leader. Trotsky’s ideas about permanent revolution and world revolution were cast aside in favor of Stalin’s argument for socialism in one country. In 1928, he was forced to leave Russia and moved from country to country until he finally settled in a suburb of Mexico City, where he worked with other Marxists such as Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera. Even here he was not outside of Stalin’s reach and ultimately was murdered by one of Stalin’s agents in 1940. *See also* Russian Empire.

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LEE A. FARROW

Ts'u Hsi (1835–1908)

Known as the “Empress Dowager,” Ts'u Hsi was a leading figure of the **Qing Dynasty's** last decades in power in China. Ts'u Hsi took over the regency for her son T'ung-chih in 1861. She relinquished power in 1889, but reestablished the regency when her adoptive son, Emperor Kuang-hsü, embraced radical reformist ideas in 1898. In 1900, she allied herself with supporters of the **Boxer Insurrection**, apparently believing that they might well succeed in expelling foreigners from China, but had to flee from the international intervention forces. Back in power, she supported conservative reformers, specifically by issuing an edict in 1906 promising a new constitution and reforms of China's administrative structure, including the establishment of a national assembly. Suspiciously, Kuang-hsü died one day before Ts'u Hsi.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Tsushima, Battle of (1905)

Fought May 27, Tsushima was the decisive naval battle of the **Russo-Japanese War**, a Japanese victory as spectacular as Horatio Nelson's at **Trafalgar** 100 years earlier. With the destruction of the Russian Pacific Fleet in the Battle of Shantung, the Baltic fleet was dispatched to help break the blockade of **Port Arthur**. In a feat of seamanship, Admiral Zinovi Petrovitch Rozhdestvenski led his fleet 18,000 nautical miles to the Pacific only to find that Port Arthur had fallen. Rozhdestvenski decided to sail for Vladivostok instead but was intercepted by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Heihachiro Togo in the Tsushima Straits.

The two fleets joined battle on the afternoon of May 27, and the Japanese managed to “cross the T” of the Russian fleet twice and proceeded to destroy it systematically. Nearly the entire Russian fleet was sunk or captured; three cruisers made it to Manila where they were interned and two damaged destroyers and supply vessels made it to Vladivostok. Tsushima had two immediate and profound consequences: it hastened the day when **Tsar Nicholas II** would seek terms with the **Japanese Empire** and marked the emergence of Japanese naval power as a force to reckoned with. *See also* Navalism.

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ADRIAN U-JIN ANG

Tunis/Tunisia

The North African city of Tunis was ruled by a succession of foreign rulers, beginning with the ancient city of Carthage situated across from it. Carthage, including Tunis, fell in the hands of the Romans in 146 B.C. The Vandals conquered Tunis in 439 A.D. In the sixth century, Flavius Belisarius conquered Tunis and it became part of the Byzantine Empire. The seventh century saw the Arabs invading Tunis. Under the Almohade dynasty in the twelfth century and the Hafsids dynasty from 1206 till 1534, Tunis flourished and became a thriving Islamic city, with strong commercial links with Europe and the rest of the Mediterranean world. From the years 1534 to 1881, the city was in the Ottoman orbit, with temporary Spanish rule from 1553 to 1569 and from 1573 to 1574. For much of the nineteenth century, Tunis was autonomous and, in 1837, secured an alliance with Britain to balance Ottoman dominance and French ambition.

From the 1870s, however, Tunis came increasingly under the influence of France in neighboring **Algeria**, a fact formally acknowledged at the Congress of **Berlin** in 1878. Tunisia was then annexed outright by France in May 1881. Although its administration resembled that of a colony, it was officially a French **protectorate**. As a French dependency, the *Bey* had a title of *Possesseur de Royaume* and his administration was considered to be a sufficiently strong basis for government. A rebellion against the *Bey* for capitulating to the French was suppressed by French military forces. From then on, Tunis was run by French civil and military administration, and every person within Tunisia was bound by a French code. It was granted independence in 1956. *See also* Africa, Scramble for; French Empire; Ottoman Empire.

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NURFADZILAH YAHAYA

Turkestan

A Russian colony in Central Asia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian colonial administration in Turkestan became necessary following the conquest of Tashkent in 1865. The colony lasted until the collapse of the Russian imperial regime in 1917. Turkestan's colonial apparatus was set up through the 1865 Steppe Commission, led by Minister of War Dimitry Miliutin. The commission decided to govern Turkestan with an eye toward allowing the peoples of the region to maintain many of their traditional governmental practices. It advocated a gradual integration into the **Russian Empire**. It was also decided, however, that Turkestan would be governed by military rule under a governor-general. The commission's findings were formalized in 1867 by **Alexander II**.

Turkestan's territory consisted of most of the oasis lands of the present-day countries of southern Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, minus the protectorates of **Khiva** and **Bukhara**. Much of this territory was gained through military operations from the 1860s until the 1880s. Throughout most of its history, Turkestan was a unique colony of the Russian Empire that maintained

many traditional religious and cultural practices, as well as a degree of political and juridical autonomy at the local level. Despite some opinions to the contrary, it was decided that Islam should be both allowed and even encouraged within the territory. The administration even decided that individuals wishing to make the hajj, the Islamic pilgrimage, be granted the right to do so.

Konstantin von Kaufman ruled the colony as governor-general from 1867 until his retirement in 1881. He encouraged ethnographic research on the peoples of the region. Kaufman saw Turkestan as a uniquely multiethnic and multireligious colony, which he hoped could be gradually integrated into a uniform whole. In 1886, a reform statute for the colony was approved, based on the findings of Fedor Girs. He found that the colony needed to strengthen the “civic spirit” of the people by furthering the integration of Russia’s civilian administrative and legal system in Turkestan.

The Transcaspian Railway completed a line to Tashkent from Orenburg and was opened for business in 1906. This allowed for the increased migration of Slavic peoples into Turkestan, which caused growing discontent among the local populations. Scarce water and land resources were a major source of dispute between the Turkic peoples and the new Slavic settlers. A major revolt in Turkestan called the Basmachi revolt began in 1916 and lasted well into the 1920s. *See also* Great Game; Slavism.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Two-Power Standard

The idea, current throughout the nineteenth century but first articulated officially in the Naval Defence Act of 1899, that the Royal Navy should be able to defeat the combined fleets of the next two most powerful nations. The two powers whose combined navies the British feared were usually France and Russia. The rise of other navies, including the American, the Italian, the Japanese, and of course the German, led to talk of a three-power standard at the end of the century.

The polarization of Europe between the entente and the central powers in the Edwardian era, and the threat of what Churchill called the German luxury fleet, led, however, to the effective adoption during the Anglo-German naval race of a one-power standard, that power being Germany. These evolving standards often had something of a *post-hoc* quality to them: they were as much descriptions of the current state of naval power as policies laid down at the admiralty, although they did serve as motivational slogans on occasions, such as the 1884 naval scare, when the British feared that technical change was about to cost them their superiority. The standard began to lose its relevance when the launch of *H.M.S. Dreadnought* so altered the naval arms with Germany that the comparative balance of capital ships became less important. The standard was dropped by First Sea Lord Winston

Churchill in 1912 in favor of a 60 percent British lead in dreadnoughts over any other one fleet. *See also* Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Tirpitz Plan.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

U

Uganda

A territory in East Africa, which became a British colony during the Scramble for Africa. During the late nineteenth century, Britain obtained control of many territories in Africa simply because British policymakers feared that their acquisition by other European powers—especially France and Germany—could represent a strategic threat to the British Empire. By the late 1880s, Prime Minister Lord **Salisbury** was convinced that control of Uganda was necessary to defend the Upper Nile. To minimize the cost to the British taxpayer Salisbury turned to the British East Africa Company to establish a presence in the area and, in December 1890, the company's representative, Frederick **Lugard**, marched into the kingdom of Buganda, southern Uganda, and made a treaty with Kabaka Mwanga, who accepted the company as his overlord.

The region offered little by way of trade, and the costs of Lugard's expedition quickly undermined the financial position of the company. In 1891, the company proposed that the British Government build a **railway** from the East African coast to Uganda to maintain the company's presence and strengthen British strategic control of the region. There was a great deal of political prevarication, but the issue was resolved by a combination of pressure from missionary societies eager to see extension of British control over an area in which slavery was still evident and Colonial Secretary Joseph **Chamberlain**, who favored schemes for the economic development. In 1895, a decision was taken to go ahead with the 580-mile railway, built at a cost of £5.5 million.

The financial weakness of the British East Africa Company prompted the British government to establish a **protectorate** over Uganda in 1894. Before 1914, just 40 British officials administered a population of more than 3 million in Uganda through a system of **indirect rule**, in which local tribal chiefs maintained their authority subject to British overrule. One clear indication of the extent of British control was the redrawing of the frontiers between Uganda and Kenya in 1902. A large area of the Ugandan highlands east of Lake Victoria was assigned to Kenya, which was becoming attractive to small numbers of British settlers eager to grow

cash crops such as coffee. In Uganda the major cash crop was cotton, which by 1918 accounted for 80 percent of its exports. *See also* British Empire; Fashoda Crisis; German East Africa.

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CARL PETER WATTS

Ulm, Capitulation at (1805)

A mass surrender of Austrian forces during the War of the Third Coalition. Having established a military alliance in August 1805, Russia and Austria sent armies toward the Danube, en route to France, while Napoleon Bonaparte shifted the army he intended to use for the invasion of England to meet this threat from the east. The French crossed the Rhine on September 26, while General Karl Mack, the Austrian commander, about 100 miles west of Munich and unaware of Napoleon's rapid advance, found his army gradually enveloped by large enemy columns forming a wide concentric arc to the north and east of his position. By the time Mack realized that his lines of communication were severed and his retreat cut off, Napoleon had completed the encirclement, and after an unsuccessful attempt to break out at Elchingen on October 14, Mack capitulated his army of nearly 30,000 men three days later. Napoleon's turning movement proved a strategic tour de force which, when combined with his decisive victory at Austerlitz on December 2, broke further Austrian resistance. *See also* Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Ulster

See Ireland; Union

Union

In British imperial history, "union" signifies the idea of combining smaller legislative units into a larger one. Specifically, it referred to the Scottish Union of 1707, by which the Scottish Parliament voted itself out of existence and Scotland acquired seats in the Union Parliament at Westminster. By the Act of Union of 1800, the Irish Parliament did the same. The Scottish Union, despite periodic Jacobite risings, at length successfully integrated Scotland into the United Kingdom. The Irish Union was notably less successful and eventually disintegrated following the Easter rising of 1916 and the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921. The idea of Union was in many ways a liberal idea, as it sought to downplay national differences, and to eliminate corrupt and aristocratically dominated local legislatures, by including Scots and Irish alongside the Welsh and the English as ostensible equals represented in the "mother of Parliaments" at Westminster. *See also* British Empire; Ireland.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Unionist Party

See Liberal Party, Liberal Unionist Party

United States of America

Between 1800 and 1914, the United States nearly quadrupled its national territory, became a world power, and created three overlapping and intimately connected forms of empire: a transcontinental empire, an informal empire, and an overseas colonial empire. American expansion was accelerated by the spectacular economic and population growth of the nation, the successful integration of vast territories through a unifying communication and transportation network, a powerful expansionist ideology that at times encountered substantial anti-expansionist opposition, and a cultural setting conducive to the practice of empire-building.

Transcontinental Empire

Throughout the nineteenth century, the United States steadily expanded its national territory by diplomacy and war. The most important steps included the 1803 **Louisiana Purchase**, through which the United States acquired almost 530 million acres from France for \$15 million, and the 1819 Transcontinental Treaty, through which the United States acquired Florida from Spain and extended its boundaries to the Oregon coast in exchange for \$5 million and a temporary recognition of Spanish claims to Texas. The United States then annexed **Texas** in 1845, the **Oregon Territory** in 1846, and large territories in the West and Southwest in 1848 as part of the Treaty of **Guadalupe-Hidalgo**, which ended the **Mexican-American War**. The cessions from Mexico alone, including Texas, equaled the Louisiana Purchase and made the United States 10 times the size of Britain and France combined and equal in size to the Roman Empire. The Gadsden Purchase of southern Arizona from Mexico in 1853 and the acquisition of **Alaska** from Russia for \$7.2 million in 1867 completed the transcontinental empire.

The United States exploited imperial rivalries among the European powers and thereby replaced their dominion over enormous stretches of territory by way of a dual strategy of negotiated land transfers and financial compensation. But to ensure full control over these territories inhabited by indigenous American peoples the U.S. government relied not only on diplomacy but also on war and internal colonization. In this process, the Indian nations, pressured by ever accelerating Euro-American settler colonialism, experienced a rapid demographic decline, and were forced to accept negotiated land transfers to the central government. Their legal status was successively downgraded from sovereign nations to dependent wards, as resistance was punished with forced removals and continuous warfare. By the late nineteenth century, Native Americans had been militarily defeated, confined to a reservation system, and exposed to intrusive assimilation programs designed to eradicate indigenous cultural identities.

Warfare was used not only to secure control over land transferred by European colonial powers and indigenous peoples but also to contain potential imperial contenders for North American territory. Accompanied by a surge of nationalist sentiment, the United States fought a victorious war against Mexico in 1846–1847 and, in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, acquired 500,000 square miles of territory—today the states of California, New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada, as well as parts of Arizona, Colorado, and Wyoming—for \$15 million. The annexation of all Mexico would have been militarily possible but was rejected on racial grounds; opponents interpreted the inclusion of a large Hispanic population as detrimental to the American body politic. Nonetheless, rapid territorial expansion—combined with the retention of slavery in the southern states, the expansion of freehold agriculture in the western territories, and the accelerated industrialization of the northeast—led in 1861 to the **American Civil War**, the greatest crisis of American nationhood.

The expansive dynamism of the transcontinental empire was fueled by, and in turn contributed to, rapid economic growth and population increase. The American continental economy profited from great expanses of rich agricultural land, bountiful raw materials, and new technological innovations, such as **railways**, the steam engine, and mining equipment, for the development of those resources. It also encountered comparatively few social and geographical constraints, a relative absence of significant foreign threats, and a steady flow of foreign and domestic investment capital. The development of this economic powerhouse was accompanied by an increase of the population from 3.9 million in 1790 to almost 76 million by 1900.

In accordance with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, new territories were required to pass through stages of political development before they could be admitted to the Union. During that time, they were ruled in a quasi-colonial manner with no political representation and limited rights for the inhabitants and were policed by the U.S. Army, which ensured control over trading routes and strategic positions. At the same time, these territories were integrated into an emerging national transportation and communication network, in which the evolution of the American railway system was particularly vital. In the 1830s, local railroads covered only short distances, but during the period between the Civil War—in which superior railways gave the Union a critical strategic advantage—and the 1880s, the available track increased 10-fold from 9,000 to 93,000 miles. In the early years of the twentieth century, the figure reached more than 200,000 miles. The completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, by the combined Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads, symbolized the western integration through transportation networks.

Accelerating transportation opportunities were accompanied by equally revolutionary developments in communications technology. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it took 25 days for news to travel from the eastern seaboard of the new republic to its western frontier. By 1900, news could be transmitted almost instantaneously through new media such as telephone, **telegraph**, and wireless communication; more than 1.4 million telephones were in service, 1 for every 60 inhabitants. At the same time the experimental use of wireless, or radio, was beginning to usher in a new era of communications technology. George Washington had lamented that it took six to nine months to deliver a letter to Paris in 1779, but

Marconi's instantaneous transmission of radio messages across the Atlantic in 1901 heralded a new era that would successfully challenge Britain's monopoly on the global information infrastructure after World War I.

The creation of a transcontinental empire with hemispheric ambitions and a global outlook was legitimated and popularized through a coherent ideology of expansion. This consisted of a quasi-religious missionary zeal concerning the exceptional nature of American national development and the idea of the United States as a nation embodying universal values. Despite marginal changes over time, those core convictions were a persistent feature of American expansion and provided a rationale for reconciling it with a republican form of government. Since the early days of the Republic, in fact, the missionary myth drew on biblical ideas such as the millenarian concept of a coming kingdom and interpreted American history as a project in salvation, the United States as redeemer nation. Concrete manifestations of this national ideology often varied radically: Whereas one mode of popular transmission advocated the exemplary role of the Republic as a "city upon the hill," another demanded an active role for the United States in reshaping the world. Even before national independence, Thomas Paine offered one of the most powerful and enduring expositions on America's world role. In *Common Sense*, Paine's "idealistic internationalism" emphasized the fundamental differences between old and new worlds, suggested a congruence of American and international democratic aspirations, and emphasized the beneficial impact of mutual trade interdependence on the international system.

In contrast to Montesquieu and others who had warned that republics could not expand by conquest and expect to successfully reproduce their constitutional system, founding fathers of the United States, such as Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, argued in one way or another that extensive territory and republican government were compatible, indeed necessary. Adams was the author of the precocious **Monroe Doctrine** of 1823, according to which the United States had a natural and abiding interest in the entire Western Hemisphere. Inconsistencies were ironed out with the argument that extensive territory was a blessing for a republic founded on popular sovereignty, as it served as insurance against the corruption of virtue and thus ultimate decline. A continuously expanding nation would prevent powerful interests from dominating the republic's affairs. At the same time, expansion was also interpreted as a prudent defense against potential of European imperial incursions in North America. Thus, the anticolonial spirit of the Revolutionary period was directed against Great Power Europe while territorial expansion was made an integral aspect of the national security of the United States.

Informal Empire

The completion of a transcontinental polity was accompanied by a growing strategic and commercial interest beyond the confines of North America. Some considered the Asian mainland, the North Pacific, and the Caribbean Basin to be natural spheres of interest, and others regarded Hawaii and Cuba appendages to the United States. The interest in outlying territory did not translate immediately into a quest for colonial dependencies, but it did accelerate the elaboration of informal empire with instruments ranging from commercial penetration and punitive military expeditions to missionary reform and educational modernization.

By the late nineteenth century, this informal empire then provided justification for the acquisition of colonies, which in turn provided an even stronger rationale for the extension of informal control over adjacent areas.

In Asia, the United States played a prominent role in the “opening” of Japan and Korea to Western influence and simultaneously sought access to the commercial potential of China. To secure new customers for surplus production and simultaneously contain social instability at home, successive administrations developed the strategy of economic penetration within a conceptual framework that praised the simultaneous benefits of trade for commercial profit, social stability at home, development overseas, and international stability through mutual interdependence. And although the imagined riches of a Chinese market with 400 million people eager to purchase American products did not materialize, the United States nonetheless greatly enhanced its role in Asian affairs. The **Open Door** Notes of 1899 and 1900 and American participation in the western military intervention during the **Boxer Insurrection** of 1900 jointly underlined Washington’s insistence on access to the Asian mainland. The Hawaiian Islands were considered an important stepping-stone to commercial opportunities in Asia. Located more than 2,500 miles off the California coast, Hawaii had been of major importance for whaling and trade in the North Pacific since the late eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, American missionaries and planters assumed important government positions in the independent kingdom, maneuvered Hawaii into increasing political and economic dependency with the United States, and repeatedly lobbied Washington for formal annexation of the islands.

The U.S. government supported many private initiatives, extended the Monroe Doctrine to Hawaii to prevent annexation of the islands by a European contender, granted Hawaiian sugar duty free entry into the United States in the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875, and received naval rights at Pearl Harbor. In 1893, Washington even supported a coup d’état against Hawaiian ruler Queen Lilioukalani’s efforts to contain American influence in the islands. At the same time, however, concern over inclusion of a racially diverse body of Chinese, Japanese, and native Hawaiian inhabitants postponed incorporation until 1898, when the Pacific colonies won in the Spanish-American War increased American concern over Japanese influence in the North Pacific provided the rationale for annexation. In the Caribbean basin, too, American power oscillated between informal and formal empire, as the United States contained European influence in the region and used commercial hegemony, cultural penetration, and military intervention to secure virtual sovereignty over a number of countries such as Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador.

Cuba was a prized asset of this informal empire. Strategically located at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, the island was part of Spain’s colonial empire between 1511 and 1899. During the nineteenth century, the Cuban struggle for independence was accompanied by a growing American commercial and cultural presence on the island while the government in Washington assumed a position of political noninvolvement for much of the century. Many contemporary observers preferred Spanish rule to possible instability and its anticipated negative effects on U.S. commercial interests. But in 1898, the William McKinley administration intervened in the Cuban War for Independence, and the Spanish-American War effectively ended Spanish colonial rule in the western

hemisphere. The reasons for American military intervention and the “splendid little war” of 1898 included public outrage over the brutal oppression of the Cuban population by Spanish troops, in particular the strategy of forced removals (*reconcentrado*), fear of instability in the Caribbean, the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor blamed on Spanish sabotage, and the desire to protect American commercial investments.

The U.S. Congress, however, prohibited annexation with the **Teller Amendment** and limited the military occupation to Cuban pacification. From 1898 to 1902, U.S. troops disbanded the Cuban revolutionary army, worked on infrastructure improvements, and laid the foundations for health and educational reforms. To secure control over Cuban affairs beyond the immediate period of military occupation, the McKinley administration developed a legal framework for Cuban-American “ties of singular intimacy.” Through the **Platt Amendment** of 1901, which became part of the Cuban constitution, and the U.S.-Cuban Treaty of 1903, the United States was not only granted naval rights at Guantánamo Bay but reserved the right to intervene in Cuban affairs and established virtual sovereignty over Havana’s foreign and economic affairs. Between 1906 and 1909, Cuba, which had effectively become a U.S. protectorate, was again placed under American military occupation with additional military interventions in 1912 and 1917.

An even stronger quasi-colonial relationship was the result of America’s unorthodox approach to nation-building in Panama. After France’s failure to build an interoceanic canal and British permission to assume sole responsibility, the United States selected Panama, Colombia’s northernmost province, as the site for the monumental construction. After the government in Bogotá rejected the terms, a U.S.-backed rebellion secured Panamanian independence. The new country gratefully acknowledged American intervention rights and provided Washington with a 10-mile wide canal zone, which constituted a quasi-colony, sometimes referred to as a “government owned reservation.” The **Panama Canal**, completed in August 1914, became the strategic center of America’s informal empire in the Caribbean. It provided commercial stimulation by completing a net of interoceanic shipping links, and represented a strategic asset of utmost importance for American security. It also completed the integration of the transcontinental empire by linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and simultaneously confirming the central position of the United States within a new set of global transportation and communication routes between East and West.

Colonial Empire

After victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States acquired a colonial empire in the **Philippines**, Guam, parts of **Samoa**, **Puerto Rico**, and **Hawaii**. The proponents of overseas expansion celebrated these new possessions as logical extensions of transcontinental empire, strategic adjuncts to the informal empire, and the nation’s entrance ticket into the exclusive club of colonial powers. Their arguments invoked the **Manifest Destiny** that had accompanied the quest for transcontinental empire and added progressive reform enthusiasm along with a strong dose of Anglo-Saxonism.

Anglo-Saxonism advanced the argument that the civilization of the English-speaking nations was superior to that of any other nation, by virtue of inherited racial characteristics, in particular industry, intelligence, adventurousness, and talent

for self-government. Those abilities were contrasted with the accomplishments of other races in a hierarchy of racial success. Advocates emphasized that Anglo-Saxonism had provided the basis for the perfection of democratic government and that Britain and America were thus ideally suited for the civilizational mission of the imperial mandate; it also fused with a **social Darwinist** conception of international relations and turned colonialism into a mission and obligation for the betterment of global conditions. This set of ideas also provided the intellectual glue and ideological rationale for the “great rapprochement” between the **British Empire** and the United States. This transformation from confrontation to cooperation was characterized by peaceful crisis management in the **Venezuelan Boundary Crisis** (1895–1896), the extension of mutual support in the Spanish-American and Anglo-Boer Wars, and intensified diplomatic relations embedded in a general sense of kinship between the two nations.

Closely connected to a transatlantic racial legitimization of imperialism was the notion that the rigors of colonial vocation would enable American men to escape the emasculating influences of civilization. Discursive constructions of manliness accompanied the national debate on the merits of empire, as expansionists framed the colonial project as a test of character, manhood, and the martial spirit. Many imperialists tapped into widespread cultural concern in turn-of-the-century America about effeminacy, racial decadence, and the worry that modern civilization produced soft, self-absorbed, and materialistic middle class men who would weaken both the national fiber and the political system.

The opponents of empire, mostly organized in the Anti-Imperialist League, meanwhile shared many of the racial assumptions of Anglo-Saxonism but emphasized the fundamentally contradictory nature of an imperial republic and argued that the quest for colonial possessions violated the nation’s core political values. They rejected the notion of national reinvigoration through imperialism, stressed the detrimental impact of tropical life on the human condition, and suggested that the negative record of the United States in dealing with its indigenous population, as well as the enduring legacies of slavery, hardly qualified the nation to provide for the educational uplift of colonized races. Although the critics of empire and the Anti-Imperialist League’s many prominent members—William Jennings Bryan, Edward Atkinson, Andrew Carnegie, Carl Schurz, and Mark Twain among them—attracted much public attention, they ultimately failed to translate their agenda into political power. The proponents of imperial expansion carried the debate with William McKinley’s reelection in 1900.

Despite the electoral victory for imperialism, the optimistic assumptions of its enthusiasts were severely tested in America’s largest colony, the Philippines, where the American project of colonial state-building was accompanied by one of the bloodiest and most costly colonial wars ever. Between 1899 and 1913, American forces fought against the Filipino independence movement under Emilio Aguinaldo and militarily pacified the southern Muslim part of the archipelago. After the independence forces then embarked on a campaign of guerrilla warfare, American forces increasingly confronted unexpected challenges and ultimately embarked on a campaign characterized by massive retaliatory measures against the archipelago’s civilian population. By 1902, more than 130,000 American soldiers had fought in a war that killed more than 4,200 of them and wounded another 3,500. During those first four years

only, approximately 20,000 Filipino soldiers were killed, one-quarter of the armed forces of the independence movement. Conservative estimates assess the number of civilian casualties at least as high as 250,000, and some studies suggest that losses may have been as high as 750,000, or approximately 10 percent of the prewar population.

The fighting was accompanied by an extensive pacification program designed to co-opt the local population into the American colonial regime. In the Philippines, as in Puerto Rico, the United States perceived its rule as mandate for benevolent tutelage and introduction to eventual self-government. Although political independence remained a mirage for Puerto Ricans and was granted to Filipinos only after World War II, initial military governments, as well as subsequent civilian colonial commissions, reaffirmed this outlook and logic of the colonial project. They placed great emphasis on local political participation and strongly supported public education. Those measures were complemented in both cases by social engineering and economic development, as the United States embarked on public health programs, infrastructure improvements, land reform, and commercial investments designed to transform fundamentally the colonial possessions consistent with notions of civilizational development common to the Progressive Reform era in the United States.

Other possessions such as American Samoa and Guam were excluded from the project of political tutelage. Their functions as naval and coaling stations, ruled by the U.S. Navy, limited their colonial status to that of strategic outposts and confined the concerns of Americans posted there to the maintenance of stability and order. As political transformation was assumed to be counterproductive, Washington accepted *indirect rule* and governed through local hereditary chiefs in Samoa and traditional functional elites in Guam. The colonized were exposed neither to political education nor civil government, and the possessions were largely excluded from capital investment or integration into the American economic system.

Americans approached the task of colonial state-building with a dual strategy: they looked to the British Empire for guidance and transferred know-how on a wide range of issues from colonial administration to colonial military policies to urban planning and social engineering. They also used the experience of the transcontinental empire to develop a durable basis for a colonial policy in accordance with established precedents and traditions.

This dual positioning of the American colonialism was embedded in the cultural context of a comparatively insular empire built on accepted traditions, myths, and practices that had celebrated westward expansion as a formative factor in the rise of an exceptional nation. The cultural production of the West entailed a measure of racism and social Darwinism as part of a frontier myth that permeated nineteenth-century American society. This myth found its cultural outlet in a wide range of cultural artifacts ranging from dime novels to ethnographic displays and Wild West reenactments. The overseas empire prompted an equally impressive outpouring of travelogues, poems, and novels that not only introduced Americans to the conditions in the new possessions but also integrated the colonial adventure into the national tradition of expansion. In addition, international expositions and world fairs, such as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, served as a popular platform for imperial propaganda in the years leading up to World War I. These fairs illustrated and interpreted America's overlapping expansionist projects for a mass audience in a

meaningful way and provided a synthesis of the driving forces, aspirations, and manifestations of American history from the founding to the early twentieth-century. Through the uses of ethnographic displays, American international expositions provided national self-assurance and suggested multiple linkages and continuities between the westward continental expansion and the late nineteenth century colonial acquisitions. As the United States consolidated its international position, Americans became more assertive and reinvigorated their claim to exceptional national development. Despite continued close association between Britain and the United States, Americans increasingly rejected the British Empire as a trusted reference point, underlined the violent and exploitative attitude of European colonial powers, and boasted the transformational accomplishments of U.S. colonial rule. By World War I, this claim to a unique and temporary imperial role coincided with an increasing disillusionment of the American public with the colonial project, a growing belief in the benefits of decolonization, and a renewed interest in the advantages of informal rule from strategic positions of strength that soon became the hallmark of the "American Century." See also Appendix Words and Deeds, Docs. 4, 7; Anglo-American War; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; Mahan, Alfred Thayer; Navalism; Roosevelt, Theodore; Root, Elihu; Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

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FRANK SCHUMACHER

Uruguay

Uruguay, known as the *Banda Oriental* or Eastern Bank during South America's colonial era, had developed in tandem with Argentina as a center of extensive ranching and mercantile trade. Its ports were rivals to Buenos Aires, the regional capital that dominated the region's trade and its politics. When Spanish authority in Buenos Aires weakened after 1806, Montevideo became a center of Loyalist

sentiment despite the port city's dependence on illegal trade with Portuguese and British merchants.

The collapse of the Spanish monarchy in the wake of Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1807 transformed the military and political conditions in Uruguay. Beginning in 1811, popular forces in the rural areas surrounding Montevideo rebelled. Under the leadership of José Gervasio Artigas, the rebels joined with an invading army from Argentina and surrounded the port. Concerns about the ambitions of the independence movement in Buenos Aires led Artigas and his army to abandon the siege. When Montevideo surrendered in 1814, Uruguay in turn rebelled against the government of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata.

Artigas declared a social revolution that promised broader political participation and the distribution of land to Native Americans, people of mixed race heritage, and the landless poor. He also promoted federalism, which helped him gain allies in the interior provinces of Argentina. The radical nature of his proposals and his military achievements, however, also produced powerful enemies. Paraguay, under the dictatorial leadership of Jose Rodríguez Gaspar de Francia, moved to separate Uruguay from its allies in northern Argentina. The Imperial government of Portugal, displaced to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil by Napoleon's invasion of Iberia, moved to quell rebellions in its southern territories.

Although Artigas did retake Montevideo in 1815, a major invasion by Portuguese forces reduced his army and forced him into exile after 1818. Uruguay fell under Portuguese authority until 1825, when a nationalist rebellion set in motion a war that would pit Argentina against Portuguese Brazil. Negotiations led to the creation of an independent Uruguay in 1828. The country's final borders would not be secured until the defeat of Paraguay in the War of the Triple Alliance, 1864–1870. *See also* Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire.

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DANIEL K. LEWIS

V

Valikhanov, Chokan Chinggisovich (1835–1865)

Widely considered the first Western-trained Kazakh intellectual, Valikhanov was important for furthering imperial connections between the Russians and Kazakh peoples. He worked closely with, and received the financial support of, the Russian Geographical Society and traveled widely across Semirech'e, Eastern Turkestan, and Lake Issyk-kul regions, documenting both the natural environment and describing the peoples whom he encountered in his journeys. Valikhanov also collected and produced the first written translation in Russian of the Kyrgyz epic poem "Manas."

Valikhanov's ancestors included his grandfather, who was a Kazakh khan, and his father, who served the Russian imperial administration in Siberia. He was educated at the imperial Russian city of Omsk at the Siberian Cadets Corps Institute, which was considered the best educational institution in the region in those years. While there Valikhanov studied Western languages and developed a particular interest in ethnography. In 1856, he met Petr Semenov Tian-shanskii, who recommended to the Russian administration that Valikhanov be used in spying and diplomatic missions to Eastern Turkistan, particularly to Kashgar. This was considered an extremely dangerous mission, but one that he was well suited for because of his knowledge of the cultures and languages of this region. Chokan disguised himself on this mission to blend in with the Kashgar environs.

During the latter 1850s and early 1860s, Valikhanov traveled around the Kazakh steppe and collected information on the history and culture of the Kazakhs and during this time cultivated a close personal relationship with exiled Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky. Both men spent time in and around the city of Semipalatinsk, discussing history, literature, and other subjects. In 1861, Valikhanov chose to return to his home in the Semipalatinsk region after the onset of illness. During his final years, he continued to write and to collect information, which was published posthumously as his *Collected Works* by the Kazakh Academy of Sciences. He advised the Russian government against dealing with nomadic peoples the same way as other subjects of the empire. He argued that if they were dealt with on their own unique terms, the imperial relationship would be more fruitful. Valikhanov died in 1865 of lung complications. *See also* Russian Empire; Turkestan.

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SCOTT C. BAILEY

Venezuelan Crisis (1895)

A border dispute that occasioned a confrontation between Britain and the **United States**. For the most part the jungle-covered boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela had never been properly surveyed, so the discovery of gold would suddenly make it a hotly disputed area. Venezuela broke diplomatic relations with London, and Britain's aggressive attitude in the controversy, as well as her refusal to arbitrate, represented from the American perspective a challenge to the time-honored Monroe Doctrine. In the hope of increasing U.S. influence in Latin America, Secretary of State Richard Olney decided to take a firm stance and forcefully warned London on July 20, 1895, that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. [. . .] because in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all other powers."

The haughty language reflected a new self-confidence, and the American public applauded as expected this vigorous twisting of the lion's tail. Republican expansionists and nationalists heartily supported the Democratic administration of Grover Cleveland. Britain's condescending response to Olney's note raised a jingoistic flurry across the Atlantic and even prompted short-lived rumors of war. President Cleveland further dramatized the issue in his Annual Message to Congress of December 1895, when he asked for funding for a survey crew and hinted at the possible use of armed force.

If in the end Britain agreed to arbitration, it was not out of fear of American might but because the Boer crisis in South Africa demanded her attention. British restraint also evidenced the incipient Anglo-American rapprochement and London's shift in world priorities, notably its admission of Washington's paramount interest in the Americas, recognized as its natural sphere of influence. *See also* Monroe Doctrine.

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SERGE RICARD

Venizelos, Eleutherios (1864–1936)

A dynamic Greek statesman who presided over transformation of **Greece** from a tiny and poor kingdom to a modern and enlarged state in a matter of years. Divisions between himself and the monarch, King Constantine, over the participation of Greece in World War I undid much of his major achievements.

After studying law in Athens, Venizelos founded the Liberal Party in Crete and in 1896 led the movement against Ottoman rule. In 1909, Venizelos decided to

enter the Greek parliament, but in August a group of disgruntled Greek military officers presented an ultimatum to the Athens government demanding military and political reorganization that precipitated the government's collapse. The Military League was inexperienced and called on Venizelos. He established a National Assembly that revised the constitution and led the league to dissolve. Elected to parliament in August 1910, within two months he became the prime minister. When the old leaders obstructed him, Venizelos coolly called an election in which his Liberal Party won 300 of the 364 seats. He then instituted reforms. In 1911, the British were contracted to reorganize the navy, the French the army, and the Italians the gendarmerie.

Venizelos's ambition to see a modern, liberal Greece take its place alongside other Mediterranean powers gathered pace. Because of his prudence in shaking-up the army and fleet, the country was prepared for the **Balkan Wars** of 1912 and 1913 and was able to seize parts of Epirus, **Macedonia**, and some of the Aegean Islands. Prince Constantine became king after the assassination of his father, King George I, in 1913. Although in 1914 Venizelos supported an alliance with the Entente, believing that Britain and France would win the war, Constantine wanted to remain neutral. Venizelos resigned in February 1915.

Venizelos's party again won the elections and formed a government, although he promised to remain neutral. Bulgaria's attack on Serbia, with which Greece had an alliance treaty, obliged him to abandon that policy. Again the king disagreed, and again Venizelos resigned. He did not take part in the next election, as he considered parliament's dissolution unconstitutional.

In 1916, Venizelos's supporters organized a military movement in Thessaloniki, called the Temporary Government of National Defense. There they founded a new state including northern Greece and Aegean Islands. On May 1917, after the exile of Constantine, Venizelos returned to Athens and allied with the Entente. After the war he took part in Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and signed, as Greece's representative, the Treaty of Neuilly in November 1919 and the Treaty of Sèvres in August 1920.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Vera Cruz Incident

See Tampico and Vera Cruz Incidents

Vereeniging, Treaty of (1902)

The treaty bringing the Boer War to an end in May 1902, following a number of abortive efforts to find a compromise between the Afrikaner Republics and the British government. Many Boer commandos wished to continue fighting to preserve their independence but, when they convened at Vereeniging on May 15, the 60 Boer representatives reluctantly agreed to accept the British terms. The Afrikaner governments met Lords **Kitchener** and **Milner** at Pretoria on May 31 and signed the treaty concluding the war.

The Afrikaner Republics of the **Orange Free State** and **Transvaal** lost their independence, but their white citizens had full rights in South Africa and came to dominate its politics. The guerrillas were to receive an amnesty unless they had committed offenses “contrary to the usages of war.” The Boer farmers were compensated for their losses and given livestock for their burned-out farms. Originally, the British said they would provide the Afrikaners with £3 million for reconstruction by giving, at least, £25 to every Boer who had suffered. In practice, the distribution was often unfair because it was hurried so that the 200,000 Boer farmers could be sent homewards to plant harvests as quickly as possible. On the other hand, the daughter of the Boer leader, General Smuts, estimated that, in the end, compensation amounted to £9.5 million.

This was, no doubt, poor recompense for the destruction and for the sufferings of the Boer families who had been removed from their farms and concentrated in camps to prevent them from helping the commandos. But the compensation was unique in this period; it had, for example, been the vanquished Chinese who had to compensate the victorious Japanese in 1895. Britain’s relative generosity stemmed from the desire of the Conservatives to build up the new country and from the guilt felt by many about the destruction of the small Boer Republics.

What the treaty did not do was protect the rights of the Africans. Indeed Article 8 promised that “the question of granting the Franchise to Natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.” The war had increased the bitterness between the Africans and the Afrikaners, not least because the Boers complained of African attacks, while the Africans protested Boer brutality. To that extent it was a flawed treaty, but its generosity to the defeated was rightly held up 17 years later by one of the Boer leaders, General Botha as an example to be followed at the negotiations that followed World War I. *See also* Boer Wars; British Empire; Cape Colony.

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PHILIP TOWLE

Verona, Congress of (1822)

The last full meeting of the **Congress System**, its main item of business a proposal by France to send an expeditionary force into Spain to crush a liberal rebellion. Castlereagh was not present to represent Britain—having taken his own life shortly before he was due to depart Britain—so that the Duke of **Wellington** became the British delegate. Prince **Metternich** of Austria supported the French intervention, in large part to keep the support of Tsar **Alexander I** of Russia, but Wellington opposed intervention on behalf of a restoration in Spain both to maintain Britain’s alliance with it and to keep Spanish ports open to commerce. In this, Wellington was representing the policy of Britain’s new foreign secretary, George **Canning**, but he was also personally annoyed at a conference resolution that he deemed misleading regarding the intention of the continental powers in Spain. He therefore withdrew from the conference.

When French troops then marched into Spain the next year, Canning's government declared that its sympathies were with the rebels, thereby signaling the rupture of the Congress System. Equally, Canning sought to avoid both a royalist restoration anywhere in the Spanish Americas and any Russian intervention in that hemisphere, so it was partly at the prodding of Canning that John Quincy Adams, the American secretary of state, drafted the **Monroe Doctrine** against any and all European intervention in the Americas. *See also* Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Vicksburg, Siege of (1862–1863)

A pivotal action of the **American Civil War**. Vicksburg, Mississippi lies on high bluffs above the eastern bank of the Mississippi River. In May 1862, Confederate forces began fortifying the bluffs at Vicksburg with artillery to block Union passage on the Mississippi River. Union naval forces attacked the city and its fortifications but were unable to capture the city. Confederate operations against Union supply and artillery forces on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi River were without lasting success.

Above Vicksburg, the mouth of the Yazoo River was guarded by Fort Pemberton. The Yazoo River was the entryway to a delta land rich in cotton production. During the fall and winter of 1862 and into the spring of 1863, Union forces commanded by General Ulysses S. Grant fought a number of engagements against Confederate Major General John C. Pemberton. The latter was inhibited in his operations because he had been issued conflicting orders by General Joseph E. Johnston and by President Jefferson Davis.

Grant drove the Confederates out of the Mississippi capital of Jackson on May 14 and then defeated Pemberton at Champion Hill on May 16 and Big Black River the following day, forcing Pemberton into Vicksburg. In June 1863, the attempt by Johnston to relieve Vicksburg was blocked by superior Union forces. In Vicksburg nine miles of Confederate earthen fortifications protected 30,000 troops. Outside were 12 miles of Union earth works with 50,000 soldiers. Continual bombardments by heavy Union guns took a heavy toll of civilians, soldiers, and the dwindling livestock. Vicksburg surrendered on July 4, 1863. The news of the fall of Vicksburg was paired with the Union victory at **Gettysburg**. In Europe it spelled the end of Confederate hopes for European support.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

Victor Emmanuel II (1820–1878)

The King of **Piedmont-Sardinia** (1849–1861) and **Italy** (1861–1878), Victor Emmanuel II of Savoy assumed the throne of Piedmont after the Austrians defeated

his father Charles Albert at the Battle of Novara in March 1849 and forced him to abdicate. The former king had been a leader in the effort to unify the peninsula, but his delay in intervening on behalf of Milan cost him and the House of Savoy much good will and aroused suspicion of his real intentions. When Turin rose in the revolutionary fervor that gripped Italy in February and March 1848, Charles Albert granted his kingdom a constitution and prepared to help the Milanese defend themselves against the Austrians. With aid arriving from the other Italian states, Charles Albert preferred to delay for the right moment to strike. Some Liberals saw in this move a monarch's attempt to undermine a popular revolution. The resulting in-fighting weakened the revolutionary governments and allowed the Austrians to take Venice and Milan, and defeat the Piedmontese.

Victor Emmanuel II had to be extremely careful in dealing with the Austrians, who demanded the negation of the constitution, and the radicals, who wanted him to keep it. The king did not enjoy the goodwill of republicans who believed his father had betrayed the cause, and so had to worry about an insurrection. But he had no intention of revoking the constitution or of losing control of the monarchy. Instead, the king cracked down on the radicals in parliament by issuing the famous Moncalieri Proclamation of 1849, stating that if parliament was not to his liking, he would not be held responsible for its future. The ploy worked, because the subsequent election brought a group of moderate reformers, led by Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, to power. Cavour quickly came to the king's attention as a hard-headed politician who would do whatever it took to achieve unification, and so the king asked Cavour to form a government in 1852. Cavour did exactly what Victor Emmanuel wanted and unified Italy under the Kingdom of Piedmont. *See also* Victor Emmanuel III.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Victor Emmanuel III (1869–1947)

King of Italy from 1900–1947, Victor Emmanuel III of Savoy came to the throne in July 1900 at the age of 29 after his father, Umberto I, was assassinated by the anarchist Gaetano Bresci. The ascension of this young prince occurred at a critical junction in Italy's political life, near the end of constitutional government and a possible military dictatorship. The collapse of the Crispi government in 1896 had demonstrated the weakness of Italy's political consensus. The political right was opposed by a growing socialist movement, which had made gains in parliament amid political violence unleashed by extremists. General Luigi Pelloux, head of the current government, circumvented parliament to deal with the problems by having King Umberto issue royal decrees. In June, this practice was declared unconstitutional so the government demanded new parliamentary elections hoping to bypass the opposition. When he lost the vote, Italy was on the verge of a coup.

Victor Emmanuel III abandoned the reactionary politics of his father and embraced a policy of political reconciliation and governmental reform. He appointed a well-known reformer, one of the leaders of the parliamentarian alliance that opposed Pelloux, Zanardelli to form the new government. When Zanardelli

retired for health reasons, the king appointed his deputy, Giovanni Giolitti. While politics of the son and father were different, it was their character that was even more remarkably different. Umberto was larger than life, romantic, decisive, and unafraid to enter politics. Not so Victor Emmanuel who could be very indecisive and timid.

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLLO

Victoria, Queen of Great Britain (1819–1901)

Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1837 until her death, Victoria was the central icon of the nineteenth-century **British Empire**. A granddaughter through one of the younger sons of **George III**, she inherited the throne at the age of 18 on the death of her uncle William IV. Raised in deliberate isolation from her scandal-ridden Hanoverian relatives, she was initially popular, and her tutors made a deliberate point of emphasizing her Englishness, in contradistinction to the German heritage of her ancestors. Although later in her reign Victoria acquired a reputation for being pro-Tory, she was initially influenced by her first prime minister, the Whig Lord Melbourne. Victoria married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, to whom she was devoted, in 1840. Victoria had nine children, many of whom married into other royal families, with the result that by the end of her reign, she had some familial connection to most of the royal houses in Europe. Victoria's eldest son became **Edward VII**. Albert's death in 1861 plunged Victoria into a deep depression, from which she emerged only slowly and grudgingly. Her reluctance to perform her royal duties led to a brief republican movement in the early 1870s, led by among others Sir Charles **Dilke**.

Victoria took a particular liking to the Tory prime minister of that decade, Benjamin **Disraeli**, a liking accentuated by the **Royal Titles Act**, making her Empress of India. She also developed, and failed entirely to dissemble, a dislike for William **Gladstone**; she was more comfortable with his successor, the Tory peer Lord **Salisbury**. Victoria fostered a close relationship between the crown and military, taking a close interest in the campaigns and in the welfare of the soldiery during the **Crimean War** and again during the Boer War of 1899–1902, and taking a personal part in the creation of the Victoria Cross during the former. Victoria did much to create the image of the royal family as an exemplar of bourgeois domesticity, notwithstanding the racier life led by her son, Edward VII. Victoria's silver and diamond jubilees of 1887 and 1897 were celebrations not merely of her reign but of the empire. An imperial theme, complete with colorful displays and troops from around the empire, was deliberately chosen for the diamond jubilee of 1897. For a woman who lived through years of massive change, her name remains somewhat unfairly associated with old-fashioned prudery; her name is more accurately associated with imperial Britain at its height. *See also* Boer Wars.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Vienna, Congress of (1815)

A major international conference held in the Austrian capital from September 1814 to June 1815, the Congress of Vienna convened to consider the multifarious political problems to be tackled at the end of the **Napoleonic Wars**, particularly the reconstruction of Europe. The principal delegates included Count **Metternich** representing Austria, Tsar **Alexander I** and several advisors from Russia, Lord **Castlereagh** and the Duke of Wellington present for Britain, King Frederick William III and Count Hardenberg representing **Prussia**, and Prince **Talleyrand** from France. Most of the important decisions were reached by the four major victorious powers, although Talleyrand managed to have France included in much of the process, not least by playing off one side against the other and sowing the seeds of suspicion between states with rival claims. Each seeking to satisfy a different agenda, practically every European state, large and small, sent a representative to plead its case respecting a range of issues including borders, political claims, financial compensation, and commercial rights.

In the settlement reached on June 9, 1815, the congress declared the creation of two new countries: the Kingdom of the **Netherlands**, to include Holland, **Belgium**, and Luxembourg; and the **German Confederation**, to comprise 39 states with no central governing body and only tenuous links to one another. It also created the kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, over which Austria was to exercise strong influence, with Francis I as king. **Poland** was restored, albeit in a reduced form of its eighteenth-century self and under direct Russian administration. The old dynasties of a number of states were restored: Spain, Naples, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Modena. The Swiss Confederation was reestablished and its permanent neutrality guaranteed. Austrian domains increased as a result of the annexation of Dalmatia, Carniola, Salzburg, and Galicia. Prussia annexed Posen, Danzig, much of the former Kingdom of Saxony, large parts of former Westphalia, and **Sweden's** possessions in Pomerania on the Baltic coast of Germany. In return, Sweden received **Norway**. Britain retained a number of conquests including **Malta**, **Heligoland**, **Cape Colony** in southern Africa, Ceylon, Tobago, St. Lucia, and **Mauritius**. The Ionian Islands, including Corfu, were granted to Britain as a protectorate, with effect for nearly 50 years.

The congress also guaranteed the free navigation of the Rhine and the Meuse, condemned the **slave trade**, extended the civil rights of Jews, particularly in Germany, and established the precedent of international conferences as a diplomatic device in seeking redress and settling disputes between nations.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Vladivostok

An important Russian city and port in the Far East. Vladivostok occupies a natural basin dominating the tip of the Muravyov-Amursky Peninsula on the Sea of

Japan. Vladivostok means “ruler of the east” in Russian, a name chosen upon the establishment of a Russian military post there in 1860, shortly after the territory was acquired from Qing China with the Treaty of Aigun in 1858 and Conventions of Beijing in 1860. Vladivostok became a port in 1862 and a city in 1880. From 1871, it was also the headquarters of the Russian Far Eastern Fleet. With the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1905, the city was linked with St. Petersburg. This, combined with the Russian loss of Port Arthur to Japan in 1905, soon made Vladivostok the major Russian port in the Far East. From 1905 to 1907, the city was the site of serious uprisings by workers and soldiers that contributed to Russia’s prerevolutionary crisis. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War.

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DANIEL C. KANE

W

Wagner, Richard (1813–1883)

Richard Wagner was a German composer who was controversial in his own time and beyond. Wagner wrote 13 operas, mostly with themes from Germanic mythology, among them *Lohengrin*, *Tannhäuser*, *Parsifal*, *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tristan and Isolde*, and *The Ring of the Nibelung*. Wagner is not only famous because of his compositions and an astonishing number of books and articles, but also because of his influence on German culture. According to his contemporary, Nietzsche, this influence was, in the end, malignant, incorporating *reichsdeutsch* nationalism and anti-Semitism. His name has appeared in connection to almost all major trends in German history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *See also* German Empire.

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MARTIN MOLL

Wagram, Battle of (1809)

The decisive battle of Napoleon **Bonaparte**'s campaign of 1809 against Austria. Wagram was a costly, slogging match fought only days after the French emperor's first defeat at **Aspern-Essling**. The French had already captured Vienna on May 13, but the main Austrian army under Archduke **Charles** remained concentrated on the north bank of the Danube. After Napoleon crossed the river, on July 5 Charles attempted to turn the French left in an effort to prevent him from withdrawing back across the Danube. After the first day's indecisive fighting, on the second day Napoleon tried to envelop the Austrian left, while Charles attempted to do the same to his opponent. Charles made little progress, but the French gained ground against staunch resistance and determined counterattacks. After massing artillery against the Austrian center, Napoleon unleashed a massive infantry attack and drove in Charles's center. The Austrians withdrew in good order, with losses of more than 60,000 casualties; the French lost about 40,000. *See also* Habsburg Empire; Napoleonic Wars.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Wahhabi/Wahhabism

An Islamic sect named for Muhammad Abd al Wahhab, who was born at 'Uyaynah in central Arabia in 1703. His father was a local Islamic judge (*qadi*) and a follower of the Hanbali school of Islamic law. Wahhab became an Islamic judge. While studying at Medina he read the works of Taqiyyudin Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328). Wahhab was concerned about what he believed was a decline in Muslim strength. In Taymiyyah, he found inspiration for dealing with Islamic spiritual decay and methods of religious reform.

According to Wahhab's analysis of the times, the weakness of Islam was caused by a weakening of the monotheistic purity of the faith. The solution was to put great emphasis upon *tawid*, or the unity of Allah. With *tawid* as his chief guide, Wahhab initiated a global Islamic reform movement. Wahhab's teachings might have come to naught had he not met the military champion of his movement, Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud. In 1744, Wahhab moved to Dar'iyah, a small village in east central Arabia area of Najd. He encouraged enforcement of *tawid*, and *jihad* against those with a different Islamic theology.

Muhammad Ibn Saud died in 1766. He was succeeded by his son Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud and the by his grandson Sa'ud Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, who carried on the Wahhabi movement. Wahhab died at Dar'iyah in 1792, but in the early 1800s the Wahhabi army captured the Hejaz cities of Mecca and Medina. They "purified" them of the buildings, books, and other things that were offensive to *tawid*. The activities of the Wahhabi were viewed by the Sultan in Turkey as a challenge to his spiritual leadership. He sent Mehmet Ali to Arabia to fight the Wahhabi. In 1818, Ali defeated the Wahhabi and destroyed Dar'iyah. He sent Abd al-Aziz to Istanbul where he was beheaded. In the following decades of the nineteenth century, the Al-Saud family continued to follow the teachings of Wahhab. In 1902, Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, a direct descendant of both al-Wahhab and the first Ibn Saud, captured the city of Riyadh.

In the decades that followed Ibn Saud organized a band of Wahhabi warriors, the *Ikhwan*, or brotherhood. With them he unified much of the Arabian Peninsula. During World War I, he made an alliance with the British to fight against the Turks. *See also* Ottoman Empire.

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ANDREW JACKSON WASKEY

Waitangi, Treaty of

See New Zealand

Wales

Comprising the western peninsula of the island of Britain, Wales was officially part of England since 1536. The last independent Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, died in 1283, after which Wales was administered directly by England and in 1536 was joined to England by the Act of Union. Even though the majority of Welsh people spoke Welsh as a first language, there was no longer any official difference between the two countries. The government was the same, the established church was the same, and only English could be used as an official language in the law courts. As a comparatively remote and rural part of the British Isles, Wales was not much affected by the early stages of British imperialism. Some Welsh people called Dissenters, however, did move to the American colonies for religious reasons, especially to Pennsylvania.

The Industrial Revolution transformed the British Isles and was the engine of growth behind British imperialism. This transformation was not just economic but also political and social. Its end result was the creation of a global economic system with the imperialist countries at its center. Wales was intimately connected to this growth of imperialism and was itself transformed as part of the process. The rich coalfields of south and northeast Wales provided a large percentage of the energy, which fueled the industrial revolution. They also made these areas centers for steel and other industrial production, as well as major shipping and trading centers. These in turn created a large demand for industrial labor. Initially this demand was met from within Wales, but increasingly workers moved to Wales from other parts of Britain. At the beginning, Welsh remained the language of work and of religious and social occasions. These industrial regions were Welsh in language and strongly involved in both religious and labor union organization. Welsh remained dominant in religious life, but over time English became the more important language. English was the language of influence in this industrial and imperialist world, and it opened new horizons for many Welsh people in Britain and the empire. The Welsh were active in industrial organization. They also took their skills with them to other parts of the British Empire and to the United States. The education of this workforce was addressed by the Education Act of 1870, which required school attendance. Education was compulsory and it was in English. Wales was still distinctive, but it was at the center of the industrial British Empire and was proud of its place in this empire.

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MICHAEL THOMPSON

War of 1812

See Anglo-American War (1812–1815)

War of Liberation

See Liberation, War of

War of the Pacific (1879–1882)

A conflict waged by Chile against Bolivia and Peru over control of the Atacama Desert, a region rich in deposits of nitrates newly being used by the explosives industry. In 1873, Bolivia and Peru made a secret alliance to protect their access to the Atacama; in 1875 Peru seized control of Chilean nitrate companies on what it deemed to be its territory. When Bolivia followed suit three years later, the Chilean president, Anibal Pinto, declared war on both countries in April 1879.

The war's first engagements were at sea—hence its name—but after the Chilean navy had taken the Peruvian port of Callao and blockaded Bolivia's Pacific coast, Chilean land forces marched inland and defeated a combined Peruvian-Bolivian force near Iquique. Bolivia was out the war quickly thereafter, but the Chileans were required to campaign against the Peruvian capital, Lima, to prevail. They took Lima in January 1881. The **United States** mediated treaties in 1883 and 1884, officially ending hostilities. Chile gained territory from both states, but Bolivia was the main loser insofar as the Treaty of Valparaiso blocked its access to the Pacific.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Wars of the Coalitions (1792–1815)

See Napoleonic Wars

Washington, Treaty of (1871)

An agreement settling several outstanding issues involving Britain, **Canada**, and the **United States**. British and American delegates met in Washington in 1871 to address financial compensation for American ship owners' losses caused by the British-built and equipped Confederate commerce-raider *C.S.S. Alabama*; the Pacific coast boundary in the Straits of Georgia; and American inshore fishing rights in Newfoundland. The final treaty was signed on May 8, 1871. Most of the issues were put to arbitration, with the United States receiving possession of the San Juan Islands, \$15.5 million as settlement of the *Alabama* claims, and limited inshore fishing rights. In return, Canada received free access for its fish to American markets. The Washington Treaty is notable for three features. It was the first time a Canadian delegate—Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald—represented Canadian interests in foreign affairs. It recognized the principle of putting contentious international issues to arbitration by third parties. Finally, it codified the responsibilities of neutrals during a war at sea. *See also* British Empire.

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DAVID H. OLIVIER

Waterloo, Battle of (1815)

The most decisive battle of the **Napoleonic Wars**. Waterloo brought a final end to Napoleon **Bonaparte's** reign and the military threat posed by France since 1792.

Fought in **Belgium** between Napoleon's army and an Anglo-Allied force under Field Marshal the Duke of **Wellington**, aided by elements of the Prussian army under Field Marshal Gerhard von **Blücher**, Waterloo demonstrated nothing of the finesse of earlier Napoleonic battles: it was a slogging match, pure and simple. On June 17, Wellington deployed his army on a low rise called Mont St. Jean, south of Brussels, with many of his troops concealed behind the reverse slope. On the following morning the French had approximately 72,000 men arrayed against 68,000 British, Hanoverians, and Dutch-Belgians under Wellington, who counted on the support of tens of thousands of Prussians engaged at the same time against Marshal Grouchy at Wavre, nine miles to the east.

Fruitlessly waiting for the ground to dry out after the previous night's rain, Napoleon opened the engagement around 11:30 A.M. by launching General Reille's corps against the farm of Hougoumont, a heavily fortified position in Wellington's center right. This was intended to serve as a mere diversion to draw in the Duke's reserves while the main French thrust was to be made by d'Erlon's corps. In fact, the French attack on Hougoumont unwittingly intensified, attracting more and more French infantry to the fighting with no decisive result. D'Erlon advanced at 2:00 P.M., only to be driven off in disorder by counterattacking cavalry, which, after cutting through the infantry, advanced far behind French lines where they were largely destroyed. To the east, the Prussians began to reach the fringes of the battlefield—albeit in piece-meal fashion—thus obliging Napoleon to detach a corps under Count Lobau in the center to delay them at Plancenoit.

Then, inexplicably, Marshal Michel Ney, the de facto commander in the field, proceeded to launch most of the reserve cavalry, unsupported by infantry and artillery, against the Allied center. Numerous attempts to break the British infantry, all safely deployed in squares, failed, with massive losses to Napoleon's mounted arm. By 5:30 P.M. the charges had ceased, with nothing to show for their effort but gallantry on a grand scale. At the same time, although elements of Napoleon's Imperial Guard had thus far managed to hold off the Prussians at the village of Plancenoit on the French right flank, steadily increasing numbers of Blücher's men were beginning to bear against weakening resistance. Allied victory was by no means assured, however, for the fortified farm of La Haye Sainte, in Wellington's center, fell to the French in the late afternoon, leaving a large gap in the Allied line. Wellington managed to shift troops to avert catastrophe, and by the time Napoleon had ordered forward the Imperial Guard around 7:30 P.M., the opportunity to exploit his temporary success had been lost. In the event, when these elite troops were repulsed by point-blank musket and artillery fire—a catastrophe rendered still more calamitous by the knowledge that the Prussians were now on the field in strength—French morale broke all along the line, with whole formations dissolving in the ensuing rout. Napoleon fled the field, leaving behind 25,000 killed and wounded and 8,000 prisoners; Wellington lost 15,000 killed and wounded, and the Prussians suffered approximately 7,000 casualties. *See also* Ligny, Battle of; Prussia; Quatre Bras, Battle of.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842)

A pact between the **United States** and Great Britain regarding the Canadian-American border, the illegal slave trade, and nonpolitical extraditions. Negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster and British Minister Alexander Baring, First Baron Ashburton, the agreement was signed August 9, ratified by the U.S. Senate on August 20, and proclaimed on November 10, 1842.

Anglo-American relations had badly frayed by 1840. The boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, and from Lake Superior to Lake of the Woods, remained unresolved. Enforcement of the ban on slave trading brought the two nations into conflict. Furthermore, the United States refused to extradite a Canadian involved in sinking a gun-running vessel on the Niagara River. By 1842, however, the two nations realized the mutual benefits of compromise. The treaty set the boundary between New Brunswick and Maine, New York and Quebec at Lake Champlain, and Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods; provided for British-American naval cooperation in pursuing slavers; and established the principle of extradition in nonpolitical criminal cases. The treaty was a boon to Anglo-American relations. In addition the United States improved the security of its northern border and gained thousands of square miles, including Minnesota's rich Mesabi iron fields. *See also* Canada; Oregon Question; Rush-Bagot Treaty.

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KENNETH J. BLUME

Weihaiwei

A port city and Chinese naval base in Shantung province. It was briefly seized by the Japanese in the **Sino-Japanese War** from 1894 to 1895 and leased by Britain in 1898. Regarded as a purely "cartographic consolation" by Lord **Salisbury** for the acquisition of **Kiaochow** and **Port Arthur** by Germany and Russia, Weihaiwei was ruled by only a handful of British officials, preserving traditional Chinese institutions long after modernizing reforms had swept them away in China herself. The port was nonetheless useful for monitoring the activity of both Germany and Russia in the region. In 1902, Britain then looked to Japan for help in shielding Manchuria and Korea from Russian encroachment. Weihaiwei was handed back to China in 1930. *See also* Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Japanese Empire; Russian Empire.

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NIELS P. PETERSSON

Wellesley, Richard Colley (1760–1842)

The eldest brother of Arthur Wellesley, Duke of **Wellington**. Richard Wellesley became the second earl of Mornington on the death of his father. He served as

governor-general of **India** from 1797 to 1805, during which time he defeated the Mahrathas and conquered Mysore, largely with his brother Arthur in command of the forces of the Crown and the East India Company. During Wellesley's tenure, British India expanded to include the Carnatic and part of Oudh, although Wellesley's frequent disagreements with the directors of the East India Company obliged him to return to Britain in 1805. He was appointed ambassador to Spain in 1809 and served simultaneously until 1812 as foreign secretary. From 1821–1828 and again from 1833–1834 he was Lord Lieutenant of **Ireland**. *See also* East India Companies.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769–1852)

With the possible exception of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Wellington was Britain's greatest general, with an almost uninterrupted string of battlefield successes, most notably at **Waterloo** in 1815, in the Iberian Peninsula and southern France (1808–1814) during the **Napoleonic Wars**. Wellington made his name first in **India** in 1797–1805 where he won two notable victories against the Mahrathas before serving briefly as chief secretary of **Ireland** in 1807–1809.

In 1808, he was sent to Portugal and the next year became commander-in-chief of Allied forces in the peninsula. He successively drove back the French, most notably at Salamanca on July 22, 1812, and Vitoria on June 21, 1813, demonstrating a masterful use of tactics and topography while almost always commanding a numerically inferior force. After Waterloo he became ambassador to France and later served briefly as prime minister from 1828–1830, during which time he brought in the bill for Catholic emancipation. *See also* Maratha Wars; Peninsular War; Verona, Congress of; Wellesley, Richard Colley.

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GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

Weltpolitik

A concept of foreign policy emerging in the late nineteenth century in Imperial Germany against the background of the country's rise as a major industrial and trading nation. Coming out of the period of retarded economic growth known as the Great Depression of 1873–1895, German entrepreneurs were pushing for the acquisition of colonies in search of raw materials and markets for their goods. Already in the 1880s, Reich chancellor Otto von **Bismarck** had responded to these pressures and, in the larger context of the European "scramble for colonies," had acquired

territories in Africa and Asia. His successors, and Bernhard von Bülow in particular, promoted this overseas expansion even more vigorously after becoming the trusted adviser of Kaiser Wilhelm II, first as foreign secretary and from 1900 as chancellor. He was the person who coined such popular slogans of imperialist power politics as that of Germany seeking “a place in the sun” next to the other Great Powers. In the twentieth century, he added, Germany would either be “the hammer or the anvil” of world politics when it came to a redistribution of colonies and the allocation of territories that had not yet been annexed by the Europeans. Nor did he leave any doubt that he wanted Germany to be a hammer.

Given these claims, there has been a good deal of debate among historians as to the meaning of *Weltpolitik*. In the early years after World War II, most scholars tended to interpret it as some rather aimless yearning for prestige and for recognition of Germany as a latecomer to the international system, especially by Britain, then the dominant power in the world. No doubt *Weltpolitik* lacked precision in the public discourse of the time. But later work, based on newly discovered archival sources, has shown that this indeterminacy was more deliberate and that behind the slogans of the day there was a precise and well-thought-out strategy to make certain that Germany would succeed at the bargaining table when, as was widely expected, there would be a redistribution of colonies in the new century. Thus the ailing Portuguese Empire was thought to be an object of future power-political negotiation.

The kaiser and his advisers in the late 1890s were convinced that the German voice would not be heard unless it was backed up by military might. Although Germany had the strongest army in Europe, it was also clear that it would be useless against British naval power. Only a large German navy would be able to buttress future German claims. This is why it has been argued more recently that *Weltpolitik*, the vagueness of its definition for popular consumption notwithstanding, did have a hardcore plan to expand the Imperial navy into a powerful instrument that was capable of challenging even the Royal Navy. The fate of *Weltpolitik* was therefore inseparably linked to the success or failure of the kaiser’s naval program. By 1910–1911, both had run into serious trouble. In 1909 Bülow lost his job, not least because his *Weltpolitik* diplomacy had led to the isolation of Germany. He could not prevent the conclusion of the Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale* in 1904, nor the formation of the *Triple Entente* of 1907, which brought in Russia. By 1911, it was also evident that the *Tirpitz Plan* was at its end, because the British, suspicious of German naval expansion, had “outbuilt” the kaiser in the arms competition that also began around 1904–1905.

Weltpolitik was now replaced by a retreat by Germany to the European continent. Stepped-up expenditure for the army began to replace the earlier massive funding of the navy. Berlin began to support its only reliable ally, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and developed a siege mentality that contributed to the attempt to break out of the perceived encirclement of this Dual Alliance by Britain, France, and Russia in July 1914. The unleashing of World War I was therefore a preventive strike against France and Russia before the position of the two Central European powers had deteriorated to the point where the armies of the former could no longer be defeated, that is, before it was too late and the latter would become the “anvils” of the great power system. *See also* German Empire; Habsburg Empire; Morocco Crisis; Triple Alliance.

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VOLKER R. BERGHAHN

White Man's Burden

The term *white man's burden* came from Rudyard Kipling's 1899 poem of that name, signifying the idea that empire was a philanthropic duty of the advanced or civilized nations. Kipling directed the injunction at the United States, which, in the Spanish-American War, had for the first time acquired overseas colonies. To many current minds, the idea is repulsively racist, and of course it does use a racial category. It is nevertheless significant that Kipling felt imperialism justified not because it served the metropolitan power but because it served humankind. Earlier generations of imperialists had been more forthrightly self-interested. *See also* Imperialism.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Wilhelm I, Kaiser of Germany (1797–1888)

Wilhelm I was king of Prussia (1861–1888) and German emperor (1871–1888). Born Wilhelm Friedrich Ludwig of Prussia in Berlin, the son of Friedrich Wilhelm III and Queen Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, he served in the Napoleonic Wars and in 1848 used his military experience to help put down the liberal revolts stirring the country. When he ascended the throne of Prussia as Wilhelm I in 1861, he appointed Otto von Bismarck to the office of first Prussian minister and thereby did more for his country in one stroke than the rest of his reign could account for. Bismarck thereafter guided domestic affairs and foreign policy through the wars of German unification and the proclamation of the German Empire in the Hall of Mirrors in January 1871. *See also* German Empire; Hohenzollern Dynasty.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Wilhelm II, Kaiser of Germany (1859–1941)

King of Prussia and German emperor from 1888–1918, Wilhelm was born in Berlin on January 27, 1859. He was the first son of Crown Prince Friedrich of Prussia and his English wife Princess Victoria, a daughter of Queen Victoria. After a troubled birth that left him with a paralyzed left arm, and following a difficult childhood, in which his parents attempted to make up for his physical deficiencies with a harsh upbringing, he came to the throne at the age of 29 on June 15, 1888, following his father's premature death from cancer.

As a young prince, he had begun to reject his parents' liberalism. His reign began with a conflict with Chancellor Otto von **Bismarck**, as the young kaiser was determined to establish his own "personal rule." Wilhelm soon dismissed the aged chancellor who had been reluctant to yield his powers. Following Under Wilhelm's rule, Germany's relations with its European neighbors, previously stabilized by Bismarck's alliance policy, steadily declined, and Europe divided into rival alliances. Despite the monarch's attempts to come to alliance agreements with some of his neighbors, Germany found itself increasingly isolated and unable to win over either Russia or Britain. During several international crises, European relations steadily worsened, and the kaiser's foreign policy made it appear as if Germany were spoiling for a fight. Under his auspices, for example, Germany began to build a powerful navy designed to challenge British naval supremacy, the so-called **Tirpitz Plan**. With the pursuit of *Weltpolitik* and European hegemony, moreover, Wilhelm II and his entourage helped cultivate suspicion of Germany among her neighbors. On several occasions, most notably during the infamous "war council" of December 1912, he demanded war, although in July 1914, when war was almost unavoidable, he advocated mediation between **Serbia** and **Austria-Hungary**.

Wilhelm II appears to have suffered from a number of personality defects that may well have been caused by the difficult circumstances of his birth and upbringing. He was prone to bellicose outbursts and frequently cruel to friends and subordinates. Although many contemporaries attributed him with great intelligence and a quick wit, he was often bored by the business of ruling Germany, preferring to spend his time traveling and indulging in his favorite past-time of hunting. His companions were frequently subjected to his monologues and practical jokes, and his friendship with a number of homosexuals also led to speculation about his own sexuality, although frequent and ill-disguised affairs with women have cast doubt on the theory. He was also prone to anti-Semitic outbursts, and he saw himself in a leading role when it came to defending Europe against the "yellow peril," such as during the **Boxer Insurrection** of 1900.

During the war that he had so often wished for and then shied away from, Wilhelm II's powers were restricted. It has been argued that he was only a "shadow Emperor" from 1914–1818. In particular, he had to compete for public recognition with **Hindenburg** and **Ludendorff** whose military successes had come to overshadow the **Hohenzollern** kaiser's majesty. In November 1918, when the war was lost for Germany, Wilhelm resisted both the call to resign, a move that might have saved the Prussian monarchy, and calls to seek a heroic death on the battlefield. Instead, he sought exile in the neutral **Netherlands**, taking with him a large part of his possessions. After his inglorious flight from Germany, Wilhelm II lived in **Doorn** in the Netherlands for 23 years, hoping for a restoration of the German monarchy, but he never returned to Germany.

Historians have long debated the importance of Wilhelm II's personal rule—whether he was really in a position to determine his own policies, particularly foreign policy, or manipulated by cunning statesmen around him. His role in the events that led to the outbreak of war has also been the subject of historiographical controversy, not least because the victorious Allies of 1918 demanded the Emperor's extradition as a war criminal, considering him "the criminal mainly responsible for the war." In recent years, German historians have begun to accept some of the views of those such as **John C. G. Röhl** who argue for Wilhelm II's pivotal role in German decision making and in the events that led to the outbreak of the World War I,

although a consensus has not yet been reached. *See also* Bülow, Bernhard von; German Empire; Habsburg Empire; July Crisis; Morocco Crisis.

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ANNIKA MOMBAUER

Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924)

The 28th President of the United States (1913–1921), Woodrow Thomas Wilson, the son of Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Janet Woodrow, attended Davidson College, a small Presbyterian school in North Carolina, of which his father was a trustee. Although Wilson was interested in English literature, he nonetheless had a gift for politics and during his last year at college he published an essay, “Cabinet Government in the United States,” in the *International Review*.

In 1885, a book-length expansion of his earlier essay on Congress sold well. Wilson published *The State*, a lengthy textbook analyzing the political nature of society in 1889. He became a professor at Princeton University in 1890 and its president in 1902. Wilson's presidency at Princeton coincided with the advent of the Progressive Era in American politics. His educational reforms were radical, but his social and political outlook remained largely conservative.

Colonel George B. Harvey, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, who was instrumental in shifting Wilson's interests to politics, suggested that Wilson would make a good Democratic presidential candidate. Wilson sought and won the governorship of New Jersey and won the Democratic presidential nomination of 1912, thereafter coasting to an election victory as a result of a split of the Republican vote between President William Howard Taft and the “Bull Moose” candidate, former President Theodore Roosevelt. At the top of Wilson's list of ideas was that of lower tariff rates to free American consumers from artificially protected monopolies. He established the Federal Trade Commission in 1914 to ensure that one company or group of companies did not gain control of an entire industry and force up prices artificially.

Although elected to reform domestic politics, Wilson spent the better part of his tenure dealing with foreign policy. Wilson's predecessors—McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft—viewed the United States as an emerging power and had significantly expanded American influence abroad with the establishment of colonies and protectorates in the Caribbean and Pacific. Wilson did not share their imperial outlook, yet in 1913 he refused to recognize the revolutionary government in Mexico, and he intervened with force repeatedly there and in Central America. With the outbreak of World War I in Europe, Wilson sought to abide by a policy of neutrality, a policy evermore difficult to uphold as American public sentiment sided increasingly with the Entente powers. After Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917, Wilson took the United States to war on the Allied side, yet with the goal above all to “make

the world safe for democracy.” What Wilson sought at the Paris Conference after the war, however, was to make the postwar world unsafe for European imperialism. His Fourteen Points became the foundation of the conference and amounted, taken as whole, to a proposal for the reconstitution of international relations on principles wholly different from those animating European diplomacy between 1800 and 1914. In this he only partly succeeded, even though the application of his doctrine of the self-determination of peoples in effect dismembered the **Habsburg** and **Ottoman Empires**.

Wilson offered not only the most compelling critique of imperialism but also the most thoughtful alternative—a liberal internationalism that served the United States well in the second half of the twentieth century. His belief in international cooperation through an association of nations led to the creation of the League of Nations, an institution hobbled from the outset by the refusal of the Senate to have the United States join it. For his efforts in this direction, he was awarded the 1919 Nobel Peace Prize. Wilson died on February 3, 1924, and was buried in the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C.

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JITENDRA UTTAM

Witte, Sergei (1849–1915)

An outstanding statesman who played a decisive role in the industrialization of the **Russian Empire** before World War I. Witte was born and had spent his childhood in the Caucasus, studied mathematics at the Novorossiysk University in Odessa, and in the 1870s and 1880s started a career in different private enterprises. Because of his administrative skills he was appointed as director of railroad affairs within the ministry of finance between 1889 and 1891 and one year later became minister for transportation.

Witte recognized that an industrialization of the vast empire was not thinkable without railroad construction, and in 1891 he started the greatest project during his career, the construction of Russia’s transcontinental railroad, the **Trans-Siberian Railroad**, and the **Chinese Eastern Railway** through northern **Manchuria**. In 1892, Witte also took over the ministry of finance in which portfolio he attracted loans from France and foreign investment, and he also introduced the gold standard in the Russian Empire in 1897. Under his supervision Russia experienced an economic boom, especially in the sectors of transportation and resource extraction. Because of his strong engagement for an accelerated modernization and gradual penetration of Manchuria, Witte opposed an aggressive policy toward Japan and was ousted from his position in 1903. After Russia’s defeat in the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904–1905, he was instructed by Tsar **Nicholas II** to negotiate the Treaty of **Portsmouth** in which Russia lost her Great Power status in East Asia. During the

Russian Revolution of 1905, Witte advised Nicholas to issue the **October Manifesto** and was appointed prime minister to test his own counsel. Witte put a new constitution and the convocation of Russia's first parliament, the Duma, into action yet simultaneously managed to secure an Anglo-French loan of £80 million, which made the government less dependent on the Duma for finance, and was vigorous in the repression of all open rebellion. Yet all this came too late; as radical left-wing parties got the upper hand in the Duma, Witte lost the support of Nicholas and political reactionaries, and was forced to resign. Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, Witte, remembering the disaster of 1905, warned that the Russian Empire should avoid another conflict or face unavoidable decline.

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EVA-MARIA STOLBERG

Wolseley, Garnet Wolseley, Field Marshal Viscount (1833–1913)

Among the most successful British soldiers of the nineteenth century, Garnet Wolseley was the son of an impecunious Anglo-Irish army officer. Unable to afford a commission, he was granted one by the Duke of **Wellington** on the strength of his father's service. True to his own dictum that it was the duty of an ambitious young officer to try to get himself killed, Wolseley transferred to a regiment going out to Burma, where he both distinguished himself and acquired a leg wound that bothered him for the rest of his life. He served in the **Crimean War**, again with distinction, and then in **India** during and after the **Indian Mutiny** of 1857, and in China during the **Opium War** of 1859–1860. In **Canada** during **American Civil War**, he took the opportunity to visit the headquarters of the Confederate army. Remaining in Canada after the war, he commanded the 1870 Red River expedition against Metis rebels in what became the Canadian province of Manitoba.

In 1869, Wolseley published the *Soldier's Pocket Book*, a manual of military skills that went through many editions and did much to establish Wolseley's reputation as a scientific and reforming officer. Wolseley commanded the British expedition of 1873–1874 against the **Ashanti**, a quick and victorious operation in which British losses—from either enemy action or disease—were few, in stark contrast to many contemporary African expeditions. Following the **Ashanti War** the expression “all Sir Garnet” indicated something well done; Wolseley also became Gilbert and Sullivan's “very model of a modern major-general.” Wolseley was the first governor-general of **Cyprus** after the British annexation of 1878, and then commanded the forces that defeated Colonel Arabi's nationalist rebellion in **Egypt** in 1882. The September 13, 1882, victory at Tel el-Kebir gave an enormous fillip to his reputation. He commanded the unsuccessful relief expedition to the **Sudan** in 1884–1885. Although Wolseley was closely associated with the Liberals, having served at the War Office under the reforming Secretary Edward Cardwell, he was privately scathing about both liberalism and democracy, and never ceased to blame **William Gladstone** for the death of his friend General **Charles Gordon** in Khartoum. Wolseley became commander-in-chief of the British army in 1895, but he was sidelined by illness and old age in 1897. A skillful self-promoter, Wolseley gathered about himself a group of

officers known as the “Wolseley ring,” who simultaneously promoted both army reform and each others’ careers. Wolseley’s significance to the theme of imperialism lies in his service as a normally successful local commander in colonial wars from the 1850s to the 1880s. *See also* Riel Rebellions.

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MARK F. PROUDMAN

Wood, Leonard (1860–1927)

A proconsul in the American Empire created by the **Spanish American War**, Leonard Wood directed civil and military governments in both **Cuba** and the **Philippines**. Wood joined the U.S. Army in 1885 and won the Congressional Medal of Honor for his participation in the final campaign against the Apache Chief Geronimo. At the start of the Spanish-American War, Wood and Theodore **Roosevelt** formed the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, popularly known as the Rough Riders. After the war, General Wood remained as governor of Santiago Province and eventually became military governor of Cuba.

Tasked with setting Cuba on the road to independence, Wood rebuilt the infrastructure; battled sanitation problems, disease, and hunger; and reorganized the Latin government along Anglo-Saxon lines. In close association with Secretary of War Elihu **Root**, Wood held local and national elections and supervised the organization and subsequent work of the Cuban Constitutional Convention. He played a leading role in securing Cuban acceptance of the **Platt Amendment** and in getting the **United States** to negotiate the **Cuban Reciprocity Treaty**. After the inauguration of the new Cuban government, President Roosevelt sent Wood to extend direct American control over the Muslim inhabitants of the Philippines. Wood, determined to make the American presence felt, worked to abrogate the existing **Bates Agreement** and coerce the Moros into respecting American laws, including an end to slavery and piracy. To punish noncompliant Moros, Wood launched the **Moro Punitive Expeditions**. After his service in the Moro Province, Wood became head of the Philippine Division and eventually chief-of-staff of the U.S. Army. In 1920, Wood unsuccessfully ran as a candidate for the Republican nomination for president. He returned to the Philippines as governor-general in 1921 and served in that capacity until his death in 1927.

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JAMES PRUITT

Wounded Knee, Battle of (1890)

In 1890, the U.S. Army went to the Sioux reservation in South Dakota to arrest Chief Sitting Bull. The federal government feared that Sitting Bull was encouraging

the Sioux to attack white settlements. As the army attempted to arrest the chief, a soldier shot and killed Sitting Bull. The Indians who were living on Sitting Bull's campground fled. The next day, December 29, 1890, a small band of Sioux were captured by the army and forced into the Wounded Knee Creek at South Dakota. The Indians were told to surrender their weapons. As they were giving up their guns, a rifle discharged. In response, the army opened fire. More than 300 men, women, and children were killed. The wounded attempted to crawl away, but a heavy snow fell that evening and many were found dead the next day. The Battle of Wounded Knee was the last act of Indian resistance in the western part of the **United States**. *See also* Indian Wars; Sioux Wars.

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GENE C. GERARD

X-Y

Xhosa Wars

See Kaffir Wars

Yalu River, Battle of (1904)

An early action of the **Russo-Japanese War**. At the end of April 1904, Russian forces under General Zasulich met Japanese forces under the command of General Kuroki at the point where the Yalu River meets the Ai River. The Japanese forces consisted of the three divisions of the First Army: 2,000 cavalymen, 28,000 infantry, and 128 field guns, including some brand new Krupp 4.7-inch howitzers. The Russian forces were the Eastern Detachment and had 5,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry, and only 60 guns.

Strategically, the Battle of Yalu River showed the use of subterfuge, a relatively new concept in this context. Between April 25 and 27, Japanese engineers built a bridge intended as a diversion. The Russians fired on it, showing the Japanese where the Russian guns were. Tactically, the battle was dominated by new technologies. The Japanese Krupp howitzers could fire from further away than the Russian artillery. Thus the safe distance for the Russians guns was greater than their effective range. Both sides in this conflict were equipped with breech loading rifles, but only the Japanese grasped what this meant on a tactical level. The Japanese attacked in a long line, allowing them to cover a large field of fire. The Russians mocked this strategy and attacked using tactics best suited for single-shot muzzle loading weapons.

The battle itself was surprisingly one-sided. The Japanese attacked in the morning on May 1, and by 5:30 P.M., the Russian forces were retreating in disarray. The majority of the Russians escaped, and casualties were relatively minor: 1,300 Russians dead and 600 captured; 160 Japanese dead and 820 wounded. Symbolically, however, the Japanese had shown that an Asian army could win against a European power. As with much of the Russo-Japanese War, this symbolic victory was more significant than the military victory. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire.

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MICHAEL TIMONIN

Yellow Sea, Battle of (1904)

A major naval battle of the **Russo-Japanese War**. As Japanese forces closed on **Port Arthur**, Czar Nicholas II ordered the Russian fleet to break out and sail to **Vladivostok** to join the Russian warships there. Commanded by Admiral Wilgelm Vitgeft, the Russian fleet of 6 battleships, 3 cruisers, and 14 smaller ships sortied on August 10, 1904. Admiral Heihachiro Togo's larger Japanese fleet intercepted the Russians, and Japan's 4 modern battleships and 11 cruisers dominated the battle. Japanese shells shattered the bridge of the *Tsesarevich*, killing Vitgeft. The Russian fleet fell into confusion and fled in disorder. The pursuing Japanese sank only one Russian cruiser. Five battleships and most of the smaller ships evaded the Japanese and returned to Port Arthur. Two cruisers and the heavily damaged *Tsesarevich* escaped to neutral ports. Japan's strategic victory trapped the Russian fleet in Port Arthur and ensured Japanese control of the seas for the duration of the war. *See also* Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Tsushima, Battle of.

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STEPHEN K. STEIN

Young Ireland

Young Ireland was a group of Protestant and Catholic nationalists associated with the *Nation* newspaper in the 1840s. Thomas Osborne Davis, a Protestant, and Charles Gavin Duffy and John Blake Dillon, both Catholics, founded the weekly *Nation* in 1842. It quickly acquired a readership of 250,000. Contemporaries gave the men associated with the *Nation* an impressive name, Young Ireland. Liberal and romantic nationalists, notably Giuseppe Mazzini's **Young Italy**, challenged traditionalists in many European countries. Unlike them, Young Ireland did not base its nationalism on a distinctive language.

The *Nation*'s contributors were youthful compared with the elderly Daniel O'Connell, the hero of Catholic Emancipation (letting Roman Catholics serve in the British Parliament). Young Ireland can be viewed as a generational and ideological revolt against O'Connell's leadership. It regarded O'Connell as too closely allied with the Whigs in London and the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland. Like O'Connell, it wanted the repeal of the 1801 **Act of Union** to restore a separate Irish Parliament, but unlike him it refused to be distracted by lesser reforms. O'Connell rejected and Young Ireland accepted a British proposal for nondenominational colleges. Although it refused to condemn violence, Young Ireland's Irish Confederation, organized in 1847, was cautiously constitutional in its tactics. Nearly all the middle class intellectuals and paternalistic landlords who made up Young Ireland lacked sympathy with radical antilandlord peasants. As an exception, John Mitchel,

a Protestant, called for a rent strike and a refusal to pay the local taxes, called rates.

It was the example of revolutions in France and elsewhere on the continent that induced the essentially moderate Young Irelanders to adopt the rhetoric of revolutions in 1848. Without any realistic planning, William Smith O'Brien led a pathetic uprising in County Tipperary. Several Young Irelanders were exiled to **Australia**.

Young Ireland had little impact on Irish history, certainly less than the **Irish famine** of the 1840s. The main significance of Young Ireland was that it was nonsectarian in a country in which religion increasingly colored national identity. Of the individuals, Davis was the most influential. Before he died in 1844, still in his early thirties, he helped inspire a secular Irish nationalism rooted in history and hostility to English culture. His ballad, "A Nation Once Again," enjoyed widespread popularity. *See also* Home Rule.

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DAVID M. FAHEY

Young Italy (1831)

A secretive revolutionary, religious-nationalist movement founded and led by Giuseppe **Mazzini** (1805–1872). While exiled in Marseilles in 1831, Mazzini formed Young Italy, an energetic, national revolutionary organization as an alternative to the Carbonari secret society that had failed to either drive the Austrians from **Italy** or end monarchical rule. Mazzini recruited men under the age of 40 to his movement, believing that only the youth were passionate enough and willing to risk martyrdom for the cause of national liberation. Young Italy believed that the Italian nation had a divine mission to lead all of humanity into a new democratic age, which was reflected in its motto, "God and the People." Foreign occupation, authoritarianism, and social inequality prevented Italy from achieving this destiny, and so were all to be opposed. Young Italy pursued goals of national liberation and revolution through propaganda, insurrection, assassination, and other acts of political violence in the name of a republican Italy.

Headed by a central office, which convened outside of the country, the leadership of Mazzini and his advisers handled propaganda and coordinated insurrections. A provincial office handled similar functions in every Italian province. Initiators recruited and trained new members, who were armed with a knife, a gun, and 30 rounds of ammunition, and were expected to take part in any insurrection or act directed from the central or provincial offices. Young Italy launched several failed plots against King Charles Albert of **Piedmont-Sardinia** and insurrections in 1831 and 1833, but lost much of its prestige through its use of violence and unwillingness to compromise. Moderate nationalists displaced Young Italy until the outbreak of revolutions of 1848 when the group made another appearance in the short-lived Roman Republic (1848–1849).

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FREDERICK H. DOTOLO

Young Turks

Originally a coalition of young dissidents based in Salonika who ended the Ottoman sultanate, the Young Turk movement consisted of college students and dissident soldiers. Formally known as The Committee on Union and Progress, founded in 1889, the Young Turks succeeded in 1908 in forcing Abdülhamid II to reinstitute the 1876 constitution and recall the legislature. They deposed him the next year, reorganized the government, and started modernizing and industrializing Ottoman society. During the **Balkan Wars**, in which the **Ottoman Empire** suffered significant territorial losses, the influence of the nationalists eclipsed that of the liberals. The Young Turks government aligned the Ottoman Empire with the Central Powers during World War I. In 1915, in response to the formation of anti-Turkish Armenian battalions, they deported 1.75 million Armenians to Syria and Mesopotamia, in the course of which 600,000 to 800,000 Armenians were killed or died of starvation. Facing defeat in 1918, the Young Turks resigned a month before the war ended. A number of leading Young Turks, including Enver Pasha, unsuccessfully sought Soviet help to overthrow Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the postwar period.

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ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Z

Zaibatsu

A Japanese term for the large financial combines, literally, “financial cliques,” that were the pillar of the Japanese economy from the 1880s through 1945. Organized around individual families and their holding companies, the *zaibatsu* comprised intricate networks of financial, industrial, and commercial concerns tied through interlocking directorships and mutual shareholding. They served the critical function of concentrating capital, skilled labor, and technological know-how at a time of scarcity during the rapid transition from feudal to industrial Japan.

Although two—Mitsui and Sumitomo—of the four—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda—largest *zaibatsu* had their origins as commodities dealers in the Tokugawa period, the *zaibatsu* coalesced, in particular after the early 1880s, when the national government, in an effort to control spiraling inflation, sold off most state-owned enterprises. The men who purchased these enterprises enjoyed close personal ties with the ruling elite, with whom they shared a background as lower-level samurai. They benefited immensely from bargain-basement prices for state industries and from special contracts and loans obtained from the government.

They also profited greatly from modern Japan’s series of wars. Mitsui financed the imperial forces in their bid to topple the supreme warlord, the shōgun, in the 1868 **Restoration War**. Mitsubishi got its start when the new national government leased, then donated, 13 ships to founder Iwasaki Yataro to ferry troops on a punitive expedition to Taiwan in 1874. The provision of ships, docks, warehouses, fuel, metals, chemicals, and funding during the **Sino-Japanese War** earned the head of the Mitsui conglomerate the title of baron.

Although their enormous resources would also become critical in the prosecution of World War II, the *zaibatsu* were never a causal factor in Japanese continental expansion. The Japanese economy remained primarily agricultural when imperial forces engaged China in war in 1894. And the military instigators of the Manchurian Incident of 1931 initially hoped to exclude the *zaibatsu* from their newly developed territory in northeast Asia. Despite this, the allied occupation of Japan made dissolution of the *zaibatsu* a central component of the democratizing agenda after 1945. *See also* Japanese Empire; Meiji Restoration.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Zanzibar

A small island off the coast of Africa. The first European to visit Zanzibar was the Portuguese navigator Vasco de Gama in 1499; by 1503, the Portuguese had gained control of Zanzibar, and soon they held most of the East African coast. In 1698, Arabs from Oman ousted the Portuguese from Zanzibar. The Omanis gained nominal control of the islands, but until the reign of Sayyid Said (1804–1856), they took little interest in them. Said recognized the commercial value of East Africa and increasingly turned his attention to Zanzibar and Pemba, and in 1841 he permanently moved his court to Zanzibar.

Said brought many Arabs with him, and they gained control of Zanzibar's fertile soil, forcing most of the Hadimu to migrate to the eastern part of the island. The Hadimu were also obligated to work on the clove plantations. Said controlled much of the East African coast, and Zanzibar became the main center of the East Africa ivory and slave trade. Some of the slaves were used on the clove plantations, and others were exported to other parts of Africa and overseas. Zanzibar's trade was run by Omanis, who organized caravans into the interior of East Africa; the trade was largely financed by Indians resident on Zanzibar, many of whom were agents of Bombay firms.

From the 1820s, British, German, and American traders were active on Zanzibar. As early as 1841, the representative of the British government on Zanzibar was an influential adviser of the sultan. This was especially the case under Sir John Kirk, the British consul from 1866 to 1887. In a treaty with Great Britain in 1873, sultan Barghash agreed to halt the slave trade in his realm. During the Scramble for Africa territory among European powers, Great Britain gained a protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba by a treaty with Germany in 1890. The sultan's mainland holdings were incorporated in German East Africa (later Tanganyika), British East Africa (later Kenya), and Italian Somaliland. The British considered Zanzibar an essentially Arab country and maintained the prevailing power structure. The office of sultan was retained, although stripped of most of its power; and Arabs, almost to the exclusion of other groups, were given opportunities for higher education and were recruited for bureaucratic posts. The chief government official from 1890 to 1913 was the British consul general, and from 1913 to 1963 it was the British resident. *See also* Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty.

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MOSHE TERDMAN

Z-Flag

The flag hoisted by Admiral Heihachiro Togo on the flagship *Mikasa* immediately before engaging the Russian Baltic Fleet at Tsushima Straits on May 27, 1905.

The flag was the code of the day, meaning “The fate of the Empire depends on this battle. Let every man do his utmost.” It was modeled on Admiral Horatio Nelson’s famous exhortation to his fleet before the 1805 Battle of Trafalgar: “England expects that every man will do his duty.” The decimation of the Russian Baltic Fleet ensured that the Battle of Tsushima Straits lived on in memory as Imperial Japan’s greatest naval victory. Likewise, the Z-flag continued to have special significance. On December 6, 1941, Vice Admiral Nagumo Chuichi read Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku’s battle order—a verbatim rendition of Togo’s Z-flag code—and hoisted the very flag from the Battle of Tsushima Straits on the departure of the air fleet for Pearl Harbor.

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FREDERICK R. DICKINSON

Zionism

A movement for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews, arising in the 1880s from a reaction to anti-Semitism in Europe, not only in the form of pogroms in the **Russian Empire**—popular outbreaks of violence directed against Jews including the destruction of property and massacre, encouraged by the legal persecution of Jews led by Alexander III—but also evidenced in the **Dreyfus Affair** in a far more liberal society such as France. The movement was founded by Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), a Hungarian-Jewish journalist whose leadership led in 1897 to the First Zionist Conference in Basle, Switzerland.

While Herzl lived the Zionist movement was run from Vienna, but after his death its offices moved first to Cologne and then to Berlin. Although many Jews fled persecution in Europe for the **United States**, in 1891 alone 300,000 from Russia, Herzl’s book *The Jewish State* posed the issue of the founding of a Jewish state in the historic homeland Palestine, a goal not realized until after the Holocaust and the establishment of Israel in 1948. Zionism was thus in large part a product of the coarsening of European politics by way of popular nationalism and heightened international tension between 1880s and 1914, a phenomenon which many Jews rightly calculated was only going to get worse.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Zollverein

A customs union formed by **Prussia** and neighboring German states in 1834 to stimulate trade. In retrospect, the German *Zollverein* can be considered as a predecessor of the **German Empire**, as it encompassed, already in the 1850s, most of the states that were to found the **Reich** in 1871. At its inception, however, the *Zollverein* was not intentionally designed to accelerate German political unity but rather to improve commerce and economic development. In this aspect the customs union proved an unqualified success, while it cannot be denied that the exclusion of Austria from the *Zollverein* paved the way for the *kleindeutsch*—a “lesser” Germany, excluding Austria—solution of the question of Austro-Prussian dualism.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, trade in Germany was severely hampered by the existence of a kaleidoscope of 39 different states and free cities, many of them imposing their own tariffs and issuing their own currencies. This posed a problem especially in northern Germany where Prussia's western provinces were separated from the main body of the kingdom. To overcome these difficulties, the Prussian government passed a law in May 1818 that created a unified internal market by abolishing all custom dues within the scattered territories of the kingdom. In addition, the government announced its intention to conclude free trade agreements with her neighbors. Prussia imposed comparably low tariffs on imports and abolished all export tariffs.

It is wrong to say that with the formation of the *Zollverein* on January 1, 1834, German unification under Prussian leadership was a foregone conclusion. Before Bismarck finally achieved unity in 1871, another generation elapsed and several wars had been fought. On the contrary, several of the *Zollverein's* members had been outright opposed to unification, especially to a *kleindeutsch* solution under Prussian leadership. As nearly all participating governments were jealously guarding their sovereignty, the customs union was forged primarily out of economic considerations and was an unmitigated success right from its inception. With the *Zollverein* a huge common market came into existence; both the agricultural and the industrial sectors were protected by tariffs; and a uniform system of measures and weights was adopted. Although payment transactions were eased by the mounting dominance of the Prussian *Taler*, every new member gave the *Zollverein* more power and thus it became easier to conclude more advantageous trade agreements with foreign states. Also, the *Zollverein* made it less difficult to coordinate the building of roads and railways, which soon expanded with breathtaking speed. On the other hand, between 1834 and 1844, administrative costs of tariff collection decreased by 50 percent and net income through custom dues grew by 90 percent. All these factors combined to stimulate growth and tied the participating states closer together. In turn, because of the success of the *Zollverein*, its economies became increasingly competitive internationally. Public opinion, which used to view the project rather skeptically, now emphatically embraced it.

Driving forces behind the propagation of the *Zollverein* were visionaries like the Prussian minister of finance, Friedrich von Motz, and the economist Friedrich List. List, initially a supporter of free trade, turned increasingly into an advocate of protectionism because of the growing import of cheap British commodities. British export industry was in fact less of a threat to the *Zollverein* than List thought. While Great Britain exported mostly manufactured goods to, and imported mainly agrarian products from, Germany, the *Zollverein* nonetheless enjoyed a favorable trade balance. Indeed, Prussia had been exporting more than it was importing since the early 1820s.

The apparent triumph made the customs union more and more attractive to other German states. Before long, Baden, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfurt joined, although Hanover, Oldenburg, and most of the smaller northern states enclaved by Prussia stood aloof until the 1850s. Austria remained voluntarily outside the *Zollverein*. Although Prince Metternich saw the success of the customs union with growing unease, he stubbornly refused to take part in it because of the consequences this would have for the Habsburg Empire's economy. Until 1848, Austria

pursued a policy of mercantilist protectionism, and her industry was hardly in a position to compete with the *Zollverein*'s. Yet when Austria changed its mind after the aborted German Revolution, Prussia would no longer accept it as a member. After the humiliation of the Punctuation of Olmütz on November 29, 1850, when Prussia was forced to renounce its plans of German political unity, it was not prepared to give way to Austria in the economic sphere, too. By now Prussia fully realized the potential of the *Zollverein* as a weapon in the struggle for German supremacy. As a result initial hopes of the smaller German states to establish a counterweight to dominant Prussia by inviting Austria into the *Zollverein* soon disintegrated. Prussia's economic potential was superior to Austria's as early as 1834, and the *Zollverein* enhanced this advantage.

In spite of several serious crises, the *Zollverein* also proved resilient. Neither the question of admittance of Austria nor the secular conflict between advocates of free trade and proponents of protectionism were able to destroy it. The customs union even survived the military confrontations between several of its members in the Austro-Prussian War. By 1867, most of the states of the future Empire adhered. The *Zollverein* lasted until 1918. *See also* Austro-Prussian War; German Empire; North German Confederation.

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ULRICH SCHNAKENBURG

Zoological Gardens

Initially private menageries of the royal and wealthy, later public parks devoted to the amusement and education of the metropolitan populace on the one hand and the scientific study of animal species on the other. This was in part the product of political change—the Jardin des Plantes Zoological Gardens incorporated the surviving animals of the Versailles menagerie in 1793 in the wake of France's revolutionary upheaval—but it was equally influenced by the expansion of European colonial empires in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In some instances colonial administrators had a direct hand in the process. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles indulged a personal love of natural history by developing a vast collection of anthropological, botanical, and zoological specimens and was a co-founder of the Zoological Society of London at the comparatively early date of 1826. Zoos were also about prestige, a showcase for the exotica of empire. King William IV identified the Zoological Society in 1831 as symbolic of Britain's international position. Mid-century Europe also experienced a new interest in "acclimatization," the transplanting of organisms to different locations for the purpose of developing the abilities of species to perpetuate themselves in radically different conditions, which, for France and Britain in particular, flourished in overseas settler colonies pursuing protectionist programs of economic development. At the darkest end of the

scientific and moral spectrum was the phenomenon of the **human zoo** popularized between the 1870s and World War I, in which the indigenous peoples of overseas colonies were displayed much like caged animals.

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CARL CAVANAGH HODGE

Zulu War (1879)

A brief conflict between the Zulu Kingdom of southern Africa and the **British Empire**. When British colonial possessions in southern Africa expanded through the annexation of the **Transvaal** in 1877, the Zulu people, under their chief Cetewayo, found themselves threatened by a far greater adversary than the neighboring Boers. The British, with designs on Zululand as part of their efforts to create a British federation encompassing the whole of southern Africa and anxious at the Zulus' martial power, issued an ultimatum on December 11, 1878, deliberately designed to be rejected and therefore to serve as a *casus belli*. After receiving no reply from Cetewayo, a force under Lord Chelmsford, consisting of 5,000 British and 8,000 native troops, invaded Zululand in three columns. Cetewayo had at his disposal 40,000 highly disciplined and well-trained warriors, largely armed with spears. On January 22, 1879, a Zulu army caught the British center column, consisting of 900 British and more than 500 native levies, completely by surprise in their unfortified camp at **Isandhlwana**, annihilating the force.

The Zulus followed up their victory by attacking on the same evening and through the following morning the nearby British base at **Rorke's Drift**, where fewer than a hundred British soldiers tenaciously held their position against successive Zulu assaults. A second British force, meanwhile, became besieged at Eshowe, although this was relieved after another column, having driven off a Zulu attack at Gingindhlovu on April 3, reached the defenders the next day. Two further battles, at Hlobane and Kambula on March 28 and 29, respectively, and fought by separate British columns, favored the British, but in both cases the Zulus exhibited their usual fanatical bravery in the assault.

A hiatus in fighting followed during April and May as Chelmsford awaited reinforcements from home. In June he opened a new offensive, marching on the Zulu capital, Ulundi, in the vicinity of which he confronted a force of 10,000 warriors with his own 4,200 British and Cape colonial troops and 1,000 native levies. His men deployed in a large hollow square, with cavalry sheltered inside, Chelmsford was assailed several times by the Zulus, who in each wave lost heavily to the concentrated rifle and machine gun fire of their technologically superior opponents. With the Zulus checked, the cavalry then emerged from the square and put the Zulus to rout. The war was effectively over, the fugitive Cetewayo was eventually captured, and his kingdom annexed to Natal. *See also* Boer Wars.

FURTHER READING: Barthorp, Michael. *The Zulu War: Isandhlwana to Ulundi*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002; Castle, Ian. *Zulu War, 1879*. Westport, CT: Greenwood

Publishing, 2005; David, Saul. *Zulu: The Heroism and Tragedy of the Zulu War of 1879*. New York: Viking Press, 2004; Knight, Ian. *Brave Men's Blood: The Epic of the Zulu War, 1879*. London: Greenhill Books, 1990; Morris, Donald R. *The Washing of the Spears: The Rise and Fall of the Great Zulu Nation*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965.

GREGORY FREMONT-BARNES

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

1. Prime Minister William Pitt Replies to Critics of His War Policy (February 17, 1806)

Challenged in Parliament by the Whig MP George Tierney to explain the policy of his government in joining the war against France, British Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806) replied with an eloquent sarcasm. Pitt explained that British national security alone dictated policy, but he also revealed his utter contempt for both the French Revolution and “its child and champion,” Napoleon Bonaparte.

The hon. Gentleman defies me to state, in one sentence, what is the object of the war. In one word, I tell him that it is security—security against a danger, the greatest that ever threatened the world—security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society. This country alone, of all the nations of Europe, presented barriers the best fitted to resist its progress. We alone recognized the necessity of open war, as well with the principles, as the practice of the French revolution. We saw that it was to be resisted no less by arms abroad, than by caution at home; that we were to look for protection no less to the courage of our forces than to the wisdom of our councils; no less to military effort than to legislative enactment. At the moment when those, who now admit the dangers of Jacobinism while they contend that it is extinct, used to palliate this atrocity, this House wisely saw that it was necessary to erect a double safeguard against a danger that wrought no less by undisguised hostility than by secret machination. But how long is it that the hon. Gentlemen and his friends have discovered that the dangers of Jacobinism have ceased to exist? How long is it that they found that the cause of the French revolution is not the cause of liberty? How or where did the hon. gentleman discover that the Jacobinism of Robespierre, of Barrère, of the triumvirate, of the five directors, has all disappeared, because it has all been centered in one man who was reared and nursed in its bosom, whose celebrity was gained under its auspices, who was at once *the child and the champion* of all its atrocities? Our security in negotiation is to be

this Buonoparté, who is now the sole organ of all that was formerly dangerous and pestiferous in the revolution. . . .

I trust this country is ready to exert its efforts to avail ourselves of the assistance of our allies to obtain real security, and to attain solid peace. It is true, that in this contest different opinions may exist as to the means by which the danger is to be resisted. The emperor of Russia may approve of one course, the emperor of Germany another. But is it not strange that the hon. gentlemen should be so displeased that we are desirous of the cooperation of the emperor of Germany, who has not gone so far in his declarations on the subject of the war as the emperor of Russia? Is it a ground of objection with the hon. Gentleman, that we should avail ourselves of the assistance of those who do not declare themselves in favor of that object which he professes himself particularly to disapprove? Without changing our objects, may we not avail ourselves of the aid of other powers, though the motives of the cooperation may not be those which dictate our own exertions? Admitting that the emperor of Germany has no other view but to regain possession of the Netherlands, to drive the enemy back to the Rhine, to recover the fortresses he was forced to abandon, are these objects which have no connection with British safety? . . .

The hon. Gentleman said that the war could not be just, because it was carried on for the restoration of the house of Bourbon; and that it could not be necessary, because we had refused to negotiate for peace when an opportunity was offered us. As to the first proposition, he has assumed the foundation of the argument, and has left no ground for controverting it, or for explanation, because he says that any attempt at explanation upon this subject is the mere ambiguous language of *ifs* and *buts* and of special pleading. Now, Sir, I never had much liking to special pleading; and if ever I had any, it is by this time almost entirely gone. He has, besides, so abridged me of the use of particles, that though I am not particularly attached to the sound of an *if* or a *but*, I would be much obliged to him if he would give me some others to supply in their places.

Is this, however, a light matter, that it should be treated in so light a manner? The restoration of the French monarchy, I consider as a most desirable object, because I think that it would afford the best security to this country and to Europe. *But* this object may not be attainable; and if not attainable we must be satisfied with the best security we can find independent of it. Peace is most desirable to this country, *but* negotiation may be attended with greater evils than could be counterbalanced by any benefits which would result from it. And *if* this be found to be the case; *if* it afford no prospect of security; *if* it threaten all the evils which we have been struggling to avert; *if* the prosecution of the war afford the prospect of attaining complete security; and *if* it may be prosecuted with increasing commerce, with increasing means, and with increasing prosperity, except what may result from the visitations of the seasons; then, I say, that it is prudent in us not to negotiate at the present moment. These are my *buts* and my *ifs*. It is my plea, and on no other do I wish to be tried, by God and country.

Source: See Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth W. Thompson, eds. *Principles and Problems of International Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 349–351.



2. French Foreign Minister Talleyrand Criticizes Napoleon's War Policy (1807)

In his memoirs, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838), foreign minister to Napoleon Bonaparte from 1799 to 1807, noted how Napoleon's invasion of Spain and the ensuing Peninsular War marked the beginning of his ultimate defeat eight years later.

If ever the success of an enterprise should have appeared infallible, it was assuredly an enterprise in which reason had combined everything in such a manner as to leave nothing to be done by force of arms. It must have seemed impossible that Spain, invaded before she could possibly expect it, deprived of her government and of a portion of her strongholds, with a regular army mediocre in number, and more mediocre in quality, without harmony between her provinces, and almost without the means of establishing any, could think a moment of offering resistance, or of attempting to do so except for her ruin. However, those who knew Spain and the Spaniards judged otherwise, and were not deceived. They predicted that Spanish pride would calculate neither ultimate result nor present dangers, but would find in indignation and despair, a vigor and resource continually renewed.

Napoleon, in menacing England with an invasion, had forced her to create an army of considerable strength, and thus, without foreseeing it, had prepared help for the Peninsula. Seventeen thousand English, and some thousand Portuguese, made the French evacuate Portugal; the latter re-entered momentarily, but were unable to establish a firm footing there. The Portuguese soon had a numerous army, brave and well-disciplined, and, with the English, developed into the auxiliaries and the support of the resistance which had burst forth simultaneously over all parts of Spain, and which could be entirely suppressed only by immense armies, which it was impossible to maintain in that country, because it was impossible to nourish them. The title "invincible" that the continual victories over regular armies had attached to the name of Napoleon became contestable, and it was from Spain that Europe learned that he could be conquered, and how it could be done. The resistance of the Spaniards, in setting a precedent prepared that made later by the Russians, and led to the fall of the man who had promised himself the domination of the world. Thus was verified what Montesquieu had said of the projects of a universal monarchy: *that they could not fail in a single point without failing everywhere.*

At the first indications they had in France of the projects of Napoleon in Spain, a few persons said: "This man is undertaking a thing which, if it fail, will ruin him; and if it succeed will ruin Europe." It has failed enough to ruin him, and perhaps it has succeeded sufficiently to ruin Europe.

Source: The Duc de Broglie, Ed. *Memoirs of the Prince de Talleyrand*. 5 Vols. Trans. Raphaël Ledos de Beaufort (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1891), I, pp. 291–292.

3. Johann Gottlieb Fichte Calls Upon Germans to Redeem Their Nation (1808)

The German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) delivered 14 Addresses to the German Nation, which denounced Napoleonic dominion over Europe. In the final address, Fichte called on his countrymen to redeem the honor of their ancestors by self-sacrifice in the cause of the survival of the German nation.

To all you, whatever position you may occupy in society, these addresses solemnly appeal; let every one of you who can think, think first of all about the subject here suggested, and let each do for what lies nearest to him individually in the position he occupies.

Your forefathers unite themselves with these addresses, and make a solemn appeal to you. Think that in my voice there are mingled the voices of your ancestors of the hoary past, who with their own bodies stemmed the onrush of Roman world dominion, who with their blood won the independence of those mountains, plains, and rivers which under you have fallen prey to the foreigner. They call to you: "Act for us; let the memory of us which you hand on to posterity be just as honorable and without reproach as it was when it came before you, when you took pride in it and in your descent from us. Until now, the resistance we made has been regarded as great and wise and noble; we seemed the consecrated and the inspired in the divine world purpose. If our race dies out with you, our honor will be turned to shame and our wisdom to foolishness. For if, indeed, the German stock is to be swallowed up in Roman civilization, it were better that it had fallen before the Rome of old than before a Rome of today. The former we resisted and conquered; by the latter you have been ground to dust. Seeing that it is so, you shall now not conquer them with temporal weapons; your spirit alone shall rise up against them and stand erect. To you has fallen the greater destiny, to found the empire of the spirit and of reason, and completely to annihilate the rule of brute physical force in the world. If you do this, then you are worthy of descent from us."

Then, too, there mingle with these the voices the spirits of your more recent forefathers, those who fell in the holy war for the freedom of belief and of religion. "Save our honor too," they cry to you. "To us it was not entirely clear what we fought for; besides the lawful resolve not to let ourselves be dictated to by external force in matters of conscience, there was another and a higher spirit driving us. To you it is revealed, this spirit, if you have the power of vision in the spiritual world; it beholds you with eyes clear and sublime. The varied and confused mixture of sensuous and spiritual motives that has hitherto ruled the world shall be displaced, and spirit alone, pure and freed from all sensuous motives, shall take the helm of human affairs. It was in order that this spirit might have freedom to develop and grow to independent existence—it was for this that we poured forth our blood. It is for you to justify and give meaning to our sacrifice, by setting this spirit to fulfill its purpose and rule the world. If this does not come about as the final goal to which the whole previous development of our nation has been tending, then the battles we fought will turn out to be a vain and fleeting farce, and the freedom of conscience and of spirit that we won is a vain word, if from now on spirit and conscience are to be no more."

Source: See Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Adresses to the German Nation*. Trans. R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull. Ed. George Armstron Kelly (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 225–226.



4. Osip P. Kozodavlev Seeks Advice on Russia's North American Colonies (1812)

In an 1812 letter to the minister of commerce on foreign affairs, Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Osip P. Kozodavlev (1754–1819) advised caution in dealing with the commercial precociousness of the young republic of the United States of America.

Gracious Sir, Count Nikolai Petrovich,

Your Excellency is undoubtedly aware of the present situation regarding the affairs of the Russian American Company and its colonies. The settlements which the North Americans are planning to establish at the mouth of the Columbia River threaten to put an end to the Company's enterprises, and the [Russian] colonies are at hazard because these same Americans have supplied the Indians with firearms and have instructed them in their use.

Although Your Excellency has informed the Main Administration of the Russian American Company of the proposal of the New York-based company of [Adrian] Bentzon, [to halt the sale of firearms to natives and to export furs to Russia], the Company finds this proposal inimical to its business affairs and feels it should not be adopted. It hopes it will have support from the gracious patronage of His Imperial Majesty.

Before any decisive action is taken concerning this, I feel obliged to submit my thoughts, Gracious Sir, based only on general observations. I believe that any means which uses force or firearms to deflect the attempts of the North Americans, even though such attempts would undoubtedly be successful, would not be appropriate in this case. I firmly believe that any action which would breach government relations for the benefit of a private company would be ill-conceived. Thus I believe it would be better to utilize the efforts of our Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to end the ventures of the Americans [detrimental to the Interests of the Russian American Company]. If all arguments and importunities on our part are ineffectual in persuading the Americans to do this, then Bentzon's proposal, especially with some restrictions, would be a most plausible means, because it would establish a balance in the fur trade and raise a barrier to monopoly, in case the Russian American Company had it in mind to establish a monopoly there. By conducting a large part of its fur trade with Kiakhta, the Company would lose much less profit than by permitting settlement on the Columbia River. In submitting this opinion for Your Excellency's attention, I find that I must turn your thoughts away from important Imperial concerns, and I most humbly request, my Gracious Sir, that you briefly review these circumstances. Because of your long administrative experience and skill in handling foreign affairs, you are much more familiar with the procedures. Kindly honor me with your gracious advice, which will guide me in this matter.

Source: See *The Russian American Colonies: A Documentary Record, 1798–1867*. Eds. and Trans. Basil Dmytryshyn, E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, Thomas Vaughan (Portland: Oregon Historical Press, 1989), pp. 202–203.



5. President James Monroe Proclaims His Doctrine (December 2, 1823)

In his seventh annual message to the U.S. Congress, President James Monroe (1758–1831) delivered a warning drafted by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams against any and all European interference in the Western Hemisphere.

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the results have been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on

their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none of them more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different.

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

Source: See *Documents of American History*. Ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949), pp. 235–237.



6. Carl von Clausewitz Assesses the Military Legacy of Napoleon (1832)

In his classic military treatise *On War*, published after his death, Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831)—soldier, military reformer, and writer—summed up the consequences of Europe's response to Napoleon Bonaparte's challenge.

Thus matters stood when the French Revolution broke out; Austria and Prussia tried their diplomatic Art of War; this very soon proved insufficient. Whilst, according to the usual way of seeing things, all hopes were placed on a very limited military force in 1793, such a force as no one had any conception of made its appearance. War had again suddenly become an affair of the people, and that of a people numbering in the thirty millions, every one of whom regarded himself as a citizen of the State. Without entering here into the details of the circumstances with which this great phenomenon was attended, we shall confine ourselves to the results which interest us at present. By this participation of the people in the War instead of a Cabinet and an Army, a whole nation with its natural weight came into the scale. Henceforward, the means available—the efforts which might be called forth—had no longer any definite limits; the energy with which the War itself might be conducted had no longer any counterpoise, and consequently the danger for the adversary had risen to the extreme.

If the whole of the Revolution passed over without all this making itself felt in its full force and becoming quite evident, if the Generals of the Revolution did not persistently press on to the final extreme, and did not overthrow the monarchies in Europe; if the German Armies now and again had the opportunity of resisting with success, and checking for a time the torrent of victory—the cause lay in reality in that technical incompleteness with which the French had to contend, which showed itself first amongst the common soldiers, then in the Generals, lastly, at the time of the Directory, in the Government itself.

After all this was perfected by the hand of Buonaparte, this military power, based on the strength of the whole nation, marched over Europe, smashing everything in pieces so surely and certainly, that where it only encountered the old-fashioned Armies the result was not doubtful for a moment. A reaction, however, awoke in due time. In Spain, the War became of itself an affair of the people. In Austria, in the year 1809, the Government commenced extraordinary efforts, by means of Reserves and *Landwehr*, which were nearer to the true object, and far surpassed in degree what this State had hitherto conceived possible. In Russia, in 1812, the example of Spain and Austria was taken as a pattern, the enormous dimensions of that Empire on the one hand allowed the preparations, although too long deferred, still to produce effect; and, on the other hand, intensified the effect produced. The result was brilliant. In Germany, Prussia rose up first, made the War a National Cause, and without either money or credit and with a population reduced one-half, took the field with an Army twice as strong as that of 1806. The rest of Germany followed the example of Prussia sooner or later, and Austria, although less energetic than in 1809, still came forth with more than its usual strength. Thus it was that Germany and Russia, in the years 1813 and 1814, including all who took an active part in, or were absorbed in these campaigns, appeared against France with about a million of men. [. . .]

Thus, therefore, the element of War, freed from all conventional restrictions, broke loose, with all its natural force. The cause was the participation of the people in this great *affair of State*, and this participation arose partly from the effects of the French Revolution on the internal affairs of countries, partly from the threatening attitude of the French towards all Nations.

Now, whether this will be the case always in the future, whether all Wars hereafter in Europe will be carried on with the whole power of the States, and, consequently,

will only take place on account of great interests closely affecting the people, or whether a separation of the interests of the Government from those of the people will again gradually arise, would be a difficult point to settle; least of all shall we take it upon ourselves to settle it. But every one will agree with us, that bounds, which to a certain extent existed only in unconsciousness of what is possible, when once thrown down, are not easily built up again; and that, at least, whenever great interests are in dispute, mutual hostility will discharge itself in the same manner as it has done in our times.

Source: See Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*. Trans. J. J. Graham (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), pp. 384–387.



7. Viscount Palmerston Counsels Diplomatic Pragmatism in British Foreign Policy (1835)

As foreign secretary in a Whig government, Henry John Temple, Lord Palmerston (1784–1865), applied liberal principles to British diplomacy. Done for British Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, the following assessment of a report from Undersecretary of State William Fox-Strangways on a conversation with Count Metternich demonstrates Palmerston's pragmatic sense of Britain's strategic interests.

I dare say this is a pretty correct summary of Metternich's conversations with Strangways; but after all what does it amount to? And what foundation does it afford for any system of European policy to be built upon the basis of an Austrian alliance?

There are indeed abundant declarations of a desire to be the most intimate ally of England: and of a conviction that an alliance with England is the best and most useful for Austria. But when Metternich comes to explain the nature of the alliance which he contemplates, it turns out to be one, which is impracticable for us; and when we inquire what advantages we should derive from it, we are at a loss to discover any whatever.

He begins by describing France as the natural enemy both of Austria and England; and it is manifest that his notion of an alliance with England presupposed an estrangement of both Austria and England from France. Now it is needless to point that to come to such a new system we must abandon all the objects we have been striving for during the last five years, undo all that we have been doing, and, as we should at once become Tories abroad, we ought to begin by becoming Tories at home; for such a change of system would infallibly lose much support of that party, by whom we are at present upheld. Metternich, in short, sighs for a return of the state of things which existed during the war against Buonaparte, when all of Europe was united against France; and when, by the by; if the fate of Europe had depended upon the vigor of Austrian councils, and the enterprise of Austrian armies, we never should have had a Treaty of Paris. But he would wish all Europe to be leagued now against France in diplomatic and moral hostility, as it was at that period in active warfare. But here again he takes for granted, that, which to say no more of it, is in the high-

est degree doubtful, namely that if England was to abandon France in order to take to Austria, France would find no other ally to take the place of England; and what I should like to know, should we gain, if while we exchanged active, powerful, and neighboring France for sluggish and temporizing and distant Austria, Russia were to make the converse of our exchange and instead of being united with Austria, who, though subservient, acts as a clog, she were to strike up an intimacy with France, and gain a more active, ambitious and a *naval* ally? It does not appear to me that such a change of partners would increase our chance of winning the rubber.

For what are the advantages he holds out to us as likely to result from this entire change in our system of policy? First of all, that we are to shape our course by his, and to make temporizing not even a means but an end, and with respect to whom? Why, with respect to Russia, whom he admits to be a constantly increasing Power? Now nothing can be clearer than that if you pursue a system of temporizing, which in other words means perpetually giving way, while your adversary pursues a system of perpetual encroachment, the only problem to be solved, *how soon* you will be received. Metternich's principle is to submit to everything that is done, thinking that he has got out of all embarrassment by saying "c'est un fait accompli." This is an excellent doctrine for one's adversary to hold, but a very inconvenient maxim to serve as a rule of conduct for a friend and ally in difficult times.

Then again what flimsy and fallacious assumptions he puts forward, as grounds on which to build a system of measures upon great national interests! The personal character of Nicholas, for instance, is represented by him, as a sufficient guarantee of the *conservative* policy of Russia. Now we happen also to know something of the personal character of Nicholas: and I confess that I am disposed to draw from that personal character conclusions exactly the reverse of those which Metternich seems to have formed. I take Nicholas to be ambitious, bent upon great schemes, determined to make extensive additions to his dominions; and laboring to push his political ascendancy far beyond the range of his Ukases, animated by the same hate to England which was felt by Napoleon, and for the same reasons, namely that we are the friends of national independence, and the enemies of conquerors. We are an obstacle in his path; he would cajole us if he could; he would crush us if he were able; not being equal to either; he only hates us.

The conclusion which seems to follow from all this, that we should not quit or loosen our connection with France, but should encourage the friendly disposition of Austria towards us, as far as we can; without departing from our own course in order to please her; and to express on every favorable occasion a strong wish to see her friendly dispositions evinced by acts as expressed in conversations and dispatches.

Source: See Sir Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830–1841*. 2 Vols. (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1951), II, pp. 841–843.



8. Marquis de Custine Indicts Russian Absolutism (1839)

Astolphe Louis Lénor, Marquis de Custine (1790–1857), published his *Letters from Russia* in 1839; in the following excerpt, he is unsparing in his attack on the tsar and Russian society.

You can believe what I say about the effects of absolute government, for when I came to study this country, it was in the hope of finding here a cure for the ills that threaten our own. If you find that I judge Russia too harshly, you must blame the involuntary impressions that I receive here daily from peoples and things, impressions that any friend of mankind would receive in my place were he to make the same effort as I do to look beyond what he is shown.

Immense as it is, this Empire is simply a prison to which the Tsar holds the key, and in this state, which lives only on its conquests, nothing in peacetime equals the misfortune of his subjects, except the misfortune of their ruler. A jailer's life has always seemed to me so nearly similar to that of the prisoner that I am filled with astonishment at the imaginary prestige that makes one of these two men think himself infinitely less to be pitied than the other.

Mankind here experiences neither the true social pleasures of a cultivated mind, nor the absolute and brutal freedom of the savage or the barbarian. I can see no compensation for the misfortune of being born under this regime, other than the illusions of pride and hope of domination: I come back to this passion every time that I try to analyze the spiritual life of the inhabitants of Russia. The Russian thinks and lives as a soldier—a conquering soldier.

A true soldier, whatever his country, can barely be called a citizen, and less so here than anywhere else. He is a prisoner sentenced to life to guard prisoners.

Note that in Russia the word 'prison' signifies something more than it does elsewhere. One trembles to think of all the subterranean cruelties concealed from our pity by the discipline of silence, in a country where every man learns at birth to be discreet. Coming here, you learn to hate reserve: all this caution reveals a secret tyranny, the ever-present image of which raised before me. Every facial movement, every sign of reticence, every inflection of voice teaches me the dangers of trust and spontaneity.

Even the mere appearance of the houses calls my thoughts back to the miserable conditions of human life in this country [. . .] As I endure the dampness of my room, I think of the poor devils exposed to the dampness of the submarine dungeons at Kronstadt, or the Petersburg fortress and many other political tombs, the very names of which are unknown to me. The haggard look of the soldiers whom I see passing in the street suggests the plunder and corruption of their army quartermasters. [. . .] With every step I take here, I see rising before me the specter of Siberia, and I think of all that is implied in the name of that political desert, that abyss of miseries, that graveyard of the living, a world of mythical sorrow, a land populated by infamous criminals and sublime heroes, a colony without which this Empire would be as incomplete as a mansion without cellars.

Source: See Marquis de Custine, *Letters from Russia*. Translated and edited by Robin Buss (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 106–107.



9. John L. O'Sullivan Proclaims America's Destiny (1839)

As the founding editor of the *United States Magazine & Democratic Review*, a magazine espousing the territorial expansion of the United States in the 1840s, John

O'Sullivan (1813–1895) coined the term “manifest destiny” as an article of faith of the American national mission. O'Sullivan initially broached the issue in the 1839 article “The Great Nation of Futurity,” wherein he connected the American role in the world to the very origin and nature of the republic.

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul—the self-evident dictates of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man. Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence, that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government . . .

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect? America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defense of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.

We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands, that “the gates of hell”—the powers of aristocracy and monarchy—“shall not prevail against it.” The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship

of the Most High—the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere—its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation a Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God’s natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of “peace and good will amongst men.” . . .

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfillment of our mission—to the entire development of the principle of our organization—freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature’s eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be *the great nation of futurity*?

Source: See Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations*. 2 Vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), I, p. 231.



10. Lady Florentia Sale Describes the Retreat from Kabul (1842)

Lady Florentia Sale (1790–1853) was in Kabul during the First Afghan War. She took part in the British retreat from the city during which soldiers and civilians alike came under attack. In this excerpt from her journal, she describes the final stage of the disaster.

January 13: From Soorkhab the remnant of the column moved towards Gundamuk: but as the day dawned the enemy’s numbers increased; and unfortunately daylight soon exposed to them how very few fighting men the columns contained. The force now consisted of twenty officers, of whom Major Griffiths was the senior, fifty men of the 44th, six of the horse artillery, and four or five Sipahs. Amongst the whole there were but twenty muskets; 300 camp followers still continued with them.

Being now assailed by an increased force, they were compelled to quit the road, and take up a position on the road adjoining. Some of the Afghan horsemen being observed at short distance were beckoned to. On their approach there was cessation of firing; terms were proposed by Capt. Hay to allow the force to proceed without further hostilities to Jellalabad. These persons not being sufficiently influential to negotiate, Major Griffiths proceeded with them to a neighboring chief for that pur-

pose: taking with him Mr. Blewitt, formerly a writer in Capt. Johnson's office, who understood Persian, that he might act as an interpreter.

Many Afghans ascended the hill where our troops awaited the issue of the conference; and exchanges of friendly words passed between both parties. This lasted upward of an hour; but hostilities were renewed by the Afghans who snatched the firearms of the men and officers. This they of course resisted; and drove them off the hill: but the majority of the enemy, who occupied the adjoining hills commanding our position, commenced a galling fire upon us. Several times they attempted to dislodge our men from the hill, and were repulsed; until, our ammunition being expended, and our fighting men reduced to about thirty, the enemy made a rush, which in our weak state we were unable to cope with. They bore our men down knife in hand; and slaughtered all the party except Capt. Souter and seven or eight men of the 44th and artillery. This officer thinks that this unusual act of forbearance towards him originated in the strange dress he wore: his poshteen having opened during the last struggle exposed to view the color he had wrapped around his body; and they probably thought they had secured a valuable prize in some great bahdur, for whom a large ransom might be obtained.

Eighteen officers and about fifty men were killed at the final struggle at Gundamuk. Capt. Souter and the few remaining men (seven or eight) that were taken alive from the field, after a detention of a month in the adjoining villages, made over to Akbar Khan and sent to the fort of Buddeeabad in the Lughman valley, where they arrived on the 15th of February.

Source: See *A Journal of the First Afghan War*. Edited by Patrick Malloy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 125–126.



11. Richard Cobden Laments the Cost of British Rule in India (June 27, 1853)

In an 1853 House of Commons speech, free trade champion Richard Cobden (1804–1865) used the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852) as an occasion to criticize the costs of imperial rule in India generally and the activities of the East India Company in particular.

I will now call the attention of the House to a point of considerable importance, which was strikingly illustrated by the facts attending the commencement of the Burmese war in which we are now engaged. It is another fact, which is a proof of the precipitancy with which the measure has been brought forward, and I believe it has not been noticed before in the course of the debate. I wish to refer to the state of the relations between the vessels of war in the Indian waters and the Government of India; and, in illustration of what I mean, I beg leave to state what has taken place on the breaking out of this war. In the month of July, 1851, a small British vessel arrived at Rangoon, the captain of which was charged with throwing a pilot overboard, and robbing him of 500 rupees. The case was brought before the Governor of Rangoon; and, after undergoing a great many hardships, the captain was mulcted in the amount of rupees.

A month after this, another English vessel arrived, having on board two coolies from the Mauritius, who secreted themselves in the vessel when she left. On their arrival, they said that the captain had murdered one of the crew during the voyage. The captain was tried for this, and he was mulcted also. An application was made to the Governor-General for redress, and a demand was made on the Burmese authorities to the amount of 1,900£ for money extorted, for demurrage of the vessels, and other injuries inflicted. The Governor-General ordered an investigation of the case, and he awarded 9201£ as sufficient. At this time there was lying in the Hooghly a vessel of war commanded by Commodore Lambert, and the Governor-General thought that the presence of this vessel afforded a good opportunity for obtaining redress.

The House should understand that there was no other case to be redressed than these two; that the parties in them were British subjects, and that the Governor of Rangoon did not adjudicate between Burmese subjects and British subjects. Commodore Lambert was furnished with very precise instructions indeed. He was first to make inquiry as to the validity of the original claim, and, if he found that it was well founded, he was to apply to the Governor of Rangoon for redress; and, in case of a refusal on his part, he was furnished with a letter from the Governor-General to the King of Ava, to be sent up by him to the capital; and he was then to proceed to the Persian Gulf, for which place he was under orders. He was told not to commit any act of hostility, if redress was refused, till he had heard again from the Governor-General. These were very proper and precise instructions. On the arrival of the Commodore at Rangoon, he was met by boats filled with British subjects, who complained of the conduct of the Governor of Rangoon. If the House wishes for an amusing description of the British subjects of Rangoon, I would recommend them to read Lord Ellenborough's sketch of them in a speech which he delivered in the House of Lords. Rangoon is, it appears, the Alsatia of Asia, and is filled by all the abandoned characters whom the other parts of India are too hot to hold. Commodore Lambert received the complaints of all these people; and he sent off the letter to the King of Ava at once, which he was instructed to send only in case redress was refused; and he made no inquiry with respect to the original cause of the dispute, and the validity of the claims put forward. He also sent a letter from himself to the Prime Minister of the King of Ava, and demanded an answer in thirty-five days. The post took from ten to twelve days to go to Ava, and at the end of twenty-six days an answer came back from the King to the Governor-General, and to Commodore Lambert from the Prime Minister.

It was announced that the Governor of Rangoon was dismissed, and that a new Governor was appointed, who would be prepared to look into the matter in dispute, and adjust it. Commodore Lambert sent off the King of Ava's letter to the Governor-General, with one from himself, stating that he had no doubt the King of Ava and his Government meant to deal fairly by them. Meantime, the new Governor of Rangoon came down in great state, and Commodore Lambert sent three officers on shore with a letter to him. The letter was sent at twelve o'clock in the day, and when they arrived at the house they were refused admittance, on the plea that the Governor was asleep. It was specifically stated that the officers were kept waiting a quarter of an hour in the sun. At the end of that quarter of an hour they returned to the ship, and, without waiting a minute longer, Commodore Lambert, notwithstanding that he had himself declared that he had no doubt justice would be done,

ordered the port to be blockaded, having first directed the British residents to come on board. During the night, he seized the only vessel belonging to the King of Ava, which he towed out to sea.

This brings me to the point to which I am desirous of calling the attention of the House. Lord Dalhousie had no power to give orders to Commodore Lambert in that station; he could merely request and solicit the co-operation of the commanders of the Queen's forces, just as we might solicit the co-operation of a friendly foreign Power. See what the effect of this system is. If Commodore Lambert had been sent out with orders from the First Lord of the Admiralty, he would not have dared to deviate from them in the slightest respect, much less to commence a war. Owing, however, to the anomalous system existing in India, Commodore Lambert felt at liberty to act on his own responsibility; and hence the Burmese war. Why has not this blot been hit upon by the framers of the present Bill? Can there be a stronger proof of the undue precipitancy with which the Government measure has been introduced than this—that it leaves the great defect which I have pointed out—a defect leading to results of immense gravity—uncured? The Government cannot plead ignorance; they cannot allege that their attention had not been directed to the matter. On the 25th of March, Lord Ellenborough referred to the subject in the House of Lords; and on that occasion Lord Broughton, who had just left office, stated that he had received an official communication from Lord Dalhousie relative to the anomalous character of the relations subsisting between the Governor-General and the Queen's commanders, and expressing a hope that the evil would be corrected in the forthcoming Charter Act. But there is nothing on this important subject in the present Bill; and is not this another ground for delay till we have obtained further information?

I have now to say a few words on the subject of the finances of India; and, in speaking on this subject, I cannot separate the finances of India from those of England. If the finances of the Indian Government receive any severe and irreparable check, will not the resources of England be called upon to meet the emergency, and to supply the deficiency? Three times during the present century the Court of Directors has called on the House of Commons to enable them to get rid of the difficulties which pressed upon them. And do you suppose, that if such a case were to occur again, that England would refuse her aid? Why, the point of honour, if there were no other reason, would compel us to do so. Do you not hear it said, that your Indian Empire is concerned in keeping the Russians out of Constantinople, which is, by the way, 6,000 miles distant from Calcutta; and if we are raising outworks at a distance of 6,000 miles, let no man say that the finances of England are not concerned in the financial condition of India. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Mangles), referring to this subject on Friday night, spoke in a tone that rather surprised me; he taxed those who opposed the measure with a readiness to swallow anything, and twitted my hon. Friend (Mr. Bright) with saying that the debt of India, contracted since the last Charter Act, was 20,000,000£. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mangles) said it was only 9,000,000£. There has, he said, been 13,000,000£ increase of debt, but that there was 4,000,000£ of reserve in the Exchequer. I will quote the evidence of Mr. Melvill, who signed all the papers that have come before the Committee on this point. Mr. Melvill, being asked what the amount of the debt was, says:—'The amount of the debt is over 20,000,000£.' After this answer of Mr. Melvill, what becomes of the statement of the hon. Member for Guildford? But I must say that there is a very

great difference in the opinions and statements of Indian authorities. The evidence of Mr. Prinsep was different from that of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mangles); that of the hon. Gentleman was different from the opinion of the hon. Member for Honiton (Sir J. Hogg); that of Mr. Melvill was different from all of them, and Mr. Melvill was sometimes of a different opinion from his own papers. I want to give you an opportunity of making up your minds on this subject, and of correcting the statements that come before you, for you are to judge of the financial results of your management of India. Now, if I could treat this question as many persons do; if I could believe that the East India Company is a reality; if I believed that they could transfer India to the management of some other body, and that England would be no more responsible; that we could have the trade of India, and be under no obligations in reference either to its good government or its future financial state, I should not be the person to come forward and seek a disturbance of that arrangement.

Other people may not share in my opinion; but I am under the impression that, so far as the future is concerned, we cannot leave a more perilous possession to our children than that which we shall leave them in the constantly-increasing territory of India. The English race can never become indigenous in India; we must govern it, if we govern it at all, by means of a succession of transient visits; and I do not think it is for the interest of the English people, any more than of the people of India, that we should govern permanently 100,000,000 people, 12,000 miles off. I see no benefit which can arise to the mass of the English people from their connection with India, except that which may arise from honest trade; I do not see how the millions of this country are to share in the patronage of India, or to derive any advantage from it, except through the medium of trade; and therefore, I say emphatically, that if you can show me that the East India Company is the reality which many persons suppose it to be, I shall not be the party to wish to withdraw their responsible trust and to place it again in the hands of a Minister of the British Crown. But when I see that this vast territory is now being governed under a fiction, that the Government is not a real one, but one which one of the most able and faithful servants of the Company has declared to be a sham, I say, "Do not let the people of this country delude themselves with the idea that they can escape the responsibility by putting the Government behind a screen."

I wish therefore to look this question fairly in the face; I wish to bring the people of this country face to face with the difficulties and dangers with which I think it is beset. Let it no longer be thought that a few gentlemen meeting in Leadenhall Street can screen the people of England from the responsibility with which they have invested themselves with regard to India. Since the granting of the last Charter, more territory has been gained by conquest than within any similar period before, and the acquisition of territory has been constantly accompanied with a proportionate increase of debt. We have annexed Sattara, and our own blue-books prove that it is governed at a loss; we have annexed Scinde, and our own books prove that it, too, is governed at a loss; we have annexed Pegu, and our own authorities said that this annexation also will involve a loss. All these losses must press on the more fertile provinces of Bengal, which are constantly being drained of their resources to make good the deficit. Let me not be told, by-and-by, that the annexation of Pegu and Burmah will be beneficial. What said Lord Dalhousie? He said in his despatch—and the declaration should not be forgotten—that he looked upon the annexation of Pegu as an evil second only to that of war itself; and if we should be obliged to annex

Burmah, then farewell to all prospect of amelioration in Indian affairs. Well, then, believing that if this fiction be destroyed—if this mystery be exterminated—the germ of a better state of things in reference to this question will begin to grow; and believing that as yet we are profoundly ignorant of what was wanted for India, I shall vote for the Amendment, that we should wait for two years; and I hope sincerely that the House will agree to it.

Source: Richard Cobden, *Speeches by Richard Cobden*. Eds. John and James E. Thorold Rogers Bright (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908) [Online] <http://www.econlib.org/library/YPDBooks/Cobden/cbdSSP1html>



12. Yokoi Shōnan Advocates Japanese Naval Power (1860)

Yokoi Shōnan (1809–1869), a mid-ranking scholar-samurai of the late Tokugawa period in Japan, responded to the challenge of Western encroachment in Asia by making a series of policy recommendations to Matsudaira Shugaku, lord of Echizen, which include—in the following excerpt—a stressing of the importance of naval power to Japan’s ability to compete among the Great Powers and “forestall indignities.”

In discussing arms for the present day, we can continue using the traditional hand-to-hand fighting, or we can stress the fierce Western rifle columns. What are their respective advantages and disadvantages?

In the old days, either way would do for Japan at home, but today we cannot refuse contacts with the overseas countries that have greatly developed their navigation. In the defense of an island country like ours, a navy is of prime importance in strengthening out military. In Japan up to the present, nothing had been heard concerning regulations for a navy, so how could we know how to apply them? Navigation has progressed so much in the world today that we must start our discussion with the importance of the navy. Let us put aside for the time being the problem of Japan.

In Asia there is China, a great country facing the sea in the east. Early on, it developed a high material culture, and everything, including rice, wheat, millet and sorghum, has been plentiful for the livelihood of the people. In addition, there has been nothing lacking within its [China’s] borders in regard to knowledge, skills, arts, goods of daily use, and entertainment. [But] from the imperial court on down to the masses of the common people, extravagant habits have come to prevail. Although China permits foreigners to come and carry on trade, it has no intention of going out to seek goods. Moreover, it does not know how to obtain knowledge from others. For this reason, its arms are weak, and it must suffer indignities from various countries.

Europe is different from China. Its territory touches Asia on the east and is surrounded by seas on three sides. It is located in the northwest part of the earth, and compared with Asia it is small and is lacking in many things. Hence it was inevitable it [Europe] should go out in quest of things. It was natural that its nations should

develop navigation to carry on trade, to fight one another with warships, and to attempt establishing possessions with monopoly controls.

This year [1860] English and French forces attacked the Manchu empire, taking Tientsin and threatening the capital at Beijing. Russia is watching from the sidelines to take advantage of the stalemate and is like a tiger waiting to pounce on its prey. If Russia has designs of dominating China, then a great force must be mustered to prevent this. England must also be feared.

With the situation beyond the seas like this and growing worse all the time, how can Japan arouse its martial vigor when it alone basks in peace and comfort and drills its indolent troops as though it were child's play? Because there is no navy, a defense policy simply does not exist. . .

For several decades Russia had been requesting permission for trade in vain. England's requests also had been rejected. Therefore America laid out its plan long and carefully, and in 1853 its warships entered Uraga Bay, and bluffing with its armed might, it eventually unlocked our closed doors. Thereafter in succession, the Russians, English, and French came and instituted procedures for peaceful trade.

Japan has consequently learned some information about conditions beyond the seas. But we still cling to our antiquated views and depend on our skill in hand-to-hand fighting. Some believe that we can quickly learn to fire in rifle formations and thus avoid indignities. Indeed, our outmoded practices are pitiable.

Consider England: it prevents indignities being committed by foreigners, and it rules possessions. In 1848 there were 673 well-known English navy ships, of which 420 were operating. Steamboats are included in these figures. There were about 15,000 cannons, 29,500 sailors, 13,500 marines, and 900 officers. In wartime, France had 1,000 navy ships and 184,000 sailors. Today it has more than 700 steam naval vessels, 88,000 fighting men, and 240 armored warships. Compared with earlier times, it has twice as many fighting men. In 1856 it had more than 200,000 troops.

In our Bonroku era [1592–1595] during the Toyotomi campaign in Korea, Japan had 350,00 troops, not an inconsiderable figure when compared with England's. Moreover the circumstances of Japan and England are very much alike, and therefore our militarization should be patterned after that of England, with 420 naval vessels, 15,000 cannon, 29,500 sailors, 13,500 fighting men, and 900 officers in the navy. Military camps must be set up in the vicinity of our open port, and warships must be stationed there in preparation for emergencies. They can go to one another's assistance when circumstances require, and they should be adequate to forestall any indignities. England is situated in the northwest, and its land is not good. But with all the advantages of a maritime power, it has seized distant territories and today has become a great power.

Better yet, Japan lies in the central part of the earth, and we excel in the advantages of a sea environment. If the shogunate issued a new decree, aroused the characteristic vigor and bravery of the Japanese, and united the hearts of the entire nation with a firmly established military system based on clarified laws, not only would there be no need to fear foreign countries, but we could sail to various lands within a few years. And even if these lands should make armed attacks, we could, with our moral principles and courage, be looked up to for our benevolent ways.

Even though we need a navy, it cannot be built without an order from the shogunate. Nevertheless, if each province were to take action . . . we could first of all, take those from the samurai class who have the desire to become apprentices in

navigation and, in accordance with their ability, give them a moderate salary so that they could take care of their daily needs. They should live near the sea. At first they could sail fishing vessels and catch fish or sail to foreign lands in merchant vessels. Thus they would learn about the wind and waves while on the sea.

In addition, the shogunate should build two or three vessels of the cutter-schooner type . . . According to this plan, each vessel would engage in trade, whaling, or the like. If it makes a profit from the trade, it should be divided among the members of each ship. The original fund would again be put to use. With this experience in seeking profits according to man's normal impulses, impoverished samurai and others would greatly benefit. They could be trained in techniques while enjoying their work.

Furthermore, those with an interest could be taught the skills of sailing or astronomical observation. These can be learned in actual work in the field. The samurai who constantly go back and forth to foreign countries could broaden their knowledge through observation . . . Hence when the shogunate finally issues a new decree, they will most certainly be able to offer their services in the navy.

We have now discussed how navigation must be learned first and how this knowledge can eventually be put to naval use. But how can this [alone] be called strengthening the military (koyohei)? It is said that no military reform surpassed the Way of the warrior (bushido), which is to cultivate that spirit in actual practice.

Source: See William Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. 2 Vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), II, p. 645–647.

13. Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck Issues His “iron and blood” Statement on the German Future (September 30, 1862)

In response to a resolution tabled by the liberal member Max von Forckenbeck, the newly appointed Chancellor of Prussia Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) urged the lower house to vote for increases in military spending and warned its members ominously not to overestimate their constitutional powers.

He would like to go into the budget for 1862, though without making a prejudicial statement. An abuse of constitutional rights could be undertaken by any side; this would then lead to a reaction from the other side. The Crown, e.g., could dissolve [parliament] twelve times in a row, that would certainly be permitted according to the letter of the constitution, but it would be an abuse. It could just as easily reject cuts in the budget, immoderately; it would be hard to tell where to draw the line there; would it be at 6 million? at 16? or at 60?—There are members of the National Association [Nationalverein]—of this association that has achieved a reputation owing to the justness of its demands—highly esteemed members who have stated that all standing armies are superfluous. Yes, if only a public assembly had this view! Would not a government have to reject this?!—There was talk about the “sobriety” of the Prussian people. Yes, the great independence of the individual makes it difficult in Prussia to govern with the constitution (or to consolidate the

constitution?); in France things are different, there this individual independence is lacking. A constitutional crisis would not be disgraceful, but honorable instead.

Furthermore, we are perhaps too “well-educated” to support a constitution; we are too critical; the ability to assess government measures and records of the public assembly is too common; in the country there are a lot of catiline characters who have a great interest in upheavals. This may sound paradoxical, but everything proves how hard constitutional life is in Prussia.

Furthermore, one is too sensitive about the government’s mistakes; as if it were enough to say “this and that [cabinet] minister made mistakes, [”] as if one wasn’t adversely affected oneself. Public opinion changes, the press is not [the same as] public opinion; one knows how the press is written; members of parliament have a higher duty, to lead opinion, to stand above it. We are too hot-blooded, we have a preference for putting on armor that is too big for our small body; and now we’re actually supposed to utilize it. Germany is not looking to Prussia’s liberalism, but to its power; Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden may indulge liberalism, and for that reason no one will assign them Prussia’s role; Prussia has to coalesce and concentrate its power for the opportune moment, which has already been missed several times; Prussia’s borders according to the Vienna Treaties are not favorable for a healthy, vital state; it is not by speeches and majority resolutions that the great questions of the time are decided—that was the big mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by iron and blood. Last year’s appropriation has been carried out; for whatever reasons, it is a matter of indifference; he (Bismarck is here referring to himself) is sincerely seeking the path of agreement: whether he finds it does not depend on him alone. It would have been better if one had not made a *fait accompli* on the part of the Chamber of Deputies.—If no budget comes about, then there is a *tabula rasa*; the constitution offers no way out, for then it is one interpretation against another interpretation; *summum ius, summa iniuria*; the letter killeth. He is pleased that the speaker’s remark about the possibility of another resolution of the House on account of a possible bill allows for the prospect of agreement; he, too, is looking for this bridge; when it might be found is uncertain.—Bringing about a budget this year is hardly possible given the time; we are in exceptional circumstances; the principle of promptly presenting the budget is also recognized by the government; but it is said that this was already promised and not kept; [and] now [it’s] “You can certainly trust us as honest people.” He does not agree with the interpellation that it is unconstitutional to make expenditures [whose authorization had been] refused; for every interpretation, it is necessary to agree on the three factors.

Source: See Otto von Bismarck, *Reden, 1847–1869*, ed., Wilhelm Schübler, vol. 10, Bismarck: *Die gesammelten Werke*, ed. Hermann von Petersdorff. (Berlin: Otto Stolberg, 1924–1935), pp. 139–140. Translation: Jeremiah Riemer.



14. British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli Champions the Defense of the British Empire (August 11, 1876)

In answer to charges from the opposition that his Conservative government was insensitive to atrocities committed by Ottoman troops against rebellious Christian

subjects in Bulgaria, Disraeli answered, in the following excerpt, that Britain's policy was, and always ought to be, based on the maintenance of the Empire.

We are, it is true, allies of the Sultan of Turkey—so is Russia, so is Austria, so is France, and so are others. We are also their partners in a tripartite treaty, in which we not only generally, but singly guarantee with France and Austria the territorial integrity of Turkey. These are our engagements, and they are engagements that we endeavor to fulfill. And if these engagements, renovated and repeated only four years ago by the wisdom of Europe, are to be treated by the honorable and learned gentleman as idle wind chaff, and if we are told that our political duty is by force to expel the Turks to the other side of the Bosphorus, then politics cease to be an art, statesmanship becomes mere mockery, and instead of a House of Commons faithful to its traditions and which is always influenced, I have ever thought, by sound principles of policy, whoever may be its leaders, we had better at once resolve ourselves into one of those revolutionary clubs which settle all political and social questions with the same ease as the honorable and learned gentleman.

Sir, we refused to join in the Berlin note because we were convinced that if we made that step we should very soon see a material interference with Turkey; and we were not of the opinion that by a system of material guarantees the great question which the honorable and learned gentlemen has averted to, would be solved either for the general welfare of the world or for the interests of England, which after all must be our sovereign care. The Government of the Porte was never for a moment misled by the arrival of the British fleet in Besika Bay. They were perfectly aware when that fleet came there that it was not to prop up any decaying or obsolete Government, nor did its presence there sanction any of those enormities which are the subjects of our painful discussion tonight. What may be the fate of the eastern part of Europe it would be arrogant for me to speculate upon, and if I had any thought on the subject I trust I should not be so imprudent or indiscreet as to take this opportunity to express them. But I am sure that as long as England is ruled by English Parties who understand the principles on which our Empire is founded, and who are resolved to maintain that Empire, our influence in that part of the world can never be looked upon with indifference. If it should happen that the Government which controls the greater portion of these fair lands is found to be incompetent for its purpose, neither England nor any of the Great Powers will shrink from fulfilling the high political and moral duty which will then devolve upon them.

But, Sir, we must not jump at conclusion so quickly as is now the fashion. There is nothing to justify us talking in such a vein of Turkey as has, and is being this moment entertained. The present is a state of affairs which required the most vigilant examination and the most careful management. But those who suppose that England ever uphold, or at this moment particularly is upholding, Turkey from blind superstition and from want of sympathy with the highest aspirations of humanity, are deceived. What our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the Empire of England. Nor will we agree to any step, though it may obtain for a moment comparative quiet and a false prosperity, that hazards the existence of that Empire.

Source: T. E. Kebbel, ed. *Selected Speeches of the Late Right Honourable Earl of Beaconsfield*. 2 Vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), II, pp. 159–160.



15. Lord Augustus Loftus Defends British Support for Turkey (1877)

In the wake of the capture of Plevna by Russian forces in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the British ambassador to St. Petersburg, Lord Augustus Loftus (1817–1904), found himself in conversation with the Russian foreign minister and forced to defend his government's obvious sympathy for Turkey as a barrier against Russian encroachment. In this excerpt from his memoirs, he recounts the exchange.

After the fall of Plevna the Emperor returned on the 22nd December to St. Petersburg, attended by Prince Gortschakoff. A congratulatory address was presented to His Majesty by the nobles of St. Petersburg on his return from the seat of war. An Imperial Rescript was issued by the Emperor, conferring the Grand Cross of St. George on the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief; the Second Class of same Order on the Cesarewich; also the Second Class on General Todleben, General Nepokoichitzi, and General Miliutine, Minister of War, and a gold sword in diamonds Grand Duke Vladimir. The title of Count was conferred on General Ignatieff, Senior, President of the Council of Ministers; and his son, General Ignatieff, Junior, previously Ambassador at Constantinople, was created a member of the Council of the Empire.

I had an interview with Prince Gortschakoff on the 25th, and after congratulating His Highness on his return, which was the object of my visit. I said that I had no communication to make, as I had received no official information bearing on the war or peace.

Prince Gortschakoff said that the moment was one of considerable importance. He said that he could not understand the cause of the feverish alarm and agitation in England. "We have," said His Highness, "been frank and straightforward with England. At the commencement of the war we were told of British interests—well, when they were submitted in form, we gave the most explicit assurances that these interests should be duly respected, and they were considered as satisfactory to your Government. There was the Isthmus of Suez; the road to India; the possession of Constantinople. What could we do more? We could not beforehand state that we shall not cross the Balkans—that we may not be under the necessity of advancing to Constantinople (although we have no wish to do so)—in order to force our enemy to sue for peace. But we have given solemn assurances that we have no intention of keeping possession of Constantinople, and we have pledged ourselves to respect any British interests which may be supposed to be endangered." "Now," continued His Highness, "what are those British interests which all of a sudden are springing up and producing this alarm? Name them to us, and we shall then know what is their nature, their value, and how they can best be safeguarded."

I replied to His Highness that every country must be the judge of its own interests, and that their safeguard and protection could not be confided to other hands. It could not be denied that the passage of the Balkans by a colossal Russian army constituted a danger which threatened the existence of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and it was therefore incontestably the duty of England, in view of such a contingency to be prepared for the protection of her interests, but that I could not see that the performance of this duty intimated any intention of hostility, or even bore the character of an inimical act towards Russia.

Prince Gortschakoff refuted the idea that the existence of the Turkish Empire in Europe would be threatened by the advance of a Russian army across the Balkans, and added that, should it so happen, it was England, and England alone, that would be the cause of it.

"If", said His Highness, "you should determine to occupy Gallipoli, or any other point, and to send your fleet into the Bosphorus, you will be encouraging Turkey to prolong her resistance, and you will be thereby participating in her hostility to Russia."

To this I could not agree, and I again I repeated that in my opinion the measures which might be necessary for the protections of our interests did not in any imply hostility to Russia, but could only be considered of a precautionary and defensive nature.

I observed to His Highness that I could not understand why such vehement invectives were launched against England by the Russian Press, whilst during the whole course of the war our attitude had differed in no respect from that of Austria and Germany.

Prince Gortschakoff replied that he could not admit that we had maintained the same attitude as Austria and Germany. The two Imperial Governments had acted, and were acting, in perfect accord and in harmony with that of Russia. He stated that the policy of the Austrian Cabinet had been consistent throughout, and that he placed entire confidence in Austria and in Germany. As regarded France, His Highness observed that her attention had been absorbed by internal affairs, and could not therefore be directed to external questions, but he had received very satisfactory assurances from the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. England, therefore, he said, was quite isolated.

I replied to His Highness that it was not the first time that England had taken her own line of policy, and that she was sufficiently great and powerful to defend her own interests alone.

Prince Gortschakoff said that he had always supported a pacific solution of the Eastern question. "I have always," said His Highness, "admired and respected England, and I have always wished to maintain amicable relations with her; but I can never 'prostrate' myself before her (*mais me prosterner devant elle—jamais!*).

This conversation was conducted in a very friendly and conciliatory tone.

Notwithstanding the signature of the armistice and the preliminaries of the peace, signed at Adrianople on January 31st, 1878, the Russian armies continued their march on Constantinople.

Source: Lord Augustus Loftus, *The Diplomatic Reminiscences of Lord Augustus Loftus, 1862–1879*. 2 Vols. (London: Cassell and Company, 1894), II, pp. 239–243.



16. Peter Alexandrovitch Saburov Explains the European Situation to Tsar Alexander II (1880)

Saburov, appointed ambassador to Berlin in January 1880, outlined for Tsar Alexander II his impressions of the European situation and stressed the importance of Germany to the defense of Russia's interests.

Our interests in the east are of a double character: some clash with England, the other with Austria. The security of our military and political position in the Black Sea comes under the first category. The emancipation and political organization of the kindred races in the Balkan Peninsula comes under the second. The latter was the object of our efforts in the last campaign. Immense progress has been made in this direction. We can now settle down with pride and wait a while. The task would be too heavy indeed if Russia, pursuing two aims at one and the same time, came into collision with a reunited England and Austria.

The moment seems favorable to separate these two adversaries. The present situation in Europe even makes it a duty for us. We know that hostility to Austria will involve us in a probable conflict with Germany. Accordingly, the most elementary prudence counsels us to halt on the road which had the last war as its consequence, and devote our attention to another aspect of the Eastern question—the one which touches the interests of security of the Empire more directly. In other words, let us be less Slav and more Russian.

The present inclinations of the German Cabinet favor this in a remarkable manner. Prince Bismarck anticipates these ideas. It suits him infinitely better to see Russia orientate her policy in a direction which leaves the interests of Austria alone. He voluntarily agrees to make things easy for us, in consenting to protect, with his new ally, the vulnerable point where England can strike us. Agreements concluded on these bases would complete our plan of defense, and make an attack from this side very difficult, if not impossible, for England.

So it would be desirable, in my humble judgment, to agree to the counter-project of Prince Bismarck, and in place of an arrangement between these two parties, to give the preference to the conclusion of a treaty between three, whilst assigning to the German Chancellor the responsibility of making Austria participate in it.

We must choose one of two alternatives; either Austria will accept, and then our interests in the Straits, as Prince Bismarck has rightly explained, will have secured a more efficacious safeguard than that from an Entente between us and Germany.

Or Austria will refuse. There will likely result from that a coolness in her relations with Germany; the seed of mistrust will have been sown, and Germany, by a natural reaction of things, will once more remove the principal centre of her political affinities from Vienna to St. Petersburg.

In either case, we shall have gained. May I be allowed to finish these lines with a general consideration?

All the impressions that I have received at Berlin only confirm my conviction on the matter of the necessity of persevering in the way of an understanding with Germany, in conformity with the decision taken by the Emperor. This conviction is based on the following reflection:

The real source of the distrust which has made its appearance in Germany with respect to us lies in the fact of her geographical position between two great military States, of which one is animated by a desire for revenge, whilst the intentions of the other remain unknown.

Observing anxiously the march of our affairs, the Germans think they see, in the manifestations of the daily press and even in our Government circles, currents of opinion surging round the throne in a struggle for supremacy. It is of the highest importance for them to know which of these currents will finally prevail in a lasting manner in the guidance of our foreign policy.

Therefore—and I do not hesitate to say it—the most conclusive argument which I have employed when talking with Prince Bismarck has been drawn from the uneasiness inspired in him by the possibility of a rapprochement between France and ourselves, and from the prospect of bringing to an end this nightmare which haunts him, at the price of the loyal co-operation of Germany would afford us the safeguarding of our national interests.

I have reason to believe that the Prince has grasped the whole import of this idea, and that he sincerely sticks to it, for he sees in it a serious pledge for the security of Germany herself!

The situation would entirely change in aspect today if we were to go back upon our steps. The mistrust, of which we already had a foretaste last summer, would arise again on both sides with redoubled intensity. It will become embittered by questions of military susceptibilities which, in their turn, will not be slow to translate themselves into defensive measures and concentrations of troops on both sides of the frontier.

Politically, Germany is at this moment in such a situation that she could become, should it so happen, the centre of a formidable coalition against us. The elements of this coalition are already indicated. It will be formed before France, torn by factions, has had time to clear up her ideas and shake off the English alliance, to which she is fettered.

In this respect it would be impossible to deceive one's self. The first act of that coalition will be the creation of an intermediary State formed out of the fragments of the ancient Poland which they would succeed in snatching from us. For, whatever be the past political declarations of Prince Bismarck on the subject of the Poles, they were only real when they formed part of a system of alliance with us. They would change entirely in the event of conflict. The re-establishment of a Poland, armed with age-long hatred, would then become for Germany a barrier necessary for her future security.

Such is the general effect of my impressions. I dare to submit them to the Imperial Government with the frankness which the Emperor had deigned to allow me.

Source: See J. Y. Simpson, *The Saburov Memoirs or Bismarck and Russia* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 123–126.



17. Jules Ferry Defines French Colonial Expansion as a Struggle of Survival (1884)

In a speech before the French parliament in 1884, Prime Minister Jules-François-Camille Ferry (1832–1893) defended the cause of colonial expansion in terms of an imperative thrust on the nation by an ever-increasing international economic competition in which the loss of Great Power status would be the inevitable price of abstention or neglect—and provokes both outrage and support with his remarks.

The policy of colonial expansion is a political and economic system that I would say could be connected to three sets of ideas: economic ideas; civilizational ideas of

the greatest consequence; and ideas of a political and patriotic order. In the area of economics, I am placing before you, with the support of some figures, the considerations that justify the policy of colonial expansion, as seen from the perspective of a need, felt more and more urgently by the industrialized population of Europe and especially the people of our rich and hard-working country of France: the need for outlets.

Is this some sort of fantasy? Is it something for the future or is this not a pressing need, one may say a crying need, of our industrial population? I merely express in a general way what each one of you, from the various parts of France, can see for himself. Yes, what our major industries, steered irrevocably by the treaties of 1860 toward exports, lack more and more are outlets. Why? Because next door Germany is setting up trade barriers; because across the ocean the United States of America have become protectionists, and extreme protectionists at that; because not only are these major markets perhaps too closing but shrinking, becoming more and more difficult for our industrial goods to access, but these great states are beginning to pour into our own markets products not seen there before. [. . .]

That is a great complication, a huge economic challenge; we have spoken many times of it from this rostrum when the government was questioned by M. Langlois about the economic situation; it's an extremely serious problem. It is so serious, gentlemen, so troubling, that the least informed persons are already forced to acknowledge, foresee, and take precautions against the time when the great South American market that has, in a manner of speaking, belonged to us forever will be contested and perhaps taken away from us by North American products. Nothing is more serious; there is no graver social problem; and these matters are linked intimately to colonial policy. [. . .] Gentlemen, we must speak more openly and honestly! We must declare openly that the higher races indeed have a right over the lower races.

- M. Jules Maigne: Oh! You dare to say in the country that has proclaimed the universal rights if man!

- M. de Guilloutet: It's a justification for the enslavement and trading of negroes! [. . .]

I repeat that the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races [. . .] These duties, gentlemen, have often been misunderstood in the history of past centuries; and certainly when the Spanish soldiers and explorers introduced slavery into Central America, they did not fulfill their duty as men of a higher race. But in our time I maintain that European nations meet this superior civilizing duty with generosity, with grandeur, and in good faith.

- M. Paul Bert: France always has! [. . .]

I say that French colonial policy, the policy of colonial expansion, the policy that has taken us under the Empire to Saigon, to Cochinchina, led us to Tunisia, brought us to Madagascar—I say that this policy of colonial expansion was inspired by a reality, to which it is nevertheless to direct your attention an instant: the fact that a navy such as ours cannot do without safe harbors, defenses, supply centers on the high seas. Are you unaware of this? Look at a map of the world. [. . .]

Gentlemen, these are considerations that merit the full attention of patriots. The conditions of naval warfare have greatly changed. At present, as you know, a warship, however perfect its design, cannot carry more than fourteen days' supply of coal; and a vessel without coal is a wreck on the high seas abandoned to the first occupier. Hence the need to have places of supply, shelters, ports for defense and provisioning. And

that is why we needed Tunisia; that is why we needed Saigon and Cochinchina; that is why we need Madagascar, why we are at Diego-Suarès and Vohemar and why we shall never leave them! Gentlemen, in Europe as it is today, in this competition of the many rivals we see rising up around us, some by military or naval improvements, others by the prodigious development of incessant population growth; in a Europe, or rather in a universe such as this, a policy of withdrawal or abstention is simply the high road to decadence! Nations in our time are great only through activity; it is not by “peaceful radiance light of their institutions” that they are great in these times. [. . .] Spreading light without acting, without taking part in the affairs of the world, staying clear of all European alliances and viewing all expansion into Africa or the Orient as a trap, a misadventure—for a great nation to live this way is, believe me, to abdicate and, in less time than you may think, to sink from the first rank to the third and fourth.

Source: *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*. 7 Vols. Ed. Paul Robiquet (Paris: Armand Colin, 1897), V, p. 199–200, 210–211, 215–216, 217–218.



18. Former President Ulysses S. Grant Blames the American Civil War on Expansionism (1885)

Commander of the Union forces during the American Civil War and 18th President of the United States (1869–1877), Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) completed his personal memoirs in June 1885. In the following excerpt, he cites territorial greed in the acquisition of Texas leading to the Mexican War of 1845–1846 as the source for the bloodshed of 1861–1865.

Texas was originally a state belonging to the republic of Mexico. It extended from the Sabine River on the east to the Rio Grande on the west and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south and east to the territory of the United States and New Mexico—another Mexican state at the time—on the north and west. An empire in territory, it had a very sparse population, until settled by Americans who had received authority from Mexico to colonize. These colonists paid very little attention to the supreme government, and introduced slavery to the state almost from the start, though the constitution of Mexico did not, nor does it now, sanction that institution. Soon they set up an independent government of their own, and war existed, between Texas and Mexico, in name from that time until 1836, when active hostilities very nearly ceased upon the capture of Santa Anna, the Mexican President. Before long, however, the same people—who with the permission of Mexico had colonized Texas, and afterwards set up slavery there, and then seceded as soon as they felt strong enough to do so—offered themselves and the State to the United States, and in 1845 their offer was accepted. The occupation, separation and annexation were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American Union.

Even if the annexation itself could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico cannot. The fact is, annexationists wanted more

territory than they could possibly lay any claim to, as part of the new acquisition. Texas, as an independent State, never had exercised jurisdiction over the territory between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and maintained that, even if independent, the State had no claim south of the Nueces. I am aware that a treaty, made by the Texans with Santa Anna while he was under duress, ceded all territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; but he was a prisoner of war when the treaty was made, and his life was in jeopardy. He knew, too, that he deserved execution at the hands of the Texans, if they should ever capture him. The Texans, if they had taken his life, would have only followed the example set by Santa Anna himself a few weeks before, when he executed the entire garrison of the Alamo and the villagers of Goliad.

In taking military possession of Texas after annexation, the army of occupation, under General Taylor, was directed to occupy the disputed territory. The army did not stop at the Nueces and offer to negotiate for a settlement of the boundary question, but went beyond, apparently in order to force Mexico to initiate war. It is to the credit of the American nation, however, that after conquering Mexico, and while practically holding the country in our possession, so that we could have retained the whole of it, or made any terms we chose, we paid a round sum for the additional territory taken; more than it was worth, or was likely to be, to Mexico. To us it was an empire of incalculable value; but it might have been obtained by other means. The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times.

Source: See U. S. Grant. *The Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 37–38.



19. Francesco Cucchi Reports on Otto von Bismarck's Thinking (July 24, 1889)

Francesco Crispi (1819–1901), the prime minister of Italy, received a letter from Francesco Cucchi (1834–1913), who had been sent to Germany to confer with Chancellor Bismarck, in which Cucchi transmitted Bismarck's thoughts on the likelihood of French belligerence toward Italy. In this excerpt, the chancellor reveals not only his interpretation of European circumstance but also some of his cherished wishes for future developments.

I will give you a résumé of my conversations with the Prince.

He has absolutely no faith in the possibility of an attack on Italy such as implied by the information you have received, and which I communicated to him. He says that such an act would arouse the indignation of the civilized world. The responsibility of having brought about war in Europe by an act of brigandage (his very words) would cost France immensely dear. It might even signify the *finis Gallie* (again his own words), and there would be no avoiding the consequences with five billions of money as in 1870. He added from a purely military and practical point of view this insane

attack might be desirable. In high military circles in Germany they would prefer to have war at once or in the spring, rather than two years hence, when France will have completed her armament and fortifications, and filled her ranks. In any case, the Prince says Germany has her eyes open and is keeping her powder dry. She has long been prepared to meet any form of danger, threat, or unexpected attack. In ten days' time 1,200,000 men could invade France. All requisites of war and the provisions for victualling this huge army for one month, are ready in the cities and fortresses on the banks of the Rhine, Lorraine and Alsace. Besides all this, matters have been so arranged that attack need be feared on the part of Russia, with which country the Prince still hopes it would be possible to avoid a rupture, or at least to keep her out of it, until France has received one serious set-back. In this case, as everything is prepared with a view to making the first great battle absolutely decisive, the weight that Russia would throw into the battle would be greatly diminished.

As regards the quality of the French army, they are of the opinion here that it is wanting in cohesion and discipline. Without these attributes great numbers would be of no avail, and might, indeed, prove fatal under certain conditions. They do not doubt, however, that the French army will be better led, at least in the beginning, than it was in 1870–71. The Chief of the General-Staff, General Miribel, is greatly respected. The Germans believe their artillery is stronger, especially that for purposes of siege. They know that the Lebel rifle is excellent, but by next spring the entire German army of the first line will be supplied with new rifles, which are more perfect than any heretofore known. These are being quietly but swiftly manufactures in the arsenals, and 4000 are being turned out every day.

The Prince has great faith, not only in England's good will, but also that she would help, should France be the first to declare war. He is pleased with the clever way in which you cultivate English friendship, without minding whether Salisbury or Gladstone be in office. Should England really take an active part, as would seem probable, the combined action of the three fleets would completely paralyze that of the French, and oblige it either to take refuge in its arsenals or risk battle against overwhelming odds. This, the Prince says, would greatly facilitate the operations of the land forces against France. By the three fleets he means the English, German, and Italian. I asked the Prince why he did not count on the Austrian fleet as well. He replied that although he has a good opinion of the Austrian marines, he did not believe the ship themselves were worth much. On the whole I noticed a certain coolness toward Austria in his conversation. [. . .] It would take me too long to set down all the views the Prince expressed concerning the policies of England, Russia, Austria, and Turkey, and the attitudes these Powers would be likely to assume should France attack Germany and Italy, or Russia attack Austria and Turkey. I will report them verbally.

Source: *The Memoirs of Francesco Crispi*. Trans. Mary Prichard-Agnetti. 3 Vols. (London: Hoooder and Stoughton, 1912), II, pp. 411–414.



20. Alfred Thayer Mahan Makes the Case for American Naval Power (1890)

In his book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*, Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914) explains in the following excerpt the importance of a first-class

navy to the vital interests of the United States at the beginning of a decade in which the American republic emerged as an international force to be reckoned with.

The influence of the government will be felt in its most legitimate manner in maintaining an armed navy, of a size commensurate with the growth of its shipping and importance of the interests connected with it. More important even than the size of the navy is the question of its institutions, favoring a healthful spirit and activity, and providing for rapid development in time of war by an adequate reserve of men and ships and by measures for drawing out that general reserve power which has before been pointed to, when considering the character and pursuits of the people. Undoubtedly under this second head of warlike preparation must come the maintenance of suitable naval stations, in those distant parts of the world to which the armed shipping must follow the peaceful vessels of commerce. The protection of such stations must depend either upon direct military force, as do Gibraltar and Malta, or upon a surrounding friendly population, such as the American colonists once were to England, and it may be presumed, the Australian colonists now are. Such friendly surroundings and backing, joined to a reasonable military provision, are the best of defenses, and when combined with decided preponderance at sea, make a scattered and extensive empire, like that of England, secure: for while it is true that an unexpected attack may cause disaster in some one quarter, the actual superiority of naval power prevents such a disaster from being general or irremediable. History has sufficiently proved this. England's naval bases have been in all parts of the world; and her fleets have at once protected them, kept open communications between them, and relied upon them for shelter.

Colonies attached to the mother-country afford, therefore, the surest means of supporting abroad the sea power of the country. In peace, the influence of the government should be felt in promoting by all means a warmth of attachment and a unity of interest which will make the welfare of one the welfare of all, and the quarrel of one the quarrel of all; and in war, or rather for war, by including such measures of organization and defense as shall be felt by all to be a fair distribution of a burden of which each reaps the benefit.

Such colonies the United States has not and is not likely to have. As regards purely military naval stations, the feeling of her people was probably accurately expressed by an historian of the English navy a hundred years ago, speaking then of Gibraltar and Port Mahon. "Military governments," he said, "agree so little with the industry of a trading people, and are in themselves so repugnant to the genius of the British people that I do not wonder that men of good sense and of all parties have inclined to give up these, as Tangiers was given up." Having therefore no foreign establishments, either colonial or military, the ships of war of the United States, in war, will be like land birds, unable to fly far from their own shores. To provide resting-places for them, where they can coal and repair, would be one of the first duties of a government proposing to itself the development of the power of the nation at sea . . .

The question is eminently one in which the influence of the government should make itself felt, to build up a navy which, if not capable of reaching distant countries, shall at least be able to keep clear the approaches to its own. The eyes of the country have for a quarter of a century been turned from the sea; the results of such a policy and of its opposite will be shown in the instance of France and of England.

Without asserting a narrow parallelism between the case of the United States and either of these, it may safely be said that it is essential to the welfare of the whole country that the conditions of trade and commerce should remain, as far as possible, unaffected by an external war. In order to do this, the enemy must be kept not only out of our ports, but far away from our coasts.

Source: Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Seapower upon History, 1660–1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890), pp. 82–83, 87.



21. Frederick Lugard Espouses a Philosophy for Colonial Missionaries (1893)

The epitome of the British colonial administrator in Africa and the principal inventor of the practice of indirect rule, Frederick John Dealtry Lugard (1858–1945) published extensively on his experiences. In *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, he gives his views on the nature of missionary work and the proper attitude of the missionary to his colonial flock.

A word as to missions in Africa. Beyond doubt I think the most useful missions are the Medical and the Industrial, in the initial stages of savage development. A combination of the two is, in my opinion, an ideal mission. Such is the work of the Scotch Free Church on Lake Nyasa. The medical missionary begins work with every advantage. Throughout Africa the ideas of the cure of the body and of the soul are closely allied. The “medicine man” is credited, not only with a knowledge of the simples and drugs which may avert or cure disease, but owing to the superstitions of the people, he is also supposed to have a knowledge of the charms and *dawa* which will invoke the aid of the Deity or appease His wrath, and of the witchcraft and magic (*ulu*) by which success in war, immunity from danger, or a supply of rain may be obtained. As the skill of the European in medicine asserts its superiority over the crude methods of the medicine man, so does he in proportion gain an influence in his teaching of the great truths of Christianity. He teaches the savage where knowledge and art cease, how far natural remedies produce their effects, independent of charms or supernatural agencies, and where divine power overrules all human efforts. Such demonstration from a medicine man, whose skill they cannot fail to recognize as superior to their own, has naturally more weight than any mere preaching. A mere preacher is discounted and his zeal is not understood. The medical missionary, moreover, gains an admission to the houses and homes of the natives by virtue of his art, which would not be so readily accorded to another. He becomes their adviser and referee, and his counsels are substituted for the magic and witchcraft which retard development.

The value of the Industrial mission, on the other hand, depends, of course, largely on the nature of the tribes among whom it is located. Its value can hardly be overestimated among such people as the Waganda, both on account of their natural aptitude and their eager desire to learn. But even the less advanced and more primi-

tive tribes may be equally benefited, if not only mechanical and artisan work, such as the carpenter's and blacksmith's craft, but also the simpler expedients of agriculture are taught. The sinking of wells, the system of irrigation, the introduction and planting of useful trees, the use of manure, and of domestic animals for agricultural purposes, the improvement of his implements by the introduction of the primitive Indian plough, etc.—all of these, while improving the status of the native, will render his land more productive, and hence, by increasing his surplus products, will enable him to purchase from the trader the cloth which shall add to his decency, and the implements and household utensils which shall produce greater results for his labor and greater comforts in his social life.

In my view, moreover, instruction (religious or secular) is largely wasted upon adults, who are wedded to custom and prejudice. It is the rising generation who should be educated to a higher plane, by the establishment of schools for children. They, in turn, will send their children for instruction; and so a progressive advancement is instituted, which may produce really great results. I see, in a recent letter, that Dr. Laws supports this view, and appositely quotes the parallel of the Israelites after their exodus from Egypt, who were detained for forty years in the desert, until the generation who had been slaves in Egypt had passed away. The extensive schools at his mission at Bandawi were evidence of the practical application of his views. These schools were literally thronged with thousands of children, and chiefs of neighboring tribes were eagerly offering to erect schools in their own villages at their own cost. [. . .]

One word as regards missionaries themselves. The essential point in dealing with Africans is to establish a respect for the European. Upon this—the prestige of the white man—depends his influence, often his very existence, in Africa. If he shows by his surroundings, by his assumption of superiority, that he is far above the native, he will be respected, and his influence will be proportionate to the superiority he assumes and bears out by his higher accomplishments and mode of life. In my opinion—at any rate with reference to Africa—it is the greatest possible mistake to suppose that a European can acquire a greater influence by adopting the mode of life of the natives. In effect, it is to lower himself to their plane, instead of elevating them to his. The sacrifice involved is wholly unappreciated, and the motive would be held by the savage to be poverty and lack of social status in his own country. The whole influence of the European in Africa is gained by this assertion of a superiority which commands the respect and excites the emulation of the savage. To forego this vantage ground is to lose influence for good. I may add, that the loss of prestige consequent on what I should term the humiliation of the European affects not merely the missionary himself, but is subversive of all efforts for secular administration, and may even invite insult, which may lead to disaster and bloodshed. To maintain it a missionary must, above all things, be a gentleman; for no one is more quick to recognize a real gentleman than the African savage. He must at all times assert himself, and repel an insolent familiarity, which is a thing entirely apart from friendship born of respect and affection. His dwelling house should be as superior to those of the natives as he is himself superior to them. And this, while adding to his prestige and influence, will simultaneously promote his own health and energy, and so save money spent on invalidings to England, and replacements due to sickness or death. In these respects the Scotch missions in Nyasaland have shown a most useful example.

I am convinced that the indiscriminate application of such precepts as those contained in the words to “turn the other cheek also to the smiter,” and to be the servant of all men, is to wholly misunderstand and misapply the teaching of Christ. The African holds the position of a late-born child in the family of nations, and must as yet be schooled in the discipline of the nursery. He is neither the intelligent ideal crying out for instruction, and capable of appreciating the subtle beauties of Christian forbearance and self-sacrifice, which some well-meaning missionary literature would lead us to suppose, nor yet, on the other hand, is he universally a rampant cannibal, predestined by Providence to the yoke of the slave, and fitted for nothing better, as I have elsewhere seen him depicted. I hold rather with Longfellow’s beautiful lines—

In all ages
Every human heart is human;
There are longings, yearnings, strivings
For the good they comprehend not.
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God’s right hand in that darkness.

That is to say, that there is in him, like the rest of us, both good and bad, and that the innate good is capable of being developed by culture.

Source: F. D. Lugard. *The Rise of our East African Empire*. 2 Vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893), I, pp. 69–75.



22. Joseph Chamberlain Explains the True Conception of Empire (March 1897)

The colonial secretary in the Conservative cabinet of Lord Salisbury, Joseph Chamberlain (1836–1914) addressed the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute in March 1897. In his speech, he presented a defense of the British Empire as an evolving mission of civilization that had become an obligation of the British nation to humanity rather than a project of selfish plunder.

What is that conception? As regards the self-governing colonies we no longer talk of them as dependences. The sense of possession has given way to the sentiment of kinship. We think and speak of them as part of ourselves, as part of the British Empire, united to us, although they may be dispersed throughout the world, by ties of kindred, of religion, of history, and of language, and joined to us by the seas that seemed to divided us.

But the British Empire is not confined to the self-governing colonies and the United Kingdom. It includes a much greater area, a much more numerous population in tropical climes, where no considerable European settlement is possible, and where the native population must always vastly outnumber the white inhabitants; and in these cases also the same change has come over the Imperial idea. Here also

the sense of possession has given place to a different sentiment—the sense of obligation. We feel now that our rule over these territories can only be justified if we can show that it adds to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and I maintain that our rule does, and has, brought security and peace and comparative prosperity to countries that never knew these blessings before.

In carrying out this work of civilization, we are fulfilling what I believe to be our national mission, and we are finding scope for the exercise of those faculties and qualities which have made of us a great governing race. I do not say that our success has been perfect in every case, I do not say that all of our methods have been beyond reproach; but I do say that in almost every instance in which the rule of the Queen has been established and the great Pax Britannica has been enforced, there has come with it greater security to life and property, and a material improvement in the condition of the bulk of the population. No doubt, in the first instance when these conquests have been made, there as been bloodshed, there has been loss of life among the native populations, loss of still more precious lives among those who have been sent out to bring these countries in to some kind of disciplined order, but it must be remembered that that is the condition of the mission we have to fulfill. There are, of course, among us—there are always among us, I think—a very small minority of men who are ready to be the advocates of the most detestable tyrants, provided their skin is black—men who sympathize with the sorrows of Prempeh and Lobengula, and who denounce as murderers those of their countrymen who have gone forth at the command of the Queen, and who have redeemed districts as large as Europe from barbarism and the superstition in which they had been steeped for centuries. I remember a picture by Mr. Selous of a philanthropist—an imaginary philanthropist, I will hope—sitting cosily by his fireside and denouncing the methods by which British civilization was promoted. This philanthropist complained of the use of Maxim guns and other instruments of warfare, and asked why we could not proceed by more conciliatory methods, and why the *impis* of Lobengula could not be brought before a magistrate, and fined five shillings and bound over to keep the peace.

No doubt there is a humorous exaggeration in this picture, but there is gross exaggeration in the frame of mind against which it was directed. You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force; but if you will fairly contrast the gain to humanity with the price which we are bound to pay for it, I think you may well rejoice in the result of such expeditions as those which have been recently conducted with such signal success in Nyassaland, Ashanti, Benin, and Nupé—expeditions which may have, and indeed have, cost valuable lives, but as to which we may rest assured that for one life lost a hundred will be gained, and the cause of civilization and the prosperity of the people will in the long run be eminently advanced. But no doubt such a state of things, such as mission as I have described, involves heavy responsibility. In the wide dominions of the Queen the doors of the temple of Janus are never closed, and it is a gigantic task we have undertaken when we have determined to wield the scepter of empire. Great is the task, great is the responsibility, but great is the honor; and I am convinced that the conscience and the spirit of the country will rise to the height of its obligations, and that we shall have the strength to fulfill the mission which our history and our national character have imposed upon us.

Source: Charles W. Boyd, ed. *Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches*. 2 Vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), II, pp. 2–4.



23. Winston Churchill Assesses the Afghan Tribesmen (1897)

Commissioned as an officer in the Fourth Hussars and posted to his regiment in Bangalore, India, Winston S. Churchill (1874–1965) offered his services to the *Daily Telegraph* as an expedient to get him to the Northwest frontier. On September 6, 1897, he posted a letter, in typically strong language, describing the qualities of the Afghan tribesmen then at war with the British Empire.

Let us begin, then, as we hope to end, with the enemy. In the examination of a people it is always best to take their virtues first. This clears the ground and leaves sufficient time for the investigation of the predominant characteristics. The Swatis, Bonerwals, Mohmands and other frontier tribes with whom the Malakand Field Force is at present engaged are brave and warlike. Their courage has been abundantly displayed in the present campaign. They charge home, and nothing but a bullet stops their career. Their swordsmanship—neglecting guards—concerns itself only with cuts and, careless of what injury they may receive, they devote themselves to the destruction of their opponents. In the selection of positions they exhibit considerable military skill, and as skirmishers their use of cover and preservation of order entitle them to much praise. It is mournful to be compelled to close the catalogue of their virtues thus early, but the closest scrutiny of the facts which have been placed before me has resulted in no further discovery in this direction. From year to year their life is one of feud and strife. They plough with a sword at their sides. Every field has its protecting tower, to which the agriculturalist can hurry at the approach of a stranger. Successful murder—whether by open force or treachery—is the surest road to distinction among them. A recent writer had ascribed to these people those high family virtues which simple races so often possess. The consideration of one pregnant fact compels me reluctantly to abandon even this hope. Their principal article of commerce is their women—wives and daughters—who are exchanged for rifles. This degradation of mind is unrelieved by a single elevated sentiment. Their religion is the most miserable fanaticism, in which cruelty, credulity and immorality are equally represented. Their holy men—the Mullahs—prize as chief privilege a sort of *droit de seigneur*. It is impossible to imagine a lower type of beings or a more dreadful state of barbarism.

I am aware of the powerful influence of climate upon character. But the hill man cannot even plead the excuse of a cold and barren land for their barbarism. The valleys they inhabit are fertile and often beautiful. Once the spots where their squalid huts now stand were occupied by thriving cities, and the stone ‘sangars’ from which they defy their foes are built on the terraces which nourished the crops of a long forgotten civilization. Everywhere are the relics of the old Buddhists on whom these fierce tribes, thrown out of that birthplace of nations, Central Asia, descended. Their roads, their temples, their ruins have alone survived. All else has been destroyed in that darkness which surrounds those races whose type is hardly on the fringe of humanity. But it may be argued, “However degraded and

barbarous these people may be, they have a right to live unmolested on the soil that their fathers conquered.” “They have attacked your posts,’ says the Little Englander, carefully disassociating himself from anything British, “but why did you ever put your posts there?” To answer this question it is necessary to consider the whole matter from a wider point of view than the Swat Valley affords.

Starting with the assumption that our Empire in India is worth holding, and admitting the possibility that others besides ourselves might wish to possess it, it obviously becomes our duty to adopt measures for its safety. It is a question of a line of defense. The Indus is now recognized by all strategists as being useless for this purpose. The most natural way of preventing an enemy from entering a house is to hold the door and windows; and the general consensus of opinion is that to secure India it is necessary to hold the passes of the mountains. With this view small military posts have been built along the frontier. The tribes whose territories adjoin have not been interfered with. Their independence has been respected and, their degradation undisturbed. More than this, the influence of the flag that flies from the fort on the hill has stimulated the trade of the valley, and increased the wealth of its inhabitants. Were the latter amenable to logical reasoning, the improvement of their condition and strength of their adversaries would have convinced them of the folly of an outbreak. But in a land of fanatics common sense does not exist.

The defeat of the Greeks sent an electric thrill through Islam. The Ameer—a negative conductor—is said to have communicated it to the ‘Mullahs’, and they have generated the disturbance through the frontier tribes. The ensuing flash has kindled a widespread conflagration. This must now be dealt with courageously and intelligently. It is useless, and often dangerous, to argue with an Afghan. Not because he is degraded, not because we covet his valleys, but because his actions interfere with the safety of our Empire, he must be crushed. There are many in Europe, though they live amid the prosaic surroundings of a highly developed country, where economics and finance reign supreme, who yet regard, with pleasure and with pride, the wide dominions of which they are trustees.

These, when they read that savages have been killed for attacking British posts and menacing the security of our possessions, will not hesitate to say, with firmness and without reserve, ‘So perish all who do the like again.’

Source: See Frederick Woods, ed. *Young Winston's Wars: The Original Despatches of Winston S. Churchill, War Correspondent, 1897–1900* (New York: Viking, 1972), pp. 8–10



24. Bernhard von Bülow Calls Upon Germany to Be a Hammer (December 11, 1899)

As secretary of foreign affairs for Kaiser Wilhelm II, Bernhard von Bülow (1849–1929) defended German *Weltpolitik* generally and the country's colonial policy specifically increasingly in terms of a fight for survival among the Great Powers. His most storied contribution to the sense of intensified imperial competition, the Hammer and Anvil Speech to the Reichstag of December 11, 1899, is excerpted here.

In our nineteenth century, England has increased its colonial empire—the largest the world has seen since the days of the Romans—further and further; the French have put down roots in North Africa and East Africa and created for themselves a new empire in the Far East; Russia has begun its mighty course of victory in Asia, leading it to the high plateau of the Pamir and to the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. Four years ago the Sino-Japanese war, scarcely one and a half years ago the Spanish-American War have put things further in motion; they've led to great, momentous, far-reaching decisions, shaken old empires, and added new and serious ferment. [. . .] The English prime minister said a long time ago that the strong states were getting stronger and stronger and the weak ones weaker and weaker. [. . .] We don't want to step on the toes of any foreign power, but at the same time we don't want our own feet tramped by any foreign power (Bravo!) and we don't intend to be shoved aside by any foreign power, not in political nor in economic terms. (Lively applause.) It is time, high time, that we [. . .] make it clear in our own minds what stance we have to take and how we need to prepare ourselves in the face of the processes taking place around us which carry the seeds within them for the restructuring of power relationships for the unforeseeable future. To stand inactively to one side, as we have done so often in the past, either from native modesty (*Laughter*) or because we were completely absorbed in our own internal arguments or for doctrinaire reasons—to stand dreamily to one side while other people split up the pie, we cannot and we will not do that. (*Applause.*) We cannot for the simple reason that we now have interests in all parts of the world. [. . .] The rapid growth of our population, the unprecedented blossoming of our industries, the hard work of our merchants, in short the mighty vitality of the German people have woven us into the world economy and pulled us into international politics. If the English speak of a 'Greater Britain;' if the French speak of a 'Nouvelle France;' if the Russians open up Asia; then we, too, have the right to a greater Germany (Bravo! from the right, laughter from the left), not in the sense of conquest, but indeed in the sense of peaceful extension of our trade and its infrastructures. [. . .] We cannot and will not permit that the order of the day passes over the German people [. . .] There is a lot of envy present in the world against us (calls from the left), political envy and economic envy. There are individuals and there are interest groups, and there are movements, and there are perhaps even peoples that believe that the German was easier to have around and that the German was more pleasant for his neighbors in those earlier days, when, in spite of our education and in spite of our culture, foreigners looked down on us in political and economic matters like cavaliers with their noses in the air looking down on the humble tutor. (Very true!—*Laughter.*) These times of political faintness and economic and political humility should never return (*Lively Bravo.*) We don't ever again want to become, as Friedrich List put it, the 'slaves of humanity.' But we'll only be able to keep ourselves at the fore if we realize that there is no welfare for us without power, without a strong army and a strong fleet. (Very true! from the right; objections from the left) The means, gentlemen, for a people of almost 60 million—dwelling in the middle of Europe and, at the same time, stretching its economic antennae out to all sides—to battle its way through in the struggle for existence without strong armaments on land and at sea, have not yet been found. (Very true! from the right.) In the coming century the German people will be a hammer or an anvil.

Source: See Buchners Kolleg Geschichte, *Das Kaiserreich, 1871 bis 1918* (Bamberg: C. C. Buchners Verlag, 1987), p. 137.



25. Rudyard Kipling Calls upon Americans to Take Up the White Man's Burden (1899)

Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) wrote a poem, “The White Man's Burden,” which became both famous and infamous for its treatment of colonialism as a noble self-sacrifice. The poem was occasioned by the U.S. colonization of the Philippines and originally published in *McClure's* magazine as a challenge to the American people to join the other imperial powers in civilizing the non-European world.

The White Man's Burden
Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.
Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.
Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.
Take up the White Man's burden—
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.
Take up the White Man's burden—
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,

The hate of those ye guard—
 The cry of hosts ye humor
 (Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
 “Why brought he us from bondage,
 Our loved Egyptian night?”
 Take up the White Man’s burden—
 Ye dare not stoop to less—
 Nor call too loud on Freedom
 To cloke your weariness;
 By all ye cry or whisper,
 By all ye leave or do,
 The silent, sullen peoples
 Shall weigh your gods and you.
 Take up the White Man’s burden—
 Have done with childish days—
 The lightly proffered laurel,
 The easy, ungrudged praise.
 Comes now, to search your manhood
 Through all the thankless years
 Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
 The judgment of your peers!

Source: See Irving Howe, ed., *The Portable Kipling* (New York: Penguin, 1982), p. 602.

26. Colonel C. E. Calwell Counsels Ruthlessness in Fighting Guerrillas (1906)

In 1906, Colonel C. E. Calwell (1859–1928) published *Small Wars*, a handbook on colonial warfare in which he dealt forthrightly with the methods to be employed against guerrilla fighters.

The adoption of guerilla methods by the enemy almost necessarily forces the regular troops to resort to punitive measures directed against the possessions of the antagonists. It must be remembered that one way to get the enemy to fight is to make raids on his property—only the most cowardly of savages and irregulars will allow their cattle to be carried off or their homes to be destroyed without making some show of resistance. Antagonists who will not even under such circumstances strike a blow, can only be dealt with by depriving them of their belongings or burning their dwellings. When operations are being carried out against guerrillas scattered over great tracts of country, it has generally been found very useful to send raiding parties consisting of mounted men great distances, to carry off the enemies’ flocks and herds or to destroy encampments and villages. As already mentioned the Russians have put this method of warfare in force in Central Asia, and the French made large use of it in some of their Algerian campaign. [. . .] In the Indian Mutiny, a campaign for the suppression of a rebellion where the most drastic measures were justified by the events at its

outset, guerrilla warfare was not a feature, except in the Central Provinces and in some few localities after the rebel armies had been overthrown. The nature of the campaign was indeed such that the insurgents were so roughly handled in action that the country was practically pacified on the battle-field. But in South Africa in 1851–52, in 1877, and again in 1896, rigorous treatment was meted out to the enemy in crushing out disaffection, and with good results; the Kaffir villages and Matabili kraals were burnt, their crops destroyed, their cattle carried off. The French in Algeria, regardless of the maxim, “les représailles sont toujours inutiles,” dealt very severely with the smoldering disaffection of the conquered territory for years after Abd el Kader’s power was gone, and their procedure succeeded. Uncivilized races attribute leniency to timidity. A system adapted to La Vendée is out of place among fanatics and savages, who must be brought thoroughly to book and cowed or they will rise again.

Source: Colonel C. E. Calwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, (London: H.M.S.O, 1906), Ch. XII.



27. Sir John Fisher Thanks God and Machiavelli for His Own Genius (1907)

In correspondence with King Edward VII, First Sea Lord John Fisher (1841–1920) explained how the development of the *Dreadnought* had given Great Britain a victory in the Anglo-German naval race.

Our only probable enemy is Germany. Germany keeps her *whole* fleet always concentrated within a few hours of England. We must therefore keep a Fleet twice as powerful concentrated within a few hours of Germany.

If we kept the Channel and Atlantic Fleets *always* in the English Channel (say in the vicinity of the Nore), this would meet the case, but this is neither feasible nor expedient, and if, when relations with foreign powers are strained, the Admiralty attempt to take the proper fighting precautions and move our Channel and Atlantic Fleets to their proper fighting position, then *at once* the Foreign Office and the Government veto it, and say such a step will precipitate war! This actually happened on the recent occasion of the German Government presenting an ultimatum to acquire a coaling station at Madeira, and the German Minister was ordered to leave Lisbon at 10 p.m. on a certain Sunday night, and war was imminent, as Lord Landsdowne had told Portugal England would back her. The Board of Admiralty don’t intend ever again to subject themselves to this risk, and they have decided to form a new Home Fleet always at home, with its Headquarters at the Nore and its cruising ground the North Sea.

(“Your battle ground should be your drill ground,” said Nelson!) The politicians and the diplomatists will not be the people the Public will hang if the British Navy fails to annihilate the whole German Fleet and gobble up every single one of those 842 German merchant steamers now daily on the ocean! *No*—it will be the Sea Lords! [. . .]

In March this year *it is an absolute fact* that Germany had not laid down a single Dreadnought, nor had she commenced building a single ship for 18 months (*Germany has been paralysed by the Dreadnought!*). The more the German Admiralty looked into her qualities, the more convinced they became that they must follow suit, and the more convinced they were that the whole of the existing battle fleet was useless *because utterly wanting in gun power!* (Half of their whole fleet are only equal to our armored cruisers!) The German Admiralty wrestled with the Dreadnought problem for 18 months and did nothing. *Why?* Because it meant spending 12 1/2 millions sterling on widening and deepening the Kiel Canal and dredging all their harbors and all the approaches to their harbors, because if they did not do so it would be no use building German Dreadnoughts, because they couldn't float anywhere in the harbors of Germany! *But there is another reason never yet made public.* Our *existing* battleship of the latest type draw too much water to get close into the German waters, but the German Admiralty is going (is *obliged*) to spend 12 1/2 millions sterling [in dredging] to allow our existing ships to go and fight them! It was a Machiavellian interference of Providence on our behalf that brought about the evolution of the *Dreadnought!*

Source: See *Fear God and Dread Nought: The Correspondence of the Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher of Kilverstone*. 2 Vols. Ed. Arthur J. Marder. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), II, pp. 103, 139–140.



28. Sir Eyre Crowe Drafts a Historic Memorandum (1907)

Only seven years before the outbreak of World War I, one of the leading officials of the British Foreign Office, Sir Eyre Crowe (1864–1925), drafted an extraordinarily perceptive and coherent memorandum, excerpted here, in which he attempted to clarify policy options in dealing with Germany as a naval power.

If it be considered necessary to formulate and accept a theory that will fit all ascertained facts of German foreign policy, the choice must lie between the two hypotheses:

Either Germany is definitely aiming at a general political hegemony and maritime ascendancy, threatening the independence of her neighbors and ultimately the existence of England;

Or Germany, free from any such clear-cut ambition, and thinking for the present merely of using her legitimate position and influence as one of the leading Powers in the council of nations, is seeking to promote her foreign commerce, spread the benefits of German culture, extend the scope of her national energies, and create fresh German interests all over the world wherever and whenever a peaceful opportunity offers, leaving it to an uncertain future to decide whether the occurrence of great changes in the world may not assign to Germany a larger share of direct political action over regions not now part of her dominions, without that violation of the established rights of other countries which would be involved in any such action under existing political conditions.

In either case Germany would clearly be wise to build as powerful a navy as she could afford. [. . .]

It maybe recalled that the German Empire owes such expansion as has already taken place in no small measure to England's cooperation or spirit of accommodation, and to the British principle of equal opportunity and no favor. It cannot be good policy for England to thwart such a process of development where it does not direct conflict either with British interests or with those of other nations to which England is bound by solemn treaty obligations. If Germany, within the limits imposed by thee two conditions, finds the means peacefully and honorably to increase her trade and shipping, to gain coaling stations or other harbors, to acquire landing rights for cables, or to secure concessions for the employment of German capital or industries, she should never find England in her way.

Nor is it for British Governments to oppose Germany's building as large a fleet as she may consider necessary or desirable for the defense of her national interests. It is the mark of an independent state that it decides such matters for itself, free from any outside interference, and it would ill become England with her large fleets to dictate to another State what is good for it in matters of supreme national concern. Apart from the question of right and wrong, it may also be urged that nothing would be more likely than any attempt at such dictation, to impel Germany to persevere with her shipbuilding programs. And also, it may be said in parenthesis, nothing is more likely to produce in Germany the impression of the practical hopelessness of a never-ending succession of costly naval programs than the conviction, based on ocular demonstration, that for every German ship England will inevitably lay down two, so maintaining the present British preponderance.

It would be of real advantage if the determination not to bar Germany's legitimate and peaceful expansion, nor her schemes of naval development, were made as patent and pronounced as authoritatively as possible, provided care were taken at the same time to make it quite clear that this benevolent attitude will give way to determined opposition at the first sign of British or allied interests being adversely affected. This alone would probably do more to bring about lastingly satisfactory relations with Germany than any other course. [. . .]

Here, again, however, it would be wrong to suppose that any discrimination is intended to Germany's disadvantage. On the contrary, the same rule will naturally impose itself in the case of all other Powers. It may, indeed, be useful to cast back a glance on British relations with France before and after 1898. A reference to the official records will show that ever since 1882 England had met a growing number of French demands and infringements of British rights in the same spirit of ready accommodation which inspired her dealing with Germany. The not unnatural result was that every successive French Government embarked on a policy of "squeezing" England, until the crisis came in the year of Fashoda, when the stake at issue was the maintenance of the British position on the Upper Nile. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs of that day argued, like his predecessors, that England's apparent opposition was only half-hearted, and would collapse before the persistent threat of French displeasure. Nothing would persuade him England could in a question of this kind assume an attitude of unbending resistance. It was this erroneous impression, justified in the eyes of the French Cabinet by their deductions from British political practice, that brought the two countries to the verge of war. When the Fashoda chapter had ended with the discomfiture of France, she remained for a

time very sullen, and the enemies of England rejoiced, because they believed that an impassable gulf has now been fixed between the two nations. As a matter of fact, the events at Fashoda proved to be the opening of a new chapter of Anglo-French relations. These, after remaining for some years rather formal, have not since been disturbed by any disagreeable incidents. France behaved more correctly and seemed less suspicious and inconsiderate than had been her wont, and no fresh obstacle arose in the way which ultimately led to the Agreement of 1904.

Although Germany has not been exposed to such a rebuff as France encountered in 1898, the events connected with the Algeciras Conference appear to have had on the German Government the effect of an unexpected revelation, clearly showing indication of a new spirit in which England proposes to regulate her own conduct towards France on the one hand and to Germany on the other. That the result was a very serious disappointment to Germany has been made abundantly manifest by the turmoil which the signature of the Algeciras Act has created in that country, the official, semi-official, and unofficial classes vying with each other in giving expression to their astonished discontent. The time which has since elapsed has, no doubt, been short. But during that time it may be observed that our relations with Germany, if not exactly cordial, have at least been practically free from all symptoms of direct friction, and there is an impression that Germany will think twice before she now gives rise to any fresh disagreement. In this attitude she will be encouraged if she meets on England's part with unvarying courtesy and consideration in all matters of common concern, but also with a prompt and firm refusal to enter into any one-sided bargains or arrangements, and the most unbending determination to uphold British rights and interests in every part of the globe. There will be no surer or quicker way to win the respect of the German Government and of the German nation.

Source: See Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth W. Thompson, eds. *Principles and Problems of International Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 258–261.



29. Austria-Hungary Threatens Serbia with War (July 23, 1914)

Three weeks after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, the Austro-Hungarian government submitted the ultimatum below to Serbia to seize the opportunity presented by the crisis to settle longstanding grievances with Serbia. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, commented that he had “never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character.”

On the 31st of March 1909 the Serbian Minister at Vienna on the instructions of his Government, made the following declaration to the Imperial and Royal Government:

“Serbia recognizes that her rights have not been affected by the *fait accompli* created in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that consequently she will conform to such decisions as the Powers may take in conformity with Article XXV of the Treaty of Berlin. In deference to the advice of the Great Powers, Serbia undertakes henceforward to

renounce the attitude of protest and opposition which she has adopted with regard to the annexation since last autumn and she further engages to modify the direction of her present policy with regard to Austria-Hungary and to live henceforward on a footing of good neighborliness."

The history of recent years and in particular the painful events of the 28 June have demonstrated the existence in Serbia of a subversive movement the aim of which is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy certain parts of its territories. This movement which had its birth under the eye of the Serbian Government has gone so far as to manifest itself beyond the territory of the Kingdom by acts of terrorism, by a series of outrages and murders.

The Royal Serbian Government, far from fulfilling the formal pledges contained in the declaration of the 31 March, 1909, has done nothing to repress these movements; it has tolerated the criminal machinations of various societies and associations directed against the Monarchy, unrestrained language on the part of the press, glorification of the perpetrators of outrages, participation of officers and officials in subversive agitation, unwholesome propaganda in public education, in short tolerated all the manifestations of a nature to inculcate in the Serbian population hatred of the Monarchy and contempt of its institutions.

This culpable tolerance of the Royal Government of Serbia had not ceased at the moment when the events of the 28 June last revealed its disastrous consequences to the whole world.

It is shown results by the depositions and confessions of the criminal authors of the outrage of the 28 June that the Sarajevo assassinations were planned in Belgrade, that the arms and explosives with which the murderers were found to be provided had been given them by Serbian officers and officials belonging to the *Narodna Odbrana* and finally that the passage into Bosnia of the criminals and their arms was organized and effectuated by the chiefs of the Serbian frontier service.

The results here mentioned of the preliminary investigation do not permit the Imperial and Royal Government to pursue any longer the attitude of expectant forbearance which they have for years observed towards the machinations concentrated in Belgrade and thence propagated in the territories of the Monarchy; the results on the contrary impose on them the duty of putting an end to the intrigues which form a permanent threat to the tranquility of the Monarchy.

It is to achieve this end that the Imperial and Royal Government sees itself obliged to demand from the Serbian Government a formal assurance that it condemns the propaganda directed against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; that is to say the aggregate of tendencies, the ultimate aim of which is to detach from the Monarchy territories belonging thereto, and that it undertakes to suppress by every means this criminal and terrorist propaganda.

In order to give a formal character to this undertaking the Royal Government of Serbia shall cause to be published on the front page of the *Official Journal* of the 26/13 July the following declaration:

"The Royal Government of Serbia condemns the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, i.e., the aggregate of tendencies, the ultimate aim of which is to detach from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy territories which form part thereof, and it sincerely deplores the fatal consequences of these criminal proceedings."

"The Royal Government regrets that Serbian officers and officials have participated in the above-mentioned propaganda and thereby compromised the good

neighborly relations to which the Royal Government had solemnly pledged itself by its declaration of the 31 of March 1909.”

“The Royal Government, which disapproves and repudiates all idea or attempt at interference with the destinies of the inhabitants of any part whatsoever of Austria-Hungary, considers it its duty formally to warn officers, officials and all population of the Kingdom that henceforward they will proceed with the utmost rigor against all persons who may render themselves guilty of such machinations which it will use all its efforts to forestall and repress.”

This declaration shall simultaneously be communicated to the Royal Army as an order of the day by His Majesty the King and shall be published in the *Official Bulletin of the Army*.

The Royal Serbian Government shall further undertake:

1. To suppress any publication which incites to hatred and contempt of the Monarchy and the general tendency of which is directed against its territorial integrity;
2. To dissolve immediately the society styled *Narodna Odbrana*, to confiscate all its means of propaganda, and to proceed in the same manner against other societies and their branches in Serbia which engage in propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; the Royal Government will take the necessary measures to prevent the dissolved societies from continuing their activities under another name and form;
3. To eliminate without delay from public instruction in Serbia, both as regards the teaching body and the methods of instruction, all that serves or might serve to foment the propaganda against Austria-Hungary;
4. To remove from the military service and the administration in general all officers and officials guilty of propaganda against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and of whom the Imperial and Royal Government reserves to itself the right to the names and deeds to the Royal Government;
5. To accept the collaboration in Serbia of organs of the Imperial and Royal Government in the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy;
6. To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot of the 28 June who are on Serbian territory; organs delegated by the Imperial and Royal Government will take part in the investigation relating thereto;
7. To proceed without delay to the arrest of Major Voija Tankosic and of a certain Milan Ciganovic, a Serbian State employee implicated by the findings of the preliminary investigation at Sarajevo;
8. To prevent by effective measures the cooperation of the Serbian Authorities in the illicit traffic in arms and explosives across the frontier; to dismiss and severely punish the officials of the Šabac and Ložnica frontier service guilty of having assisted the authors of the Sarajevo crime by facilitating their passage across the frontier;
9. To furnish the Imperial and Royal Government with explanations regarding the unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian officials both in Serbia and abroad, who, notwithstanding their official position, have not hesitated since the crime of the 28 June to express themselves in interviews in terms of hostility towards the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, finally;
10. To notify the Imperial and Royal Government without delay of the execution of the measures comprised under the preceding heads.

The Imperial and Royal Government expects the reply of the Royal Government at the latest by 5 o'clock on Saturday 25 of this month at 5 p.m.

Source: See Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914*. 3 Vols. Trans. Isabella M. Massey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), II, pp. 286–288.



30. Viscount Ishii Remembers Russian and German Arrogance (1936)

In his memoirs, published in 1936, Viscount Kikujiro Ishii (1866–1945) explained the Japanese perspective on the emergence of hostilities with Russia, the alliance with Britain, and the impact of both on the calculations of Germany.

The Negotiations between Japan and Russia in 1903 opened under foreboding conditions. Up to that time Japan had been exercising such self-restraint in the face of the impending national danger that even foreign nations wondered at it. Since the Tripartite Intervention, however, Japan's diplomacy had developed some perspicacity, and when Britain now extended a hand to her, Japan gladly grasped it and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formed. Germany was now delighted with her handiwork. France was much distressed by this troublesome development, as it left no course open to her but to continue her unwholesome association with Russia. Probably to offset the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, France and Russia quickly formed and announced a fresh pact between them.

By this time Russia's fever for East Asiatic conquest had become incurable. Japan she considered too insignificant to bother about, while Britain she thought ruined by the South African War. As for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Russia did not think it worth the paper it was written on. Indeed, there seemed to be no cure for Russian militarism except a major surgical operation. Thus when the curtain arose on the Russo-Japanese negotiations, the Russian attitude was menacing and overbearing. Russia would tolerate no interference from any power except China in the liquidation of Manchuria, inasmuch as this was territory "which had been conquered by the might of Russian arms." Mr. Komura, the Japanese foreign minister, reminded the Russian representatives of the facts of the Manchurian affairs, but his soft-spoken words fell on deaf ears. In the opinion of the Russian militarists, if Russo-Japanese negotiations were to be held at all, it would have to be at some point south of the Yalu River. They implied that Japan's sphere of influence was not recognized north of the Daido River. At the same time the Russian advanced such impossible proposals as the lease of Masanpo and generally made it clear that, instead of looking for a fair settlement of the issues, they were prolonging the discussions merely to gain time to strengthen their army and navy and place Japan in a helpless position.

The details of the negotiations with Russia will not be recited here, as they were published when the war broke out and are now generally known. The war between greedy militarism and righteous civilization did not last long. The loss of Port Arthur, the defeat at Mukden and the annihilation of the Baltic fleet in the Straits of Tsushima were the three stages of Russia's collapse that brought her to the peace table at Portsmouth. The Portsmouth Conference, lasting only one month, changed

the political geography of the Far East. The Russia so dreaded by Bismarck, which had startled the world by directing its limitless population and energy toward the Far East, was now a thing of yesterday, withdrawing from Korea and abandoning its fortresses and railways in North China and South Manchuria. It seemed that Russia was at last awakened from her dream of an ice-free port and cured of her fever for eastward conquest. But for this cure she paid dearly.

We can understand now why Germany exulted when she learned of the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Her scheme matured almost as she had planned it. Russia's lust for eastward expansion had to be aroused; Japan had to be emboldened against Russian might; Japan would not quail but fight Russia if allied with Britain; and the ensuing war would be a long drawn out affair in which neither side would be overwhelmingly victorious. Outside of the short duration of the war and Japan's smashing victory, the situation developed as contemplated, and Germany's mighty neighbor, who used to cause Bismarck sleepless nights, had now fallen, in fighting strength, to the position of a third-rate European power. As for France, she stood completely isolated. The Kaiser had every reason to be pleased with his statecraft. If he had been wise and prudent, the Hohenzollern house today might be ruling securely, with Germany the mistress of the world. Flushed with success, however, the Kaiser flourished his mailed fist, rattled his saber, invaded the Mediterranean and disturbed its smooth waters at Morocco, and by stirring up trouble everywhere incurred the ill-will of the powers. Not only did he make enemies in Europe, but he needlessly irritated Japan with his Yellow Peril propaganda. He is said to have exhibited at different European courts an oil painting depicting Japan as a second Ghenghis Khan trampling down white civilization. The seeds of resentment sown by him all over Europe and the Orient grew and bore fruit, and when the World War broke out enemies of Germany arose all over the world to ruin his empire and destroy his family.

Source: See Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, *Diplomatic Commentaries*. Trans. and Ed. William R. Langdon (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936), pp. 63–65.



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ABOUT THE EDITOR AND CONTRIBUTORS

Editor

Carl Cavanagh Hodge is an associate professor of political science at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan. He is a former Senior Volkswagen Research Fellow with the American Institute of Contemporary German Studies at the Johns Hopkins University and a former NATO-EAPC fellow. His books include *Atlanticism for a New Century: The Rise, Triumph and Decline of NATO* (Prentice-Hall, 2004); *Politics in North America: Canada, Mexico and the United States*, with Robert J. Jackson, Gregory Mahler, and Holly Reynolds (Prentice-Hall, 2003); *NATO for a New Century: Expansion and Intervention in the Atlantic Alliance* (Praeger, 2002); *Redefining European Security* (Garland, 1999); *All of the People, All of the Time: American Government at the End of the Century* (Peter Lang, 1998); *The Trammels of Tradition: Social Democracy in Britain, France, and Germany* (Greenwood, 1994); *Shepherd of Democracy? America and Germany in the Twentieth Century*, co-edited with Cathal J. Nolan (Greenwood, 1992).

Contributors

Joseph Adamczyk is an independent scholar.

Scott Anderson is a doctoral candidate in history at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Adrian U-jin Ang is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Scott C. Bailey is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. His doctoral dissertation is tentatively titled, "Russian Scientific, Ethnographic, and Geographic Travel to Central Eurasia for the Benefit of Empire, 1856–1905." He is currently preparing doctoral fields in world history, Central Eurasian history, Russian/Soviet history, and Islamic history. He received a bachelor's degree in history from East Tennessee State University and his master's degree in history from Murray State University.

Gábor Berczeli is assistant professor of British and American history at Kodolányi János University College, Hungary. His research interests include the history of the British Empire in Africa and U.S. naval history from the Spanish-American War to World War I on which he has published several journal articles.

Volker R. Berghahn is Seth Low Professor of History at Columbia University. He specializes in modern German history and European-American relations. He received his MA from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, in 1961 and his PhD from the University of London in 1964. He taught in England and Germany before coming to Brown University in 1988 and to Columbia 10 years later. His publications include *Der Untergang des alten Europas, 1900–1929* (1999), *Quest for Economic Empire*, ed. (1996), *Imperial Germany* (1995), *The Americanization of West German Industry, 1945–1973* (1986), *Modern Germany* (1982), and *Der Tirpitz-Plan* (1971). His *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe* appeared in 2001.

Kenneth J. Blume is a professor of history in the Department of Arts and Sciences of Albany College of Pharmacy. He holds a PhD from SUNY-Binghamton, and his research explores various aspects of nineteenth-century American diplomatic, maritime, and naval history. He is the author of the *Historical Dictionary of U.S. Diplomacy from the Civil War to World War I* (2005), the *Historical Dictionary of U.S. Maritime Industry* (2007), and *Advancing American Seapower: The Story of Richard W. Meade III (1837–1897)* (2007). He is currently working on studies of the Naval Efficiency Boards of 1855–1857 and African-American diplomats between the Civil War and World War I.

David M. Carletta is a doctoral candidate in Latin American history at Michigan State University.

John Connor is a senior historian at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, where he is writing a volume of the *Official History of Australian Peacekeeping and Post-Cold War Operations*. He has taught Australian history at the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, King's College, London. His book, *The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788–1838*, received a Special Mention in the 2002 Centre for Australian Cultural Studies National Awards, was short-listed for the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies' 2003 Westminster Medal for Military Literature, and was highly commended in the Australian Historical Association's 2004 W. K. Hancock Prize.

Robert Davis is a doctoral candidate in modern British Empire and European diplomatic history at Ohio University. He completed a BA in history at the University of Kansas in 1998 and accepted a Masters fellowship at Ohio University's Contemporary History Institute. He spent 2005–2006 in Oslo on a Fulbright Fellowship, where he was hosted by the Contemporary History Forum at the University of Oslo and the Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies. He is currently researching NATO during the period 1956–1975 and plans to write a book on railway imperialism and the ethos of the engineers who helped build the infrastructure of the British Empire.

Frederick R. Dickinson is an associate professor of Japanese history at the University of Pennsylvania. He received master's and doctoral degrees in history from Yale University and also holds a master's degree in international politics from Kyoto

University. He is author of *War and National Reinvention: Japan and the Great War, 1914–1919*, published by Harvard University Press in 1999.

Frederick H. Dotolo finished a doctorate in modern European history at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 2001, and promptly left the country. He was spotted on various U.S. Navy vessels in the Pacific and Atlantic teaching for the NCPACE (Navy College Program Afloat for College Education) Program. It was even rumored that Dr. Dotolo got caught in a combat zone while happily teaching a course on American diplomatic history. Dr. Dotolo's dissertation was on Italian foreign policy in the Balkans in the 1920s. His research interests include the relationship between totalitarian ideology and its origins within the French Revolution, the impact of Italian fascism on the conduct of diplomacy, and the conduct of non-German Axis forces during World War II.

David M. Fahey is a professor of history at Miami University. He received his PhD from the University of Notre Dame in 1964. He specializes in modern Britain, temperance in Britain and America, theories in world and comparative history, and Anglo-American social movements. He has published on nineteenth-century temperance and fraternal societies in Britain and the Americas. His most recent monograph is *Temperance & Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars*. He is co-editor of the international encyclopedia, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*. Formerly president of the Alcohol and Temperance History Group (ATHG), he currently is a member of the executive council of its successor organization, the Alcohol and Drugs History Society (ADHS). For more than 10 years, he moderated the ADHS and ATHG listserv groups on the Internet. He served as editor-in-chief of the first two volumes of the *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. He also is one of the creators of Miami's graduate field in world and comparative history. He was a list editor for H-World and H-Teach. He also has published about African American fraternal lodges.

Lee A. Farrow is an associate professor at Auburn University Montgomery in Alabama and is the author of *Between Clan and Crown: The Struggle to Define Noble Property Rights in Imperial Russia* (University of Delaware Press, 2004). Her current book project is on the U.S./Canadian visit of Russian Grand Duke Alexis in 1871–1872, about which she has published two articles: "Grand Duke Alexis in Memphis and the Reconstruction of Southern Identity During Reconstruction" in the *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, vol. 59 (2005), and "Grand Duke Alexei and the Origins of Rex, 1872: Myth, Public Memory and the Distortion of History" in the *Gulf South Historical Review*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Fall 2002).

Gregory Fremont-Barnes holds a doctorate in modern history from the University of Oxford. An independent historian, he has written numerous books on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century military and naval history, particularly of the Napoleonic era. He is also editor of the three-volume *Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* and co-editor of the five-volume *Encyclopedia of the American Revolutionary War*.

Jonathan Gantt is a visiting assistant professor of history at Columbia College in Columbia, South Carolina. His research interests include United States foreign

relations, American-European transnational exchanges, modern imperialism, and international terrorism. His article "Irish-American Terrorism and Anglo-American Relations, 1881–1885" was published in the October 2006 issue of the *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*.

Andrew A. Gentes earned his PhD in history from Brown University and is currently lecturer in Russian and European history at the University of Queensland, Australia. He researches pre-Soviet Siberian exile and his articles have appeared in *Sibirica*, *Ab Imperio*, *Journal of Asian History*, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, and elsewhere. His forthcoming book is entitled *Exile to Siberia, 1590–1822: Corporeal Commodification and Administrative Systematization in Russia* (Palgrave).

Gene C. Gerard earned a master's degree in European religious history from the University of Oklahoma in 1992. Since then he has held 14 teaching positions at various colleges and universities in the Southwest. He is currently an adjunct instructor in history at Tarrant County College in Arlington, Texas. He has contributed to eight books and published numerous articles in both American and international publications.

Mohammad Gharipour is a visiting lecturer with the Southern Polytechnic State University, a doctoral candidate at the Georgia Institute of Technology, and an expert on Islamic and Japanese architecture and history of garden design. He has written more than 40 encyclopedia entries and book articles.

Daniel Gorman is a post-doctoral fellow in the Department of History at York University, and has taught at Trent University. His PhD is from McMaster University. He has published on imperial and global history in *The Historian*, *The Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, *Personal Perspectives: World War I* (ABC-CLIO), and *Personal Perspectives: World War II* (ABC-CLIO). He is currently working on a book on ideas of internationalism in the 1920s.

Jonathan Grant is associate professor of Russian history at Florida State University. His monographs include *Rulers, Guns, and Money*, *The Global Arms Trade in the Age of Imperialism* (Harvard University Press, 2007) and *Big Business in Russia, The Putilov Company in Late Imperial Russia* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999). In addition, he has published articles on the Ottoman Empire in *The Journal of Military History* and the *Journal of World History*.

John Faithful Hamer teaches philosophy at John Abbott College of Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue in Montreal.

David Hollins is an independent historian. He has published seven books on the Austrian Army of the Napoleonic Wars, including a book on the Marengo campaign.

Arthur Holst received his PhD in political science from Temple University. He is Government Affairs Manager for the City of Philadelphia and teaches in the MPA Program at Widener University. He has written extensively on politics, public administration, and history and the environment.

Daniel C. Kane is a doctoral candidate in Korean history at the University of Hawaii–Manoa. Along with working on his dissertation, he is currently collaborating on a translation of a twelfth-century Korean history for the Academy of Korean Studies in Seoul, Korea.

Guenther Kronenbitter is DAAD Professor of History at Emory University, Atlanta. His fields of research include political ideas and the Vienna System, Austria-Hungary, and the origins of World War I. His major publications are *Wort und Macht: Friedrich Gentz als politischer Schriftsteller* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994); ed., *Friedrich Gentz: Gesammelte Schriften*, 12 vols. (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1997–2004); and “Krieg im Frieden”: *Die Führung der k.u.k. Armee und die Großmachtpolitik Österreich-Ungarns, 1906–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003).

Paul Lawrence is senior lecturer in history at The Open University and has conducted research in the fields of nationalism and historiography and crime and policing. His major publications include *Nationalism: History and Theory* (Longman, 2005) and (with Barry Godfrey) *Crime and Justice, 1750–1950* (Willan, 2006).

Daniel K. Lewis is chair of the History Department at California State Polytechnic University in Pomona, California. He is author of *The History of Argentina* (Palgrave, 2003) and *A South American Frontier: The Tri-Border Region* (Chelsea House Press, 2006).

Frode Lindgjerdet is an intern at the Royal Norwegian Air War College and a freelance abstractor for ABC-Clio's *Historical Abstracts* and *America History and Life*. He is a contributor to encyclopedias on NATO and the Cold War and has also published several articles on military history and security policy.

Roger D. Long is a professor of history in the Department of History and Philosophy at Eastern Michigan University. He teaches the history of England, Canada, British Empire, and Southeast Asia. His research specialization is India. He has edited “*The Man on the Spot*”: *Essays on British Empire History* (1995); *The Founding of Pakistan: An Annotated Bibliography* (1998); *Charisma and Commitment in South Asian History: Essays Presented to Stanley Wolpert* (2003); and “*Dear Mr Jinnah*”: *Selected Correspondence and Speeches of Liaquat Ali Khan, 1937–1947* (2004). He is the author of a forthcoming biography of Liaquat Ali Khan.

J. David Markham is an internationally acclaimed historian and Napoleonic scholar. His major books include *Napoleon's Road to Glory: Triumphs, Defeats and Immortality* (winner of the 2004 Napoleonic Society of America Literary Award), *Imperial Glory: The Bulletins of Napoleon's Grande Armée* (winner of the International Napoleonic Society's 2003 Presidents Choice Award), and *Napoleon for Dummies* and *Napoleon and Dr Verling on St Helena*. He has been featured on the History Channel International's *Global View* program on Napoleon, the History Channel's *Conquerors* program (Napoleon's Greatest Victory; Caesar in Gaul), and *Napoleon: The Man Who Would Conquer Europe*, as well as in programs on the Learning and Discovery channels. He has served as historical consultant to History Channel and National Geographic Society programs. Markham has contributed to four

important reference encyclopedias, *Leadership; World History; American Revolution; French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*. He serves as the president of the Napoleonic Alliance and executive vice-president and editor-in-chief of the International Napoleonic Society. He has also organized International Napoleonic Congresses in Italy, Israel, the Republic of Georgia, and France. He was the first American scholar to present a paper at the Borodino Conference in Russia. His awards include the Legion of Merit from the International Napoleonic Society, the President's Medal from the Napoleonic Alliance, and the Marengo Medal from the province of Alessandria, Italy.

Eric Martone is a teacher at John F. Kennedy High School in Waterbury, Connecticut. He holds an MA in global history from Iona College and an MA in European history from Western Connecticut State University. He has written numerous articles on European and global history and has served as associate editor for Facts on File's forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Protest and Revolution in World History*.

Barbara J. Messamore is an instructor in Canadian history at University College of the Fraser Valley. She has a special interest in constitutional history. Her most recent publication is *Canada's Governors General, 1847–1878: Biography and Constitutional Evolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

Patit Paban Mishra is professor of history at Sambalpur University, India, where he specializes in world history, with particular reference to South Asian and South-East Asian history. He obtained his MA in history at Delhi University, and his M.Phil. (1974) and PhD (1979) at JNU New Delhi in the Centre for South, Southeast and Central Asian Studies. In 1998, Professor Mishra was awarded the D.Litt degree from Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata. He has taught history for almost 30 years and supervised M.Phil., PhD, and D.Litt. scholars. He is the author of more than 30 research articles and has written about 300 articles in more than 30 encyclopedias.

Martin Moll is professor of modern and contemporary history in the Department for History at Graz University, where he has taught since 2003. His areas of expertise are the two World Wars and the last decades of Austria-Hungary. His noteworthy publications include *Kein Burgfrieden. Der deutsch-slowenische Nationalitätenkonflikt in der Steiermark 1900–1918* (Innsbruck 2007); *“Führer-Erlasse” 1939–1945* (Stuttgart 1997); and, together with Filip Èuèek, *Duhovniki za rešetkami/Priester hinter Gittern. Die Berichte der im Sommer 1914 in der Untersteiermark verhafteten Geistlichen an ihren Bischof* (Ljubljana 2006).

Annika Mombauer is a senior lecturer in modern European history at The Open University, in Milton Keynes, United Kingdom. She studied history at the Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität in Münster, Germany, and at the University of Sussex, where she was awarded a doctorate in history in 1998. Her research interests are in twentieth-century German history, in particular the origins of World War I and the history of post-1945 Germany. Her publications include *Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2001); *The Origins of the First World War: Controversies and Consensus* (Longman, 2002); and, as editor with Wilhelm Deist, *The Kaiser. New Research on Wilhelm*.

David H. Olivier is assistant professor of history and contemporary studies at Wilfrid Laurier University. His area of expertise is the German navy in the nineteenth century. He is the author of *German Naval Strategy, 1856–1888: Forerunners of Tirpitz* (Frank Cass, 2004).

Kenneth J. Orosz is associate professor of history at the University of Maine at Farmington. In 1995, he received a Fulbright grant for dissertation research in Germany. His research interests include language policy, missionary work, and education in colonial Africa.

Niels P. Petersson is a lecturer in history at the University of Konstanz. He has worked on the history of imperialism, the world economy, European integration, and globalization. His publications include *Modernisierung und Imperialismus: Siam, China und die europäischen Mächte, 1895–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg 2000); *Globalization: A Short History* (with Jürgen Osterhammel; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); *Von der Volkssouveränität zur Völkersouveränität: Legitimationsgrundlagen einer europäischen Verfassung* (with Georg Jochum, Wolfgang M. Schröder, and Katrin Ullrich; Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 2007).

Mark F. Proudman is a historical writer who is currently preparing for publication a thesis on Victorian anti-imperialism. He is a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of the Historical Society* and holds a doctorate from the University of Oxford.

James Pruitt is a doctoral candidate in American military and diplomatic history at Texas A&M University.

Serge Ricard is professor of American Studies and U.S. History at the Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris. He was educated at Davidson College in North Carolina and at the Sorbonne in Paris, and was twice a Fulbright research scholar and many times a visiting scholar at Harvard University. He has taught at the universities of Aix-Marseille and Montpellier, France, and was twice an exchange professor at the University of Texas at Austin. He has published extensively on Theodore Roosevelt, American expansionism and foreign policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Mexican-American culture. He is the editor or co-editor of numerous books and the author, notably, of *Theodore Roosevelt: principes et pratique d'une politique étrangère* (1991), *The Mass Media in America: An Overview* (1998), and *The "Manifest Destiny" of the United States in the 19th Century* (1999).

J. Simon Rofe is lecturer in defence studies in the Defence Studies Department of the War Studies Group of King's College, London. He teaches international military officers at the Joint Services Command and Staff College within the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom. His research lies in the field of American foreign policy in the twentieth century, with a specific focus on the diplomacy of Franklin Roosevelt, the nature of the Anglo-American relationship, and competing visions of peacemaking and postwar planning. A volume entitled *'Once Chance in a Thousand': The Sumner Welles Mission to Europe, Rooseveltian Diplomacy and Anglo-American Relations during the Phoney War*, is currently under review with Palgrave. He has published a number of works on the Roosevelt era and more contemporary issues while contributing to a

number of refereed journals such as *The Round Table—The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, *International History Review*, and *The Journal of Strategic Studies*.

Kaushik Roy teaches at the History Department, Presidency College, at Kolkata. He is also affiliated with the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo and the United Nations University. Previously, he was a Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Fellow. Roy specializes in Indian military history. He has 27 articles in peer-reviewed journals and has edited contributed volumes and four books. His latest publication is *War and Society in Colonial India* from Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Ulrich Schnakenberg is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History of the University of Kassel. He is presently working on British occupation and constitutional policy in postwar Germany.

Frank Schumacher is assistant professor of North American history at the University of Erfurt, Germany. He is the author of *Kalter Krieg und Propaganda. Die USA, der Kampf um die Weltmeinung und die ideelle Westbindung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1955*. He has published articles on nineteenth- and twentieth-century North America and diplomatic, military, cultural and environmental history, and is currently at work on his second book entitled *The American Way of Empire: The United States and the Quest for Imperial Identity, 1880–1920*.

Brent D. Singleton is senior assistant librarian at California State University, San Bernardino, with expertise in Islam in West Africa and Islam in the United States. His publications include *Yankee Muslim: The Asian Travels of Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb* (2007); "Minarets in Dixie: Proposals to Introduce Islam in the American Sout," (*Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 26, issue 3, 2006); "African Bibliophiles: Books and Libraries in Medieval Timbuktu" (*Libraries & Culture*, vol. 39, issue 1, 2004); and "The Ummah Slowly Bled: A Select Bibliography of African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas and the Caribbean" (*Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 22, issue 2, 2002).

Olena V. Smyntyna is a doctor of science, full professor, and head of the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Ukraine, Faculty of History, Odessa I.I. Mechnikov National University in Odessa. She is a specialist in the fields of environmental history, prehistoric archaeology, and the history of ideas and theories in history, archaeology, and anthropology, and author of 140 publications, including two monographs.

David R. Snyder is an assistant professor of history at Austin Peay State University. He specializes in military history, Nazi Germany, and the Holocaust. He is author of *Sex Crimes under the Wehrmacht*, forthcoming from University of Nebraska Press.

Manu P. Sobti is an assistant professor at the University of Milwaukee and lectures on architecture and urban design in Central Asia

Stephen K. Stein is a lecturer at the U.S. Naval War College in Rhode Island. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Colorado at Denver

and a doctoral degree from The Ohio State University. He specializes in military and diplomatic history, twentieth-century U.S. history, and ancient history.

Eva-Maria Stolberg is a lecturer at the Institute of East European & Russian History at the University of Bonn. Her current research is on the “Landscape of the Vistula in Polish Historical Memory.”

Moshe Terdman has a PhD from the Department of Maritime Civilizations of the University of Haifa. The title of his dissertation is “Mamluk Maritime Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Red Sea.” He also holds master’s and bachelor’s degrees from the Department for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University. He is a research fellow in PRISM (Project for the Research of Islamic Movements) and the director there of the Islam in Africa Project.

Michael Thompson teaches history at Miyazaki International College in Japan. He received his doctoral degree from Carnegie Mellon University. His research interests include the history of the Catholic Church, environmental history, and ethnicity and nationalism.

Mike Timonin holds a master’s degree in history from James Madison University, where he currently works as an adjunct faculty member.

Philip Towle is reader in international relations at Cambridge University’s Centre of International Studies, where he has taught for the last 26 years. His recent publications include *Forced Disarmament from the Napoleonic Campaigns to the Gulf War* (1997); *Democracy and Peacemaking: Negotiations and Debates 1815–1973* (2000); *From Ally to Enemy: Anglo-Japanese Military Relations, 1904–45* (2006); and, with Robert J. Jackson, *Temptations of Power: The United States in Global Politics after 9/11* (2006). He has also edited *Estimating Foreign Military Power* (1982); *Japanese Prisoners of War* (2000), with Margaret Kosuge and Yoichi Kibata; and *Anglo-Japanese Relations in the 20th Century: One Hundred Years of Trade and Prejudice* (2007), with Margaret Kosuge.

Georgia Tres is a visiting assistant professor at Oakland University. Her areas of expertise are in comparative literature, cinema, and cultural studies. She is editor of *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Sex, Love, and Courtship* and *Women and War: A Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to the Present*.

David Turpie is a doctoral candidate at the University of Maine. He specializes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S. foreign relations and in the nineteenth-century British Empire.

Jitendra Uttam is an assistant professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. His area of expertise includes international political economy, with particular interest in the Asian development modes. He has recently published “Korea’s New Techno-Scientific State: Mapping a Strategic Change in the ‘Development State’” in the *China Report* vol. 42, no. 3 (2006).

Andrekos Varnava completed his doctoral degree in history at the University of Melbourne. He specializes in the modern history of Cyprus and the British Empire, and more generally the history of the modern Near East. His focus ranges from military, strategic, and political issues to social and cultural questions. His last three publications have appeared in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2005; *The Cyprus Review*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2005; and in the book *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism 1878–2004* (2006). In October 2006, he took up the post of assistant professor of history at Cyprus College, Nicosia, and he currently holds the post of honorary fellow in the Department of History at the University of Melbourne.

Thomas D. Veve is an associate professor of history at Dalton State College. He received his bachelor's degree from Hofstra University in 1974, his master's degree in 1983 from Marquette University in 1983, and his doctoral degree from Marquette in 1990. Dr. Veve, commissioned as an infantry officer after completing ROTC at Hofstra, retired from the United States Army Reserve as a Lieutenant Colonel in 2002, after 28 years of service. He has published one book, *The Duke of Wellington and the British Army of Occupation in France, 1815–1818* (Greenwood Press, 1992) and has recently published numerous entries in several encyclopedias, including *Naval Warfare, Encyclopedia of the Second World War, French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, and *The Encyclopedia of American Military History*.

Ilya Vinkovetsky is an assistant professor of history at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada. His areas of expertise include Russian history and the history of colonialism in North America. His recent publications are "The Russian-American Company as a Colonial Contractor for the Russian Empire," in Alexei Miller and Alfred J. Rieber, eds. *Imperial Rule*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004; "Circumnavigation, Empire, Modernity, Race: The Impact of Round-the-World Voyages on Russia's Imperial Consciousness." *Ab Imperio*, 2001, nos. 1–2; "Why Did Russia Sell Alaska?" *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, vol. 23, 2006; "Classical Eurasianism and Its Legacy." *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2000; Editor and Translator: Petr Savitskii, Petr Suvchinskii, Nikolai Trubetskoi, Georgii Florovskii, *Exodus to the East: Forebodings and Events: An Affirmation of the Eurasians*. Idyllwild, CA: Charles Schlacks, Jr. Publisher, 1996.

Andrew Jackson Waskey is associate professor of social science at Dalton State College in Dalton, Georgia. He has presented lectures and papers in Europe and Asia, as well as the United States; has published scholarly papers, numerous encyclopedia articles, book chapters, and a co-authored book on American government; and has served as the editor of an encyclopedia of world history. His areas of expertise are law, politics and government, world religions, philosophy, and general history. He is a specialist on John Calvin's political thought.

Carl Peter Watts completed his doctoral thesis on the Rhodesian problem at the University of Birmingham (UK) where he was Honorary Lecturer in Modern History and Visiting Lecturer in War Studies. He has taught at Grand Valley State University, Michigan; the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater; and Indiana University–Purdue University, Fort Wayne. He has published a number of articles on Rhodesia in journals, such as the *Michigan Academician* (2004), *Twentieth Century British History*

(2005), *Diplomatic History* (2006), *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* (2007), and *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* (2007). He is currently writing a book, *Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence: A Study in International Crisis*, which will be published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2008.

Nurfadzilah Yahaya is a graduate student at the National University of Singapore. Her thesis is "Good Friends and Dangerous Enemies—British Images of the Arab Elite in Colonial Singapore (1819–1942)." The thesis investigates British colonial perceptions of the Arab elite in Singapore and traces how the Arabs maintained a distinct Arab identity, despite being of mixed Arab and Malay descent.

Jeffrey T. Zalar is an assistant professor of history at Pepperdine University in Malibu, California. His published work concerns the cultural and intellectual history of the German Empire.

Wenxian Zhang has been an associate professor at Rollins College since 1995; he serves as the head of archives and special collections in the Olin Library. He has published numerous articles in the areas of library historical research, information studies, and Chinese librarianship.

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